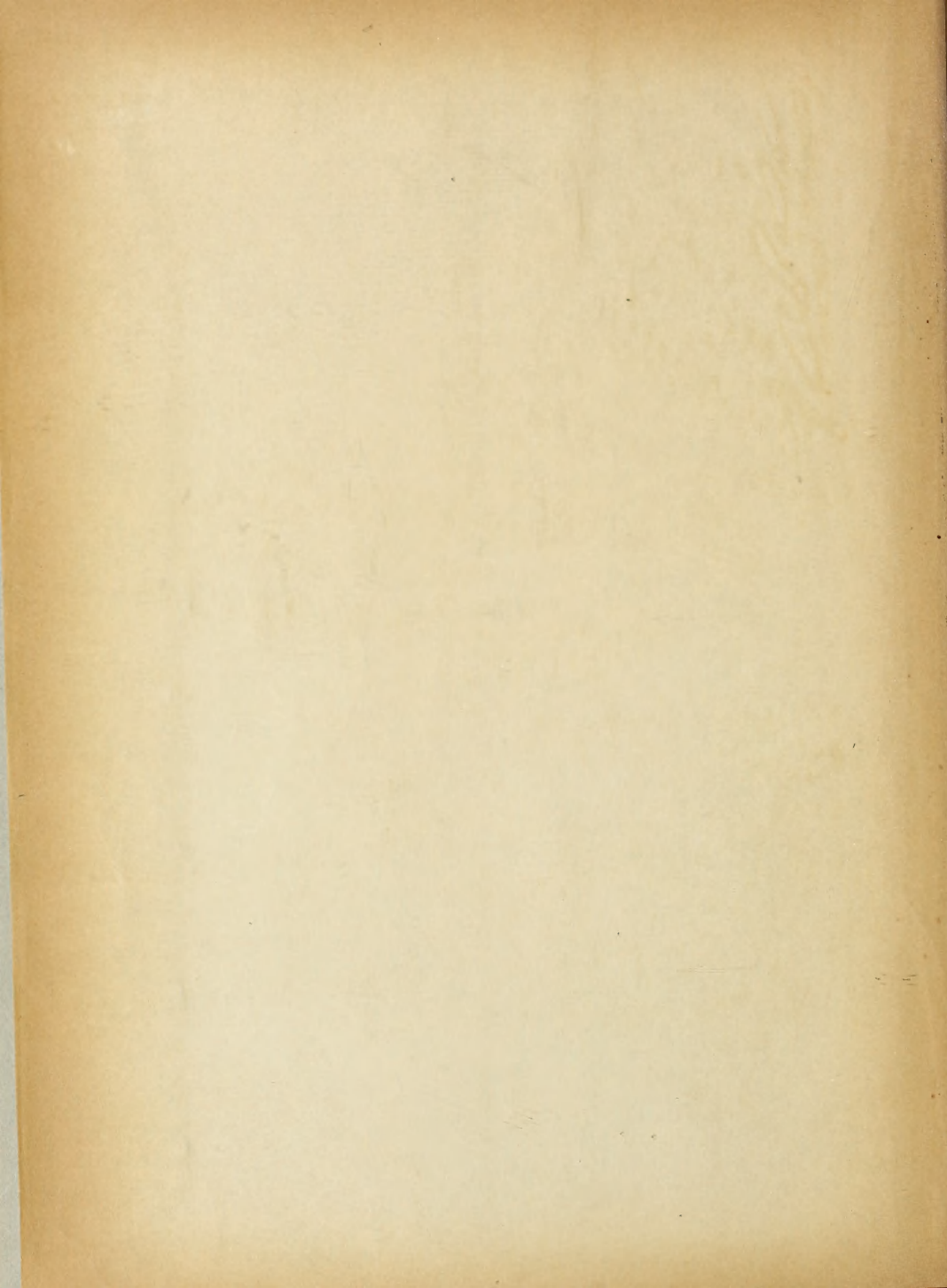
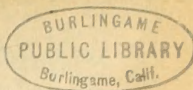




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THE *Nation*

July 3, 1954

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Every American Should Go To Jail!

A MODEST PROPOSAL

For Pacifying the Public Temper

by ARTHUR MILLER

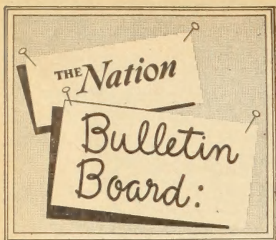
EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

Trial by Violence

Fredric Wertham

Russia's Rhine Maidens

Carolus



"LUSCIOUS red strawberry guavas, yellow guavas, and loquats grow wild and are free for the picking. Fresh garden vegetables are one cent a pound, also nice bananas. Oranges, the best we have ever seen, are seasonal and cost six cents a dozen. Watermelons, cantelopes, papayas, and avocados are cheap in their seasons. We have a year-round climate unsurpassed anywhere in the world—the temperatures ranging from 48 to 82 degrees."

Sound like Paradise? It's the nearest place to it, according to a letter just received from *Nation* subscriber R. E. Moore, who pulled up stakes two years ago and hid himself to Norfolk Island in the South Pacific. Norfolk, incidentally, is the island where the mutineers of Bounty fame wound up and Mr. Moore says that some 50 per cent of the island's 1000 population are their descendants.

"There is much personal liberty here," Mr. Moore concludes, "and very little abuse of it. The freedom from McCarthyism and loyalty boards is wonderful."

Paradise indubitably!

THIS HAS BEEN an interesting week for philatelists on *The Nation's* staff. M. O. M. Maduagwu writes from Merchants College in Oba, Onitsha, Nigeria: "Yesterday in a friend's house I saw and read copies of *The Nation* sent to him by an American friend. It interested me because I am concerned with the fight for freedom and human rights. I could see that *The Nation* would always be at my service. That's why I want to become a regular reader."

And from Delhi, India, Satish Kumar Arora of the Indian Institute of Public Opinion, writes: "It is now four years since I started reading *The Nation* (while attending Oberlin College) and I do not think I have missed any week of it. I sincerely believe there is a dire need of *The Nation* being circulated in India. Friends who are interested in the United States and world affairs and who saw copies were extremely impressed with it. They hardly believed there were periodicals like yours in the United States."

Closer home, Mrs. Hilda Lipkin of New York, who recently received a subscription to the magazine, said: "It helps keep my blood pressure down and my

hopes up. You all write such sense that it's a comfort."

IT ALL BEGAN with a brief plug in this column for Eric Sander's "McCarthy for Führer" buttons. Seems the idea has really caught on. June 21 the *San Francisco Chronicle* ran a feature story on the nationwide growth of the campaign—particularly among college students, many of whom had seen the original announcement in *The Nation*. Now John Thomas of Los Angeles tells me that he gave a button to a woman college instructor he knew. "She passed it on to a gentleman who is administrative assistant to a top government official. He flew into Washington the same afternoon for a confer-

ence with the President. The President saw it and now he owns it.

"Since the President does not 'deal in personalities' he is probably not wearing the button openly," says Mr. Thomas. "But at least he must have it tucked away in a desk drawer ready for occasional furtive pEEKs."

THE DEMAND for copies of the Federation of American Scientists' Loyalty Committee report on the army-McCarthy situation at Fort Monmouth is steady. A limited number of these are available through *The Nation* and if you want one I urge you to act quickly. Just send 75 cents for your postpaid copy. It's a shocker.

MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

On Waldo Frank

[In publishing Waldo Frank's "Anti-Communist Peril" in our June 19 issue, we prophesied that it would provoke extensive controversy among our readers. The mails have proved us right, as the sampling below shows. We invite further comment on the important issues raised by Mr. Frank.]

Dear Sirs: Bravo to Waldo Frank for his clear and succinct analysis! This article should be read and debated by all. Not communism, not decadent reaction, but man is the issue today.

NATHAN L. SHAINBERG
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Sirs: I have read with attention Waldo Frank's earnest and scholarly article, "Anti-Communist Peril," and found myself half-persuaded—until I took the time to think it over and realize its implications. He tells us, in substance, that there are two perils threatening the country, one of them communism and the other anti-communism, and it appears that he equates these two evils. To clear up his point of view I respectfully ask him to answer a few questions.

Communism is represented by the Soviet Union, which has seized nine countries of Central Europe and parts of two others and reduced them to satellite police-states by methods of terror and scientifically devised torture. Anti-communism is represented by the United States of America, which during the past half century has given freedom and democratic institutions to Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Japan. Does Waldo Frank equate these two opponents?

Communism armed the North Koreans and sent them forth to seize South Korea.

Anti-communism resisted this invasion. Does Waldo Frank equate these two procedures? The same pattern is reproducing itself in Indo-China; the French have promised independence to these three states, and the Chinese Reds are ready with their "brain-washing." Are these two to be equated?

Communism is embodied for us by Malenkov, who has some fifteen millions of his political opponents in slave-labor camps and has murdered God alone knows how many more. The worst of anti-communism is typified to us by Senator McCarthy, who has lied recklessly about his political opponents, but has not been able to jail anybody, and has not murdered anybody so far as the record shows. Are these two to be equated?

UPTON SINCLAIR

Monrovia, California

Dear Sirs: The article by Waldo Frank in your June 19 issue is an attractive and courageous piece of rhetoric. Nevertheless, without disputing his criticisms, I wonder if he is not making the same kind of essential omission as those whom, as types, he has so effectively attacked.

Mr. Frank refers several times to "the Judaeo-Christian tradition." I do not know what his relation to this tradition is. It is worth pointing out, however—for others' benefit if not for his—that the only fact that gives final significance to this "tradition" is its insistence on the supremacy of God, whose creature and subject man is. Neither Judaism nor Christianity, as such, is an ethical system, to be made use of in isolation from its central assertion; any pretense that this is possible is glib sentimentality.

The defect which capitalism and communism share, at this time—and with them most types of socialism, and world

(Continued on page 19)

Summing Up the Hearings . . by *H. H. Wilson*

McCarthy maxim: "One should start kicking at the other person as fast as possible below the belt until the other person is rendered helpless."

Prosecutor Jenkins: "If I became a candidate for the Senate in Tennessee and Senator McCarthy magnanimously tendered his services . . . I would say frankly as of this moment I would accept his offer."

NO one could have expected the McCarthy subcommittee to conduct hearings that could, or would, seriously attempt to resolve the questions of fact involved in the dispute between the Senator and the army. Apart from the inherent weaknesses of a Congressional committee attempting to perform a judicial function, the personnel of the subcommittee hardly compounded confidence in the probable outcome. The acting chairman, Senator Karl Mundt, and the other Republicans, Dirksen, Potter, and Dworshak, had rather clearly identified themselves as McCarthy disciples. McClellan, Symington, and Jackson, the Democrats on the subcommittee, constituted a moderately effective challenge to a complete whitewash, but they had no position of principled opposition to the witch hunt. This meant that they were constantly on the defensive and could only protest their equal devotion to "anti-communism."

As counsel the subcommittee selected an unbelievable Tennessee trial lawyer, a self-declared "Taft Republican" who lived up to what one would expect of a politically ambitious individual who had no public record of support or opposition to the Wisconsin Senator and whose personal qualities made him Senatorial material in the eyes of the discerning Everett Dirksen. Once rebuked by McCarthy for being too strenuous with G. David Schine, Jenkins subsequently toadied to Joe in the most obvious fashion. Throughout the hearings from the very first day, he served as straight man and sounding board for the peculiar McCarthy-Cohn interpretation of history.

Despite such inauspicious circumstances the hearings probably served to convince several million Americans that Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens and John G. Adams, army counsellor, reflecting Eisenhower policy, had gone to inordinate lengths to appease McCarthy and Cohn. Similarly there can be no doubt that McCarthy-Cohn used every conceivable pressure to win special consideration for their psychological-warfare

expert, G. David Schine. Many will feel that Senator Charles E. Potter's suggestion for perjury prosecutions and the dismissal of employees on both sides of the dispute is too limited, but that it is at least a necessary beginning. Beyond this the hearings revealed, as Senator McClellan underscored in his summary, a weak, fumbling, ineffectual Executive which had tolerated or encouraged the most abject behavior on the part of the Secretary of the Army. Apparently advised that McCarthy could be useful in gaining votes for Republicans, President Eisenhower refused to display any leadership when it might have prevented this whole fiasco.

IT appears that Senator McCarthy has suffered a temporary setback in his drive for personal power. His arrogance, patent contempt for Administration leaders, fellow Senators, the law, and the Constitution seem at last to have registered even with members of the Eisenhower inner circle. He has succeeded in warning the most wilfully obtuse of his long-range intentions. He has antagonized those who for years tolerated his attacks on powerless individuals. It is indicative of the state of American democracy that official indignation was not sparked until he attacked a brigadier general. Now even those who thought to use him to disrupt the Democratic Party and to destroy popular attachment to the New Deal are fearful that they may not be able to check the Senator to their own purposes.

It is certainly a positive gain that in recent days a number of Republicans have finally, however temporary their virtue, found courage to attack McCarthy directly. In addition to Potter's proposal, Senator Flanders is sponsoring a resolution to deprive him of chairmanships. Allen Dulles condemned McCarthy charges against the C. I. A. as completely "false"; Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., attacked the McCarthy network of personal spies in government agencies; and President Eisenhower warned the United States against nameless "demagogues greedy for power."

While retaining a certain amount of skepticism regarding the meaning of the public-opinion polls, it is probably valid to conclude that a large number of those who once held "no opinion" have shifted over to the anti-McCarthy side. No one with an ounce of sensitivity

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could have failed to be revolted by the bully-boy tactics of the Senator.

Without minimizing the positive gains which have been made in crystallizing opposition to the ineffable Wisconsin Senator, these hearings can in no sense be interpreted as weakening the hold of McCarthyism, or anti-democracy, in the United States. In fact this phenomenon, characterized by irrationality, anti-intellectualism, contempt for law, and denial of the integrity of the human personality, has been revealed as the prevailing doctrine even among those nominally opposed to the Senator. Throughout the hearings it was apparent that all participants, including the counsel for both sides, had accepted McCarthy's premises and permitted him to define the meaning of communism, treason, subversion, and corruption. In this regard nothing more clearly reveals the pervasiveness of McCarthyism than the statement to Senator McCarthy by army counsel Joseph N. Welch: "You do good work. I admire the work you do when it succeeds." Not a voice was raised to protest the repeated attacks on individuals or organizations until counsel Welch countered McCarthy's gratuitous attack on his young law associate. It is a measure of our degradation that a man could become a national hero by condemning such "cruelty" while remaining silent about the maligning of loyal citizens who continue as members of the same legitimate professional group. Never has it been more apparent that one should diagnose the sickness of a sick society, not by taking the pulse of the political delinquents who attract the headlines, but by examining the condition of its "healthy" members.

Walter Lippmann has pertinently observed that McCarthy's "power will cease to grow and will diminish as and when, but only as and when, he is resisted, and it has been shown to our people that those to whom we look for leadership and to preserve our institutions are not afraid of him." The fact is, of course, that leaders of this society, in government and out, have long accepted the essence of McCarthyism. College presidents and heads of professional organizations have permitted the primitives to define the qualifications for membership in professional bodies. The army, presumably the immediate victim of McCarthy wrecking tactics, has itself taken over his standards and practices. If more evidence were needed to establish the acceptance of irrationality as a standard of conduct it has been provided by the Oppenheimer case.

It is unreasonable to criticize the American people for revealing confusion and doubt when so-called "good" leaders, anti-McCarthy spokesmen, concede the validity of his premises. Thus Senator Stuart Symington, aggressively hostile to Wisconsin's junior Senator, boasted that when he was Secretary of Air and when he was a private employer, the mere receipt of an F. B. I. report containing "unevaluated" derogatory information was suffi-

cient to justify the immediate dismissal of an employee without benefit of hearing. No one protested the constant reiteration of the false McCarthy-Cohn-Carr charges of "espionage at Fort Monmouth." One waited in vain for a protest by "learned lawyers" at the use of the insidious phrase "Fifth Amendment Communists," or the implication of guilt to Owen Lattimore, though great care was taken not to impugn the integrity and patriotic devotion of McCarthy's bunkomen.

Whatever their spokesmen may conclude as a result of the investigation of the army-McCarthy dispute, the American people have not only been warned, they have for weeks looked at the faces and observed the behavior of those who seek to destroy the institutions and undermine the philosophy of a free society. From this day on no one of the millions of witnesses can plead ignorance if they persist in supporting fascism in this country.

Leading from Strength

WHILE no formal statement had come from the White House it was evident as the week began that every effort was being made to knit up the raveled fabric of British-American understanding. The journey to Washington of Britain's present and future Prime Ministers itself testified to both the widening rift and the desire to heal it.

However, understanding is one thing and agreement is another. The differences between London and Washington are not the sort to be talked out of existence over a week-end. The important point to note is that the British leaders came not to accept a ready-made plan for an East Asia defense pact, as the State Department had so prematurely claimed, but to explain why from their point of view Asian defense must be linked to a broad policy

of conciliation and non-aggression pacts with the Communist powers. Before they left London Mr. Eden had taken the precaution of stating this position in Parliament and demonstrating the overwhelming support it had among the British people, and in the opposition as well as in the government party. In a word, what Sir Winston and Mr. Eden came to say was that Britain could not be committed to a course that might lead to war and almost certainly would wreck the Commonwealth in Asia.

Meanwhile in New Delhi Messrs. Chou En-lai and Jawaharlal Nehru were providing the counterpoint to this theme. At the very least the meeting between the Indian and Chinese leaders was an announcement that Nehru could be counted out of any American-made NATO in East Asia. At the same time France's bold new Premier, Pierre Mendès-France, was contributing to the almost global offensive against Washington's Far Eastern policy by hastening the negotiations for a compromise settlement in Indo-China.

In sum, the Administration is suffering a series of jolting diplomatic defeats. The day is passed when Uncle Sam could regard the rest of mankind from the vantage point of the world's greatest heap of industrial power, an A-bomb in one hand and an H-bomb in the other, and assume an allegiance based primarily on economic need. Differences between America and its allies have come up in the past and been dispelled at least superficially by thunder out of Washington. The reason this is not happening today is to be found in the growing economic strength—and thus the growing political independence—of the European nations. No longer is Britain or France in the role of pensioner of the United States. They can disagree and expect their views to carry weight in Washington. This, we think, is one of the most hopeful facts in this extremely difficult hour.

WAR AGAINST THE U.N.

The Guatemala Chapter . . by J. A. del Vayo

United Nations, June 28

AT this writing it is not certain whether the unexpected resignation of Guatemala's President, Jacob Arbenz, will prove a victory for the United States and for the rebel forces under Castillo Armas, or merely for the army junta which forced the President out of office. It is not even clear whether the development marks the end of the *sitzkrieg* situation or the beginning of real fighting. Until Arbenz was obliged

to step down the rebels' talkative leader, despite the formidable strength attributed to him, had been able to report only one military development indisputably in his favor—the appointing of himself as a general. Therefore whatever pressures prompted the army junta to turn upon Arbenz, the fear of military defeat at the hands of the rebels was not among them.

The true nature of the pressures at work are perhaps better explainable by

the diplomatic and political developments which occurred in the forty-eight hours preceding Arbenz's resignation. Under the leadership of the United States delegation, the Security Council divested itself of any immediate official interest in Guatemala's fate. Instead the Inter-American Peace Committee, which naturally has no Soviet member, dispatched a commission to investigate Guatemala's charges of aggression against Honduras and Nicaragua. Simul-

taneously, and even more significantly, the United States and nine other American republics called a meeting of the foreign ministers of the twenty-one-member Organization of American States to be held on July 7. Thus United States diplomacy took care of all contingencies. If the war against Guatemala's progressive regime could not be won on the battlefield, preparations were made to achieve the victory through the anti-Communist machinery set up by the Caracas resolution.

PRIOR to last Friday's meeting of the Security Council, Lodge had accused the Guatemalan delegation of playing the Soviet game to the point where "many persons will wonder whether the whole imbroglio in Guatemala was not cooked up precisely for the purpose of making propaganda here in the United Nations." This is an astonishing statement from the representative of the United States, which has itself not been immune from charges of doing some "cooking up." In this connection James Reston's column in the New York Times of June 20 made interesting reading. Wrote Mr. Reston:

John Foster Dulles, the Secretary of State, seldom intervenes in the internal affairs of other countries, but his brother Allen is more enterprising.

If somebody wants to start a revolution against the Communists in, say, Guatemala, it is no good talking to Foster Dulles. But Allen Dulles, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, is a more active man.

He has been watching the Guatemalan situation for a long time.

Mr. Reston went on to point out that the success of the rebellion would depend upon the loyalty shown to Arbenz by the Guatemalan army. But one wonders whether the "defection" of Colonel Enrique Diaz, Chief of Staff, and certain of his fellow officers, constituted quite what Mr. Allen Dulles was anticipating. Immediately upon Arbenz's resignation, the Colonel expressed the nation's gratitude to him and pledged that the gains made by the country under his regime, as well as those under the regime of his liberal predecessor, Arvalo, would not be lost.

Ambassador Lodge did his very best during last Friday's Security Council meeting to encourage suspicious people to read between the lines of what Mr.

Reston had written. It was a painful meeting at which the authority and the very *raison d'être* of the United Nations was held up to contempt. The previous Sunday the Council, after long wrangling, had finally voted for a cease-fire. Last Friday it met to consider a justified demand by the Guatemalans for action to enforce the cease-fire. It refused even to consider the proposal, barring the Guatemalan representative from the Council table even while the capital of his country was being bombed. The representatives of New Zealand and Denmark—two nations which could not by the wildest stretch of the imagination be accused of playing Russia's game—maintained that "the Council should not 'abdicate' its position of supreme authority for the maintenance of international peace and security." But the Council did abdicate. Only four members—the two mentioned plus Lebanon and the Soviet Union—voted to support Guatemala and the rights and the prestige of the United Nations. Great Britain and France abstained. Voting against Guatemala were the United States, Nationalist China, Colombia, Brazil, and Turkey.

The damage done to the U. N. by this vote was indeed great; no clever dialectics will be able to conceal it. Now that the Security Council has refused to take action in the case of a very real aggression against Guatemala, suppose some nation now demands an extraordinary session of the General Assembly to deal with the imaginary threat to Thailand? Could cynicism go farther?

From the political angle the dominant note was the intensity of the reaction abroad. The Uruguayan, Argentinian, and Chilean parliaments approved pro-Arbenz resolutions; in Ecuador a movement began to recruit volunteers to defend Guatemala; in Argentina, Cuba, and Mexico students demonstrated for the Arbenz government, the demonstration in Mexico being led by the son of former President Lázaro Cardenas. From England our correspondent writes that "the London *Daily Worker* was probably not indulging in exaggeration, for a change, when it reported that on Sunday, June 20, their newspapers vendors were well received when they carried posters with the headline: 'Guatemala Fights Back Against Yankee Imperialism!'" *The Observer* of London disapproved of the manner in which the

United States described the Guatemalan regime as "Communist." Wrote its Latin American expert:

Though there is strong Communist influence in the Guatemalan Administration. . . . Guatemala is by no means a Communist state nor is its elected government composed of Communists. The Arbenz regime has initiated no such Marxist policies as, for instance, Dr. Jagan tried to introduce into British Guiana, and the Communists themselves do not consider Dr. Arbenz to be one of them.

Perhaps the ease with which the State Department flings the word "Communist" around should be included as an element in that "reappraisal" of American foreign policy which has received so much publicity. "It is time," wrote the *Manchester Guardian* of the Guatemalan crisis, "that the British Government politely tell Mr. Dulles that we do not trust his judgment as to whether a state is untouchable or not." In the eyes of many of Washington's critics the basic issue of opposing communism with an effective democratic policy has been hopelessly confused by the United States tendency to denounce as pro-Communist any government or individual who has not fallen prey to the anti-Communist hysteria. The question is of tremendous importance. Western Europeans, who live a good deal closer to the heart of Communist power than the 700 miles which separate little Guatemala from the Panama Canal, think it absurd that the United States should consider the tiny country a threat. And so long as Washington continues to be frightened of bogies, it is said, neither Western Europeans nor Asians will take seriously the American attempt to mobilize them in an anti-Communist crusade.

THERE is apparently no realization in this country that it is the aggressive pursuit of ideological warfare which makes the United States suspect in Asian eyes. Some critics want to know how America can condemn China for selling arms to the Vietminh when American-supported states are helping to mount an invasion of a legally recognized government. To such a question Secretary Dulles could presumably answer: "We are not in principle opposed to the overthrow of legally constituted governments. We are only against it when the overthrowers are Communists." But people abroad follow a different kind of logic.

A Modest Proposal

For Pacification of the Public Temper

THERE being in existence at the present time a universally held belief in the probability of treasonous actions;

And at the same time no certain method of obtaining final assurance in the faithfulness of any citizen toward his country, now that outright Treason, dallying with the Enemy, and other forms of public and private perfidy have been abundantly demonstrated in and

among persons even of the highest office;

I herewith submit a Proposal for the Pacification of the Public Temper, and the Institution among the People of Mutual Faith and Confidence;

Having clearly in mind the Damages, both financial and Spiritual, which have already accrued due to the spread of Suspicion among Citizens, the said Proposal follows, namely:

The Proposal

1. That upon arriving at his eighteenth (18th) birthday, and every second year thereafter so long as he lives, providing said day does not fall upon a Sunday or nationally proclaimed Legal Holiday, in which case performance shall take place on the first regular day of business following, every Citizen of the United States of America shall present himself at the office of the United States Marshal nearest his place of residence;

Duties of Marshal

1. That said Marshal shall immediately place the Citizen under what is hereby officially described and determined as Patriotic Arrest or National Detention, which shall in every way conform to regular and ordinary incarceration in the prison, jail, or other Federal Detention Facility normally used in that locality;

Duties of Incarcerated Citizen

1. That without undue delay the citizen shall be informed that he may avail himself of all subpoena powers of the Government in order to secure for himself all documents, papers, manifolds, records, recorded tapes or discs, witness

and/or other paraphernalia which he requires to prove his Absolute and steady Allegiance to this Country, its Government, Army and Navy, Congress, and the Structure, Aims, and History of its Institutions;

2. That upon assembling such documents and/or witnesses in support, he shall be brought before a Judge of the United States Court of Clearance, which Court to be established herewith;

Duties of Judge in Court of Clearance

1. That said Judge shall hear all of the defendant's witnesses and examine faithfully all evidence submitted;

2. That said Judge shall, if he deems it necessary, call upon the Federal Bureau of Investigation to refute or corroborate any or all claims submitted by the Citizen in defense of his Loyalty;

3. That if said proofs then be found invalid, untruthful, immaterial, irrelevant, or inconclusive, the Citizen shall be so notified and may thereupon at his option demand a Second Hearing meanwhile being consigned by Warrant and Seal of said Judge within one of the three Classifications hereunder described as Class CT, Class AT, or Class U.

Classifications

Classification CT (Class CT)

1. Classification or Class CT shall be deemed to signify Conceptual Traitor;

Classification CT (Class CT) Defined

1. Class CT signifying Conceptual Traitor is herewith defined as including,

Author's Nightmare

Arthur Miller, author of the Pulitzer Prize play "Death of a Salesman" and last year's "The Crucible," which won the Antoinette Perry and Donaldson Awards, wrote us in connection with A Modest Proposal: "I have only one fear about it. I hope it is printed as a literary effort before it actually becomes a law; and if it is enacted, I pray I will not be given credit. My satires have a way of coming to pass. . . ."

Last week we announced that A Modest Proposal would appear in our July 10 issue. In deference to the author's fears we advanced the date of publication one week.

but not exclusively,

a. Any person otherwise of good character, without police record of felony, who has been adjudged at his or her Clearance Trial and/or Second Hearing as having engaged in Conversations, talks, public or private meetings, lectures, visits, or communications the nature of which is not illegal but on the other hand not Positively Conducive to the Defense of the Nation against the Enemy;

b. Any person who, on evidence submitted by the F. B. I., or in the Absence of Evidence to the Contrary, has shown himself to have actually expressed concepts, parts of concepts, or complete ideas or sentiments Inimical to the Defense of the Nation against the Enemy;

c. Persons who have not actually expressed such concepts in whole or part, but have demonstrated a receptivity to such concepts as expressed by others;

d. Persons who have neither expressed themselves, nor shown a receptivity to expressions by others of concepts or sentiments Inimical to the Defense of the Nation against the Enemy, but on the other hand have failed to demonstrate a lively, visible, or audible resentment against such concepts or sen-

timents as orally expressed or written by others;

All the above described, but not exclusively, shall be classified Conceptual Traitors by the duly constituted Court of Clearance.

Classification AT (Class AT)

1. Classification or Class AT shall be deemed to signify Action Traitor;

Classification AT (Class AT) Defined

1. Class AT signifying Action Traitor is herewith defined as including, but not exclusively,

a. Any person who has been proved to have actually attended meetings of any group, organization, incorporated or unincorporated body, secretly or publicly, whose title is to be found upon the Attorney General's list of proscribed organizations;

b. Any person who has committed any of the acts attributable to Conceptual Traitor as above defined, but in addition, and within hearing of at least one witness, has spoken in praise of such groups or affiliates or members thereof, or of non-members who have themselves spoken in praise of said groups or organizations so listed;

c. Any and all persons not falling under the categories above described who nevertheless have been summoned to testify before any Committee of Congress and have failed to testify to the Express Satisfaction of said Committee or any two members thereof in quorum constituted;

Penalties

1. Penalties shall be laid upon those classified as Conceptual Traitors, as follows, namely:

a. The Judge of the Court of Clearance shall cause to be issued Identity Card CT. Upon all correspondence written by said Class CT Citizen the words Conceptual Traitor or the letters CT shall be prominently displayed in print or in ink; as well upon any and all books, articles, pamphlets or announcements whatsoever written by said Citizen; as well, any appearance on radio, television, theatrical or other public medium by said Citizen shall be preceded by the clearly spoken announcement of his Classification; and in addition his calling or business cards shall be so marked as well as any other

cards, (Christmas, birthday, New Year's, etc., but not exclusively), which he may mail to anyone beyond his own family so connected by blood;

b. Any organization or person employing said citizen with or without remuneration in money or kind, shall, upon agreeing to such employment, apply to the Federal Bureau of Clearance, to be established herewith, for a Conceptual Traitor Employment Permit;

c. It shall be an infraction of this Act to refuse employment to a citizen Classified as Conceptual Traitor, or to discriminate against said Citizen for having been so Classified, and the employer, upon receiving his Conceptual Traitor's Employment Permit, shall cause to be imprinted upon all his stationery, vouchers, public circulars, and advertisements, the following words or legend—"We Employ A Conceptual Traitor"—or the initials, "WECT."

1. Persons who are neither Classified as Action Traitor nor Conceptual Traitor shall be classified as Unclassified, or "U."

Unclassified Persons Defined

1. Unclassified persons, (U), shall be defined, although not exclusively, as those persons who are:

a. Unable to speak or understand the English language or any language for which an accredited Interpreter can be found, or can be reasonably thought to exist within the Continental United States or its Territories, Possessions, or Territories held in Trust;

b. Able to speak the English language or any of the languages for which an Interpreter may be found, but unable to understand the English language or any of the languages for which an Interpreter may be found;

c. Committed to institutions for the Insane or Homes for the Aged and Infirm;

d. Accredited members of the Federal Bureau of Investigation;

e. Accredited members of any Investigating Committee of the Congress of the United States;

f. Officers of the United States Chamber of Commerce;

g. Persons who are able to read,

Release of Incarcerated CT's

1. Conceptual Traitors, upon being duly classified by the Court of Clearance, shall be instantly released and guaranteed all the rights and privileges of American Citizenship as defined in the Constitution of the United States.

a. No Conceptual Traitor duly classified shall be detained in jail or prison more than forty-eight hours (48) beyond the time of his Classification;

b. No person awaiting Classification shall be detained more than one year, (1 year).

Penalties for Action Traitors

1. Persons classified Action Traitors shall be fined two thousand dollars and sentenced to serve not more than eight (8) years in a Federal House of Detention, not less than five years, (5 years).

Unclassified Persons

write, and understand the English language but have not registered their names in any Public Library as Lenders or Borrowers; and persons who have been registered as Borrowers in Public Libraries, but whose cards have never been stamped;

h. Listless persons, or persons who cannot keep their minds attentive to the questions asked by the Judge of the Court of Clearance;

i. All Veterans of the War Between the States;

j. All citizens who have Contributed to the Walter Winchell Damon Runyon Cancer Fund or who have been favorably mentioned in the newspaper column written by Ed Sullivan;

k. Most children, providing;

That none of the entities above mentioned be constituted as exclusive; and that no abridgment is made of the right of Congress to lengthen or shorten any of the defining qualifications of any of the above categories.

Release of Unclassified Persons

(Class U)

1. All Unclassified Persons shall be instantly released, but with the proviso that any and all Unclassified Persons may be recalled for Classification.

Possible Objections to This Proposal

The author of the above proposal, or Act, is well aware of certain objections which are bound to be made. All argument will inevitably reduce itself to the question of Civil Liberties.

The author wishes to state that, as will soon become apparent, it is only his devotion to Civil Liberties which has prompted creation of this Proposal, and in order to Enlighten those who on these grounds feel a reservation about this Proposal, he states quite simply the most vital argument against it which is that it sends absolutely everybody to jail.

This, unfortunately, is true. However, the corollary to this objection, namely, that this is exactly what the Russians do, is emphatically not true. I insist that no Russian goes to jail excepting under duress, force, and unwillingly; hence, he loses his liberty. But under this Act the American Presents himself to the prison officials, which is a different thing entirely. Moreover, he Presents himself without loss of liberty, his most precious possession, because he Presents himself with Love in his Heart, with the burning desire to Prove to all his fellow-citizens that he Is an American and is eager to let everybody know every action of his Life and its Patriotic Significance. It may as well be said that if an American boy is good enough to fight he is good enough to go to jail for the peace of mind of his Country.

The author can easily Visualize that going to the local Marshal for his Patriotic Arrest will soon become a kind of Proud Initiation for the Young American. He can Visualize the growth among the Citizens of Coming Out Parties when the young member of the family is released, and there is no doubt that the national Radio and Television Networks will do their best to popularize this form of Patriotic Thanksgiving, and the entire process of Waiting, Classification, and ultimate Deliverance will eventually become a hallowed Ritual without which no young man or woman would feel Complete and At Ease. It is, after all, nothing more than the Winning of Citizenship, something we who were given the blessing of American Birth

have come to take for granted.

I would go even farther and say that the psychological significance of Arrest is beneficial. At the age of eighteen, or thereabouts, a person is just getting out of his adolescence, a period marked by strong feelings of guilt due to Pimples and so forth. This guilt, or Pimples, leads many an individual of that age to feelings of high idealism at which point he is amazed to discover the presence of Evil in the world. In turn, the recognition of Evil is likely to cause him to scoff at the Pretensions of the Older Generation, his parents and teachers, who in his new and emotional opinion have Failed to make a decent world for him. He is then wide open to the Propaganda of the Enemy.

It is at this very moment, when his spiritual pores, so to speak, are open, that under this Act he is sent immediately to Jail, and then through a Court of Clearance, to which institution he may Open his Heart. Under this Act, in short, every American over the age

of eighteen (18) is automatically regarded as technically and momentarily Guilty. This, of course, represents no profound novelty, but instead of making it possible for only Traitors to Be Discovered, as at present, under this Act everyone will have the opportunity of being, so to speak, Discovered, but as a Patriot, which after all is what most Americans are.

The simple and pervasive Logic of this proposal will be completely evident if one reflects on the fact that in almost every other sphere of human activity the Society does in fact "clear" and give its stamp of Approval beforehand rather than afterwards; in most states we have to renew our dog licenses every year, and no dog with, for instance, rabies, is entitled to a license; we inspect cattle, motorists, buildings, railroads, elevators, sprinkler systems, teachers, and fish markets, for instance; nor do we wait until any of these have caused damage to the community. On the contrary, you have no need of suspecting an elevator, for instance, upon entering it because you know that it has been cleared, in effect, Before you



"It is further reported that you are a card-carrying library member."

arrived and you may therefore repose in it your utmost Confidence, nor do you take a Driver's Test after you have killed a pedestrian, you take it Before.

It is necessary to imagine, or Project, as the psychologists say, the National Situation as it will be after this Act is operative.

a. When walking down the street, buying in a store, waiting for a street car or bus, getting gas, buying stocks, Meeting Someone hitherto unknown, answering the doorbell, listening to a lecture, seeing a movie or Television Show, the Citizen will automatically know where everybody around him Stands. A sense of Confidence and Mutual Trust will once more flow into the Land. The Citizen will need have no fear of reading anything, attending any meeting, or being introduced to anyone; instead of an atmosphere of innuendo, suspicion, aborted conversations and low vocal tones, we shall have a situation in which you know and I

know that you were in jail and I was in jail and that we are therefore good Americans, and if there was anything Wrong one of us, or both of us, would not be out here talking like this. That is, by and large.

Aside from avowed enemies there are, unfortunately, Patriotic people who will unquestionably be found in opposition to this Act. Mothers, for instance, may shudder at the idea of sending their boys to jail. But they will quickly see that a short stay in Jail will be the Hallmark of every Good American.

To sum up, then, it can be said that the current sensations of Confusion, Ferment, Distrust, and Suspicion are obviously not being dissolved by any present methods of Investigation and Exposure. A Permanent, Regular, and Uniform Clearance Procedure is vitally necessary, therefore. Everyone knows that a Man is Innocent until proved Guilty. All this Act is meant to provide is a means for securing that proof.

God Forbid the day when in America a man is guilty without Proof. Once it was a Land that millions of Americans were trekking thousands of miles to find; later it was Gold; recently Uranium has been sought for at great effort and expense. But it is fair to say that with our characteristic energy we are devoting more time, more concentrated effort, and more Patriotic Concern with discovering Proof than any other material in our Nation's History. Now, in a dignified manner, in a Regularized and profoundly American manner, we shall all have it.



OREGON UPSET?

by Douglas McKean

Portland, Oregon
OREGON'S campaign for United States Senator this year has important national implications. Guy Cordon, the Republican incumbent, faces stiff competition from Richard L. Neuberger, a Democratic state senator who is seeking national office for the first time. The race will provide a major test for the Administration's power policy. At stake will be the prestige of Secretary of Interior Douglas McKay, who comes from Oregon, and quite possibly the all-important balance of power in the United States Senate.

For the first time in many years Oregon Democrats believe they can win and are throwing everything into the cam-

paign. Neuberger is a forceful candidate who, by virtue of his writings in many national publications, is known far beyond the borders of his home state. His success or failure will be noted to a far greater degree than is usual with a newcomer to a major political arena. To understand Oregon's own exceptional interest in the campaign, it must be remembered that the state was one of three throughout the country which failed to elect either a Democratic or third-party Senator while Franklin D. Roosevelt was in the White House. Oregon has not elected a Democratic Senator since 1914.

Strangely enough, Guy Cordon, Republican stalwart, was born in the predominantly Democratic state of Texas and received his first important political appointment in Oregon from a Democratic governor, Walter Pierce. Apparently none of the Texas Democratic environment rubbed off on Cordon

but some of the drawl did. Although the Cordon family moved to Southern Oregon when Guy was still in knee pants, his speech still retains some of the slow accents of the South. Tall, grey-haired, and angular, the 64-year-old Senator talks to his constituents in a folksy vein typical of one whose roots are deep in the sod of the Oregon country. He grew up in the town of Roseburg and immediately after graduation from high school in 1916 became a deputy county assessor. He did his stint in World War I and followed this with a fling at the real-estate business while he was completing his law studies. He was admitted to the bar in 1920 and in 1923 came his first major political appointment—the district attorneyship of his county, bestowed upon him by Democratic Governor Walter Pierce. He served in this post until 1935. Ten years of private law practice followed and then in 1944 Senator

DOUGLAS MCKEAN is political editor of the Oregon Journal. See page 16 of this issue for Mr. Neuberger's review of a new book on the Grand Coulee Dam by George Sundborg.

Charles McNary, who had represented Oregon since 1918, died and Cordon was appointed to his place. In the same year he won nomination and election with comparative ease and in 1948 defeated the late Manley Wilson, state senator and editor of the *C.I.O. Woodworkers*, by a 100,000 vote margin.

Neuberger, now 41, is a product of Portland, the state's largest city, and of the University of Oregon. Almost all of his adult life has been spent as a writer of books and newspaper and magazine articles. He served three years in the army in World War II and was aide to General James A. (Patsy) O'Connor, who constructed the Alaska military highway.

Cordon is a party man; Neuberger has always been something of a lone wolf. Cordon is the epitome of solid Republican conservatism, with a political philosophy probably closer to that of the late Senator Robert Taft than it is to that of President Eisenhower. He is not particularly impressive as a public speaker. Neuberger is a fighter for liberal causes, speaks as well as he writes, and likes nothing better than to take the floor, as he often has in the state senate, to cross swords with his opponents.

IT IS A rare occurrence in Oregon to find men of almost completely opposite political leanings running against each other at a time when issues are tailor-made to bring differences in their philosophies into sharp relief. Oregon has three basic assets—her forests, her agricultural lands, and the power of the Columbia river, a mighty stream potentially capable of producing 42 per cent of the nation's hydro-electricity. All three of these basic Oregon resources are affected by federal policy through the Department of Interior, headed by Douglas McKay, a former governor and a close supporter of Senator Cordon. The two men have worked hand-in-glove in developing the so-called "partnership" program for dam building which provides that local agencies, both public and private, should be brought into the water resources picture whenever possible. The federal government, so the theory goes, should intervene only when local agencies cannot do the job, both as a matter of principle and as a means of economizing on federal funds.

The most recent example of "partnership" planning is the \$320,000,000 John Day dam on the Columbia river on the Oregon-Washington border. The plan was proposed by the Portland General Electric Company, one of Oregon's major private utilities, which presumably would be a major partner in the project. About 50 per cent of the cost of the dam would be allocated to power and this is the amount that would be provided locally. Private companies would have equal priority with utility districts, rural electrification cooperatives, and municipal systems on the



Drawing by Berger

Richard L. Neuberger

power produced. Under present laws the latter groups have first priority. The plan also provides that Oregon users would have priority in distribution of power over those of Washington.

Neuberger and Senator Wayne Morse, Oregon Independent who bolted the Republican party, have attacked the plan as a scheme to wreck the preference system which made rural electrification possible. They say that the cost allocated to power should be nearer 90 per cent than 50 per cent and that the provision giving Oregon users priority will not only prevent proper regional development but will in the long run give the advantage to Washington, which has most of the remaining dam sites usable by the two states.

A major point of the Neuberger campaign will be an attack on Cordon's

action in favor of state ownership of the off-shore oil lands and his opposition to the Hill amendment reserving funds from these oil resources for federal aid to education. Maurine Neuberger, wife of the Senate candidate and herself a member of the state house of representatives, is a former teacher and Neuberger has always had close associations with the education groups. Thus the oil-for-education issue is a good one for him but actually, from his standpoint, the issue is the same as that involved in the use of water resources—the "give-away" of a resource which belongs to all the people.

Cordon maintains that he, too, is a staunch supporter of federal aid to education and cites a Senate speech he made last year in which he declared that the early earmarking of certain sections of public lands for the benefit of education in newly admitted states was "one of the greatest forward steps ever taken by any nation . . ."

Differences in political philosophy which distinguish Republicans and Democrats at the national level will play an important role in the Oregon campaign. But there also will be local factors. There has been a tendency in Oregon to elect native sons more on a basis of personality and character than on issues; Oregonians believe that all native sons will want to do the "right thing" for the state. Secretary McKay, in a recent television appearance in Oregon, departed from his text to ask how some people could say the things they were saying about him when he came of ancestors who were pioneers of Oregon, when he had lived in Oregon all his life, made his fortune in Oregon, and when all he owns is in Oregon. His outrage was perfectly genuine. That anyone could question the integrity of his program as it affected his home state when he possessed such a background was beyond his understanding.

Neuberger backers count on several factors in their favor. The federal-power program of the past twenty years has been highly beneficial to the state and voters are expected to examine with care the untried "partnership" plan. Many new people have come to Oregon since the war and Democrats are convinced that they can be persuaded to look at issues as well as personalities. Senator Morse, who has been outspokenly op-

posed to the Condon-Keys power policy, could in the end prove a key factor in a Democratic victory.

There is strong evidence that the fight will be a bitter one. A hint as to the extent to which feelings are being aroused is the publication by an upstate weekly of an editorial which spoke disparagingly of Neuberger's Jewish faith. Some upstate papers reprinted the editorial but it drew fire from others. The *Eugene Register Guard*, a Republican paper, said:

The reference [to Neuberger's religion] was not a flattering one. That edi-

torial was later picked up by the Cordon-For-Senator committee and distributed over the state.

That's unfortunate. If Neuberger is to be opposed because he's Jewish, the campaign between him and Guy Cordon next fall could become a messy one.

Only time will tell whether or not the campaign will become messy; in any case it is certain to agitate the Oregon political pot as no other has done for years. The primary election, held on May 21, failed to reveal any significant trend so far as the Neuberger-Cordon race is concerned. Both were unopposed and only in Multnomah county were

there other contested races of sufficient interest to provide a yardstick of the relative popularity of the two men in their own party. In this county Cordon polled approximately 77 per cent of the vote cast in the Republican congressional race and Neuberger polled approximately 86 per cent of the vote in the Democratic congressional race. Obviously both men have strong party support.

When registrations closed prior to the primary Democrats led in only 13 of the state's 36 counties and the Republican overall edge was 16,140 out of a total registration of 785,285.

RUSSIA'S RHINE MAIDENS

Bonn Looks to the East . . by Carolus

Bonn
FOR some years Adenauer's Germany has been viewed by the West as the most faithful of all allies in the crusade against Moscow. The conviction has almost acquired the certainty of dogma, especially in Washington. A spokesman for a group of American Senators visiting Bonn in June, 1953, told the West German parliamentarians: "Germany is our best friend. It is as dear and as close to us as any of the states which constitute the United States."

For some years, too, there has been no lack of warning against such optimism, founded as it is upon a complete misunderstanding of the German and European realities. The truth is that this West German state of fifty million people, despite Washington's tender solicitude and billions in aid, has always conducted and will continue to conduct a German and not an American policy. True, Bonn Germany is not Hitler's Germany, even if former Nazis and their sponsors lead an enjoyable life here, abetted by the American occupation policy. But this Germany on the banks of the Rhine and the Ruhr is not a new Germany; it is still the country of which



Drawing by Berger

Heinrich Bruening

Heine once said that he could not sleep at night for thinking of it.

History has yet to pass final judgment on the conservative authoritarian, the Rhenish Catholic, Dr. Adenauer. But this much is already certain: for all the undoubted strength of his personality and of his Western orientation, he is neither more nor less than a creature of the German "big" bourgeoisie, the instrument of those Rhenish and Ruhr industrialists who have brought so much misery to Germany and Europe by their

expansionist policy. It was naive of Washington, therefore, to have become so excited over Adenauer's statement to German exporters at Hamburg a few weeks ago: "I think it possible that Moscow and Bonn may open diplomatic relations in the course of this year." A few days later the Chancellor, following a stormy interview with the United States High Commissioner Conant, changed his tune somewhat. Yet it may be taken for granted that his Hamburg bombshell was no sudden whim but reflected the demand for Eastern markets by the men who sponsor him.

The ensuing weeks proved the strength of this demand and the moderation with which the Chancellor had voiced it at Hamburg. Among the Bonn deputies is a former diplomat, Dr. Pfeleiderer, who has risen from obscurity to become the foreign-policy expert of the Free Democrats, the second strongest party in the government coalition. Pfeleiderer believes that Bismarck's policy of "reinsurance" treaties with Russia is still the only right policy for his country. He and his colleagues are convinced that the Soviet Union holds the key to Germany's unity and economic prosperity. For some years he has been in contact with Soviet High Commissioner Semenov. Interpreting Adenauer's Ham-

CAROLUS is The Nation's correspondent in West Germany.

burg speech as a green light, he also publicly suggested the resumption of diplomatic relations with Russia, adding that Moscow would shortly be visited by a group of Bonn deputies representing all parties and including himself. He, too, caused a tempest in Bonn political circles, but the Free Democratic Party and its parliamentary caucus unanimously approved both his policy and his concrete proposals. At the same time the party announced that it would sharply oppose Adenauer's Saar policy.

It is well to recall in this connection that Pfeleiderer voted against E. D. C. and that his party now shares his views.

The strength, unity, and future of the Adenauer coalition are placed in doubt by these internal conflicts, a fact which accounts for the Chancellor's current violent reaction to the attacks upon his policy by his supposed political allies. The Free Democrats are the party of big business, with a not inconsiderable admixture of former Nazis and militarists. General Von Manteuffel, who served under Hitler, is a strong spokesman for the latter elements. Like Pfeleiderer, he is opposed to E. D. C.; what he wants is a national army.

ADENAUER'S electoral victory last September was all too hurriedly blown up into a vote for E. D. C., German rearmament, and a pro-Western foreign policy. The facts are not so simple. West Germany has a Catholic youth organization with a membership of one million. The majority of such members as could vote undoubtedly voted for Adenauer, if only on religious grounds. Yet according to *Die Wacht*, the organization's publication, 775 of 1,000 readers polled declared they would not volunteer for a German army. Dr. Niemoeller, a member of the Protestant Church Council, the highest authority of German Protestants, is conducting a strong campaign against rearmament on the ground that it would stand in the way of a German-Russian understanding. So, too, are Dr. Heinemann, Adenauer's former minister of the interior, who resigned on the rearmament issue, and Dr. Wirth, a South German Catholic who was chancellor of the Weimar Republic.

Niemoeller, Heinemann, and Wirth are regarded as traitors by the Adenauer government. Now they have been joined by two other former German chancel-



Life or Death of a Salesman

London Daily Mirror

lors: Dr. Heinrich Bruening and Dr. Hans Luther. In 1933 Bruening left Germany for America, where he taught at Harvard until a couple of years ago. A Catholic and a conservative, he is now a professor at Cologne University. Early this month, speaking to a Duesseldorf industrialists' club, he opposed any one-sided linking of Germany to America and made a sensational plea for an Eastern Locarno with Russia. Such a policy, he declared, could alone prevent Germany from being victimized by an American economic depression. And in case of war, Dr. Bruening said, his plan would save Germany from being crushed by the overwhelming might of Russia.

The *Deutsche Kommentare* of Stuttgart, a conservative and nationalist periodical highly respected in intellectual and economic circles, wrote in its issue of March 22:

Should it come to a world war, in which case the issue will be one of sheer survival, H-bombs will be dropped on both sides. . . . The duty of reexamining the relations between East and West, a matter of universal concern, imposes itself also upon us. . . . It is, in any case, in the interest of all Germans to lead the Federal Republic out of a situation where it is regarded as Moscow's Enemy Number

One next to America. Why should we burn our fingers in a conflict between two world powers? . . . It is impossible for Western man to be a friend of the Soviet system; but it is unnecessary and dangerous for him to become an out-and-out enemy of one of the two world powers.

These words speak not only for Bruening and Pfeleiderer but for the entire German bourgeoisie. The continued Socialist opposition to E. D. C. and Adenauer's foreign policy is distinguished from the Bruening-Pfeleiderer position only by its greater realism. The German Socialists put little hope in bilateral negotiations between Russia and Germany. They believe that only an understanding between America and Russia can restore German unity, maintain peace, and prevent World War III.

The West, looking upon these new developments in Germany, must feel somewhat like the hen who has sat on duck eggs and is horrified by the sight of her fledglings taking to water. Pfeleiderer, Bruening, and even Adenauer himself in his Hamburg speech, are the consequences of that "policy of strength" which wrecked the Berlin conference. Yet to anyone familiar with modern politico-economic theory, the developments could have been foreseen.

The West German Republic is no longer a sickly child under American protection. It has become a strong and independent state. Its industrial production today is 60 per cent above that of 1936. It exports twice as much machinery as before World War II and has overtaken England as an exporting country. It is supplying Greece, Yugoslavia, and the countries of the Middle East with goods and money. German goods are chasing Britain's from Europe and South America. The German position is so strong that the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Butler, visited Bonn last May to protest against German "dumping."

The Federal Republic's national income in 1953 was approximately thirty-four billion dollars; its foreign trade about nine billions. West German exports to China last year were ten times greater than in 1952, despite the embargo. No one can even attempt to esti-

mate the value of West Germany's "black" industrial exports to Iron Curtain countries via Berlin, Switzerland, Holland, Italy, and other devious channels. For these exports Russia pays prices above the world market level—and in hard currency. Today West Germany has a credit surplus of about \$750,000,000 with the Bank for International Payments; its Federal Reserve Bank has a surplus of more than two billion dollars. West German currency is as hard and stable as the Swiss; it is backed 90 per cent by gold and hard foreign currency.

A land of growing production which lacks raw materials is naturally increasingly interested in export markets. The countries of the industrial West present German exporters with insuperable barriers. It is all very well to talk about the "defense of Christian culture and Western civilization" but such slogans appeal only to the spiritual in man and

not to his bank account. The relatively untouched markets of the vast East beckon to the Germans. Adenauer and the West, so West German industrialists argue, are useful to have around—at least until Germany has its own army. That is why Pfeleiderer and his party, bowing to the Chancellor, decided not to send a delegation to Moscow for the time being. That is also why the Eastern Committee for German Industry at the last moment postponed a scheduled visit to Moscow of West German bankers, industrialists, and exporters. Sooner or later both visits are likely to take place.

Bonn has become a financial and economic power capable of standing on its own feet. The consequences will inevitably unfold themselves—the political consequences tomorrow, the military the day after. The Bruening-Pfeleiderer incident shows which way the wind is blowing. The years of the Adenauer-State Department policy are numbered.

TRIAL BY VIOLENCE

Peril for the Innocent . . . by Fredric Wertham

THE particularly shocking murder of a 14-year old girl recently captured the headlines in New York. Public indignation was at fever heat. The newspapers were having a field day ferreting out details and speculating on the mysterious minds of murderers. In some sections of the city, parents were escorting their children to and from school. A doctor who attended the victim in the hospital where she died gave out a statement saying that the staff was as "overwrought as the rest of New York citizenry over this treacherous crime."

Over the years I have seen quite a number of such waves of public indignation. Experienced newspapermen can predict almost to the day how long they will last. They rarely lead to anything constructive. And yet—among many other preventive measures—there is one

simple step that could be taken. Nothing helps to activate the criminal impulse so much as the knowledge that innocent men may be persecuted and condemned. More than anything else, it helps to blunt the conscience of the would-be criminal. Recently I saw a children's comic book in which a man commits a murder and at the end of the story goes scot-free. He triumphs because an innocent man is so beaten in a police station that he confesses to a crime he did not commit. "That won't harm a child," I'm told, "because it is not real, it is just fiction and fantasy." Is it?

Early this year Thomas Mackell, an attorney, came to see me. He had been appointed, with two other lawyers, to defend a 21-year-old youth, Paul Pfeffer, on a charge of first degree murder for which the penalty is the electric chair. The victim, a 22-year-old navy pipe-fitter named Edward Bates, had been found dead last August, his skull broken by a blunt instrument. He had evidently been struck while in his parked auto-

mobile near a New York beach. Pfeffer's signed confession was practically the only evidence against him. There was no question of legal insanity involved; my task was to inquire into Pfeffer's state of mind at the time of the confession and to determine how voluntary the confession was.

The law is not very explicit about the admissibility of psychiatric testimony under such circumstances. Books on psychiatry and law hardly refer to the issue. But I have seen several cases where such questions came up.

When I visited Pfeffer in prison late one afternoon his countenance was as somber as the surroundings. But he became more animated during the examination. Talking to a psychiatrist was nothing new to him. A typical example of New York's treatment of wayward youth, he had been shuttled by the courts between psychiatric hospitals, Youth House, the children's court, and the Bureau of Child Guidance. He had played hookey in school and had later

FREDRIC WERTHAM, noted psychiatrist and director of the Lafargue Clinic in New York, is the author of "Seduction of the Innocent" and other books.

run away from home. All he got from psychiatry were routine examinations. There was never any treatment or guidance, which would have been indicated when he began to play hookey and did not learn to read. His father died when he was 14, his mother when he was 19. He was arrested once when he came upon his younger sister with a boy whom he threatened with a knife. The case was dismissed. Later he was accused of picking the right hip-pocket of a sailor—a charge dismissed on military sartorial grounds; sailors have no such pockets. At 19 he was arrested for passing false checks and sent to a reformatory. There he really learned to read for the first time and got a grammar school diploma.

AFTER he left the reformatory he was on parole and worked as a truck helper at \$45.00 a week. He failed to report twice and was rearrested. Then the murder charge was laid against him.

I asked him about many details of his life and got the impression he was truthful. I tested his reading and found it very slow. That brought me to his confession of the Bates murder. I told him I did not see how he could have signed such a lengthy confession because it would have taken him so long to read it. His answer was that he had never read it. I asked him to repeat to me some of the sentences in the text; he could not do it. He then told me the circumstances under which he made the confession. He was questioned by three detectives from about 7:30 p.m. to 5 a.m. "They gave me a shellacking on my face and body." He said they squeezed his neck but what hurt him especially was when they continuously tried to influence his answers by twisting his wrists with a "twister" or manacles. They threatened him with a rubber hose which they showed him but did not use. He said his mouth was so cut up from the punching he received that he could not eat properly for days afterwards. During his questioning, he told me, the detectives kept repeating, "You know you did it!" Pfeffer said to me: "I couldn't take it any more. I felt nauseated and confused and miserable. I just couldn't take it." He said the "reenactment of the crime" took place in a space alongside the police station. "They opened the back of the car and said, 'Show me the lug wrench.'"

They said, 'that's the lug wrench you hit him with.'" Finally Pfeffer broke down and "confessed." It seemed to me that pain and the fear of more pain to come made him do so.

The confession itself is revealing. A confession, I understand, is a voluntary statement made by the accused in his own words and based on his own knowledge. But this six-page document consists to a considerable extent of questions put by the police to which the prisoner gives very brief affirmative replies. Many answers comprise the single word "yes." It is precisely in those parts of the document which refer to the most relevant and incriminating circumstances that the brief "yes" answers occur most often.

The whole picture became painfully clear. Pfeffer was no angel; but the more I learned from him and about him, and as I heard his testimony and that of other witnesses in court, the more I became convinced that he was beaten and frightened into his confession and was innocent of the crime charged. His girl friend, who swore to what seemed a firm alibi for the night of the murder, said that she saw the evidences of police brutality on his face.

In my testimony I said that Pfeffer's state of mind at the time was such that he could not have made a voluntary confession. What he did under duress was to give affirmative replies to questions containing statements that were not true. I called the questions *suggestive*, because they suggested the answer that was expected from him. I pointed out that there were questions in the purported confession which made one guilty however one answered. For example, when Pfeffer was asked, "Did you intend to hit him with it (the wrench)?" either a "yes" or "no" was incriminating. Pfeffer was asked, "When did you go over to the Buick to get the wrench?" even though he had never said that he had done so. In a most important part of the confession, dealing with premeditation, two answers are corrected in handwriting. It is clear from the context that the police made him insert these corrections to fit the answers to their pattern of the crime. It was like a hastily written and rehearsed play which had to be changed at the last moment to fit the director's conceptions.

There were some strange discrepancies and omissions in the case. The lug

wrench—the alleged murder weapon—had no blood on it and was not chemically tested for blood. No money was found in the victim's wallet and yet nobody accused Pfeffer of having taken any. There were bloodstains on the victim's pants which were never explained. The medical examiner testified that Bates's skull showed the effect of fifteen to twenty blows; Pfeffer's confession states he hit him only "two or three times." According to the confession Pfeffer hit the man from the left side of the car, yet that window was found closed and the door locked.

The jury took its task seriously. But when its work began Pfeffer's trial—the trial by violence at the police station—was long over. The doubt raised in the jurors' minds by the doubt we raised about the confession barely saved Pfeffer from the electric chair. He was found guilty of second degree murder and sent to jail for twenty years to life. He is serving this sentence now.

TO me this case, like many others, was unfinished business. Here was a boy who could have been guided in his youth, who could have been taught to read outside a reformatory; a young man who despite his neglected education had actually taken correspondence courses from Cornell University and was trying to improve himself. At any rate, I was sure he was not guilty as charged.

Usually such unfinished business remains unfinished. But a few weeks ago John Francis Roche, who confessed to killing that 14-year old girl, confessed also to the murder of Edward Bates. His confession disposes of all discrepancies and supplies missing details which he could not possibly have known if he had not been at the scene of the slaying. He even knew that Bates's wallet contained traveller's checks. His story accounted for the bloodstains, too, and for the many fractures in Bates's skull. And he said that he stood on the right side of the car at the time of the attack, which fitted the condition of the car.

I have no doubt that the machinery of the law will be set in motion again and Paul Pfeffer will be freed. But what if Roche had not been arrested for another murder and confessed to this one? And what about the future defendants who will have their trials by violence in police stations?

Two Men and Two Presidents

THE END OF INNOCENCE. By Jonathan Daniels. J. B. Lippincott Company. \$5.

THE MAN BEHIND ROOSEVELT. By Lela Stiles. World Publishing Company. \$4.75.

By Charles A. Madison

JONATHAN DANIELS calls his new work a "memory-ridden and emotion-torn" book. It is much more—a carefully documented presentation of men and events during a significant period in American history. In paying tender homage to his illustrious father he has made effective use not only of the latter's unpublished diaries and other primary and secondary sources but also of his own first-hand experiences as the alert adolescent son of the Secretary of the Navy and as the able assistant to two Presidents. His book thus evokes a decade in which we exchanged our democratic "innocence" for the questionable sophistication of world power.

Josephus Daniels is depicted as an old-fashioned but admirable American: a religious man of firm character and notable ability, a genuine democrat of political shrewdness, a pacifist who in time of necessity built up a navy second to none, a staid Southerner devoted to Jeffersonian ideals and the homely virtues. Because he in a sense functioned at the very center of the Wilson Administration, the story of his activities provides a fresh and impressive view of that period. The glimpses of President Wilson are scant but revealing; political performance is shown from the inside; a host of prominent Americans are etched with few but telling strokes.

The book gives a clear account of Josephus Daniels's career as Secretary of the Navy and stresses the fact that he was both an able and conscientious

administrator. It was he who fought the Navy League to a standstill; it was he who succeeded in reducing the price of armor plate from \$520 to \$460 per ton; and it was he who thwarted proposed legislation which would have permitted the leasing of naval oil reserves for private exploitation. Jonathan Daniels is rightfully proud of his father's achievements.

Undoubtedly the most interesting part of the book pertains to the relationship between Josephus Daniels and his Assistant Secretary, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Superficially they appeared entirely unlike. The youthful and zestful Roosevelt was a debonair aristocrat, handsome and sociable, ambitious and hopeful. He considered himself more capable than he really was, and often grumbled at presumed restraints. When war broke out in Europe in 1914 he thought it a tragedy that such innocents as Bryan and Daniels should be in posts of crucial importance. To his wife he boasted that he was getting things done for the navy while the Secretary was "bewildered by it all, very sweet but very sad." While he did his work well enough, he was not as indispensable as he believed.

Nevertheless, Daniels liked him despite the occasional strains and stresses. In the intimacy of their official relationship he taught him some basic truths both by precept and example. Among other things, Roosevelt learned from him that "keeping faith is the essence of fidelity to democracy." He thus came to appreciate his simple-spoken chief. "To the young aristocrat," the author comments, "there had been about Daniels almost the same deceptive appearance which a plain, strong, democratic American so often showed to the supercilious who suddenly confronted it in history. Roosevelt's greatest attainment when he departed was that he was no longer self-deceived in democracy—and would not be so deceived again."

The story of Louis Howe provided a remarkable example of concentration and perseverance. Of gnomish appearance,

sickly and cantankerous, Howe was a capable reporter with political proclivities and an acute sense of frustration. It grieved him to realize that his physical handicaps were condemning him to a life of routine mediocrity. He was of this state of mind when he first met Franklin D. Roosevelt, the new state senator from Dutchess County, at the 1911 legislative session in Albany. It was not long before he perceived that this buoyant young man was blessed with everything that he himself lacked. The more he observed him in action the stronger became his hunch that Roosevelt was definitely of Presidential caliber. Acting on this belief, he dedicated himself to the advancement of the young man's career. And the latter accepted this devotion gracefully, even gratefully. When he became sick with typhoid fever at the outset of the 1912 campaign, he readily placed the success of his reelection in Howe's competent hands. Also, when Roosevelt went to Washington as Assistant Secretary of the Navy he took Howe with him as a matter of course.

Howe's most important contribution to the furtherance of Roosevelt's career came after the latter was stricken with polio in 1921. The invalid's mother and most of his friends accepted the tragedy as final and assumed that he would make the best of it as a country gentleman in a wheelchair. Not so Howe. He stubbornly insisted that Roosevelt's future remained unimpaired and that he did not need his legs to become President. With Eleanor Roosevelt's cooperation he made himself a member of the household and persisted in encouraging the patient and in keeping him fully informed of political developments. For years he worked tenaciously, intelligently, heroically to make his dream come true. He helped Roosevelt to adjust to his fate and to accept the challenge.

Miss Stiles describes fully and vividly the process leading to final victory in 1932. She makes clear Howe's large share in Roosevelt's triumph over his illness and as a candidate; she rightly stresses his ability to keep Roosevelt on an even political keel. In her effort to bring out Howe's qualities as a political mentor, however, she tends to overlook the crucial fact that his success was made possible only because Roosevelt possessed the attributes of greatness.

CHARLES A. MADISON, author of "Critics and Crusaders" and "American Labor Leaders," is completing a book on twentieth-century liberalism to be entitled "Dynamic Democracy."

Quaker Oats

THE WORLD IN THE EVENING.

By Christopher Isherwood. Random House. \$3.50.

By Isaac Rosenfeld

IN "The World in the Evening" Christopher Isherwood tries to go beyond "The Berlin Stories" and "Prater Violet" by giving full character to his observer and keeping him in the center of the action, but he largely makes a mess of it. The frame of this *Rahmenerzählung*, the present action in which the story of Stephen Monk is set, is surely the worst piece of writing he has ever published, incredibly slick and stale; and the themes—frustrated love and Quaker mysticism—refuse to hold the connection he tries to establish between them and keep falling into an unintended one. It is only in the narrative of Stephen Monk's past life, his two marriages, his homosexual experience, and his relationship to the elderly Quaker, Aunt Sarah—these flashbacks do make up about two-thirds of the novel—that Isherwood is again an admirable writer, in possession of his right style. But only the style is right; the novel itself might as well have been a case history, for all that Isherwood was able to do with it.

The point of Stephen Monk's story is that he has found no satisfaction or fulfillment in love. In his marriage to the English writer, Elizabeth Rydal, twelve years his senior, he is a dependent child, secretary, and, when her health fails, nurse. He imagines himself happy and deeply in love, but when he is seduced by the homosexual, Michael Drummond, he is forced to see the completely selfish and dependent character of his relationship to his wife. In his homosexual affair he has, apparently, his first experience of passion, though he is incapable of returning Michael's love; and some time later, when Elizabeth is dying, he has another encounter with sexual passion in an affair with an American girl, Jane Armstrong. He marries her after Elizabeth's death, but it is a vile marriage, again he cannot love, and it

is wrecked in Hollywood by infidelities at cocktail parties. The present action begins with Monk's discovery of Jane in flagrant delight; he runs out on her and takes the first plane to Aunt Sarah in the East. Embarrassed by her solicitude, he is about to resume his flight when he has his thigh broken in a providential accident with a truck and gets ten weeks in a cast to think things over. While immobilized, he sorts out Elizabeth's letters and prepares them for publication—these letters, in their approximation of feminine sensibility, are clearly the best writing in the novel—and in so doing, relives his life with her and recognizes his mistakes. He comes out of the cast convinced he is a new man and that he will make a new beginning in life.

Granted that the point of Monk's life-story is his incapacity for love, the familiar psychic dualism of the Oedipus complex, etc., but the mere presentation is not fiction. Monk's recognition of the split in his own nature must either be expressed in the highest terms of perception, to become itself a healing passion, or the author's perception of his hero's case, if the latter lacks insight, must rise to the same level. But neither Isherwood nor his character gets terribly excited

over this. Monk is not shown in desperate isolation as was, say, the narrator of "Prater Violet"; his dark night is no more than insomnia with the remedy at hand.

Just where his "new beginning" will take him Isherwood doesn't say, but Monk is clearly in safe transition to the case-worker's *paradiso* of "maturity." There's a God in heaven or a nostrum in the closet to take care of his needs. The nostrum turns out to be "It"—the silence that speaks at Quaker meetings, ego and Atman joined, the metaphysical ground of the universe that looks out at him through Aunt Sarah's eyes.

Now this is not fiction, it is a sowing of Quaker oats. If the method of the novel consisted in reducing the "old" Stephen Monk to his erotic failures, why stop now? Has he really become a new man, or is he to be called new because the old reductive treatment will no longer be applied to him? If he failed to achieve the ordinary satisfactions of love through the sexual embrace, what chance has he of attaining the extraordinary ones? And has it been demonstrated, through his story, that only the mystical illumination is the true goal of love, and that all things fail which fall short? It seems to me, rather, the other way round—what has been shown through Stephen's case is not the necessity, but the sexual pathology, of "It."

In Defense of Reason

PAST AND FUTURE By William H. McNeill University of Chicago Press. \$3.75.

By Bert James Lowenberg

"Past and Future" is an important book. And its importance derives from a number of reasons. It deals with the most vital question now confronting mankind—the fate of civilization. This alone would hardly make it noteworthy, for almost everybody in one way or another has undertaken to diagnose the rise and fall of civilizations, including our own. Unlike most scholars who have attempted to analyze these issues, Mr. McNeill does not find doom around every planetary corner. If not exuberant, he is at least unimpressed by loose arguments for impending disaster.

McNeill is a teacher of history at the University of Chicago. Historians are common enough in these specialist days. But historians who study the past in order to project the course of future events, to define social processes, and to create hypotheses are rare indeed. Mr. McNeill writes with the tentativeness of ripe scholarship. He is temperate, judicious, and persuasive. One does not have to accept all his conclusions. One can, however, explore further with the aid of his hypotheses. And those who believe

BERT JAMES LOWENBERG, co-author of "The United States: American Democracy in World Perspective" and "The Making of American Democracy," is professor of American history at Sarah Lawrence College.

ISAAC ROSENFELD is an editor of the new publishing firm, McCosh and Sherman.

that history can ultimately become a meaningful and creative social science cannot fail to be inspired.

McNeill has submitted a spirited and ample brief in defense of reason. He believes in the power of knowledge and the uses of wisdom. But he is no uncritical devotee. Rather, with Spinoza, he is a believer in the principle that the final test of sanity lies in the distinction be-

tween the possible and the impossible. Reason is an instrument developed by man. With the aid of reason man fashioned the world, and with the continuing uses of reason he can salvage democracy or destroy it. The reading of this book will not guarantee our salvation, but it will give courage to those who believe deeply that, however slender, reason is still the only hope.

Baron Munchausen's Dam

HAIL COLUMBIA! The Thirty-Year Struggle for Grand Coulee Dam. By George Sundborg. The Macmillan Company. \$5.75.

By Richard L. Neuberger

IN 1919 a lean Irishman named James O'Sullivan, who had been a school teacher, a homesteader, and a building contractor, began crusading for a huge dam across the Columbia River which would be the greatest structure ever erected by man. He had the assistance of several small-town cronies and of the ebullient Rufus Woods, editor of the struggling little Wenatchee *Daily World*. These obscure citizens in the sagebrush hinterland of the state of Washington foresaw a project that could generate more electricity than had ever been produced in one plant and that would pump water for the world's biggest irrigation undertaking—making 1,200,000 arid desert acres yield row crops, alfalfa, and flowering orchards.

Derision greeted this proposal. "Baron Munchausen, thou wert a piker!" exclaimed a prominent judge. Metropolitan dailies in the Pacific Northwest predicted that the power from Grand Coulee Dam could not be used for many generations. Furthermore, the Washington Water Power Company wanted for its own the Kettle Falls site, 117 miles upstream. Development of Kettle Falls by the company would rule out a high dam at Grand Coulee, backing up water in a vast 151-mile-long artificial lake.

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, Oregon state senator, is now running for the United States Senate. He is co-author of "Integrity. The Life of George W. Norris" and author of "Our Promised Land."

For nearly a quarter of a century the region was rocked by a grim political battle over Grand Coulee. The utilities poured a fortune into the struggle. Their allies in Congress called the project "a white elephant," or worse. The *Yakima Republic* warned: "Already the electric industry of the state is over-installed." O'Sullivan and corporation lawyers argued the question before Congressional committees. Funds for O'Sullivan's work came from folks like Tillie Abelson, who ran the bakery in Ephrata, who put up \$5 a month. Jim felt guilty when he spent \$3.50 for taxis during a whole week in Washington.

Jim O'Sullivan died in Spokane on February 15, 1949. He was seventy-three. The great dam had stood athwart the Columbia for nine years. A lesser companion project, built to impound water for irrigation, had been named "O'Sullivan Dam" at a colorful ceremony.

No one derided now. Long since, every one of Grand Coulee's 2,160,000 kilowatts had been utilized. The country could only wish for more such projects. The energy made possible the Hanford plutonium works, where atomic energy underwent its final processing. Before the dam was constructed not an ounce of aluminum had been made in the state of Washington. By the time Jim O'Sullivan died, Washington led all the states in aluminum production. Ex-G. I.'s and their families had settled on homesteads wrested from the sagebrush with the help of water from Grand Coulee. Factory pay rolls in the Northwest had increased 329 per cent, as a result of low-cost power. The region had experienced a prodigious 40 per cent population gain during a single decade.

Yet, reports Mr. Sundborg in a fascinating and fast-moving book, Grand Coulee had been denounced as unsound by "the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, the American Forestry Association, the American Farm Bureau Federation, the American Society of Agricultural Engineers."

George Sundborg, a former resident of the Northwest who now edits the Juneau *Independent* in the capital of Alaska, began nine years ago to write this monumental story of the heroic effort to secure construction of the immense Grand Coulee Dam. Mr. Sundborg could not possibly have had in mind then the striking parallel between the Grand Coulee struggle and that now centering on the proposed Hell's Canyon project, which was yet to start. But the situations are almost identical. The sponsors of Hell's Canyon have had more than their share of ridicule and abuse. They have had difficulty raising \$30,000, while the Idaho Power Company, eager to grab the site, has spent more than \$600,000 in promoting its claims. Some of the same newspapers which predicted no market for power from Grand Coulee are shameless enough to print similar "prophecies" regarding energy from a federal dam at Hell's Canyon. The present foes of Hell's Canyon—Secretary of the Interior McKay, Senator Cordon of Oregon, Governor Langlie of Washington—use language that reminds one of warnings uttered by the political foes of Grand Coulee.

If enough copies of "Hail Columbia!" could be distributed throughout the land between now and November, 1954, the people would unquestionably vote for advocates of Hell's Canyon this year. If the cause of Hell's Canyon had a replica of Jim O'Sullivan, the fighting Irishman of Grand Coulee, that might be done. Jim would find the money, somehow, as he did when the utilities seemed about to make off with the finest damsite in North America. If only Jim were still around, to hang on to the next-finest damsite for the people of his beloved Northwest!

COMING

THE STRATEGY FOR THE WEST

by Sir John Slessor

Reviewed by Mark Watson

New Books in Brief

Disciple of Proust

THE CHARM OF HOURS. By Peter Skelton. Morrow. \$4.

Readers of Proust will find much of interest in this first novel by Peter Skelton. There is the same feeling for nuance, tone, and color, the same long and convoluted sentences speckled with fragile descriptions, the same self-analysis and self-recall. Proust, however, is one artist who cannot be followed too closely without calling up unfortunate comparisons, and Skelton follows him closely indeed.

On the very first page we meet a narrator attempting to recapture his own past in a small summer village (Zarm-dorn, Holland, in the year 1939). We see him as an aesthetic and introverted boy whose imagination plays on shadows, sounds, odors, nature, villagers, and himself. Nothing much actually happens; the narrator's own moods and observations are described in pin-point detail and "sensitive" prose.

Skelton's writing, however, is unable to bear the burden of so static a narrative. In the method of leisurely recall, the most essential—as the only dynamic—element is perception and language. These are only sporadically impressive in "The Charm of Hours," and there is little in the way of plot or action to carry the book along. Essentially "The Charm of Hours" is a nineteenth-century work, but without the keen insight into character and society which Proust possessed for all his mannerisms.

Saved by the Wise

THE MAGICIANS. By J. B. Priestley. Harper. \$3.

Mr. Priestley's parable concerns one Charles Ravenstreet who at fifty-five is displaced by the managerial revolution and turned out of his business with a mere £200,000 tax free. Since Sir Charles is a widower in good health, not unattractive to women, and—the author tells us—with some taste for literature, painting, and music, one might reasonably expect him to enjoy his half-million dollars in fine style. Contrarily he finds life dull, pointless, a slow decline into the welcoming grave. A vivacious

woman throws herself at him; getting into bed with her seems hardly worth the effort. He succumbs to the business offer of an industrial peer, even though the enterprise is thoroughly vicious, simply because it gives him an opportunity to exercise his organizing talents.

At this point in his downward progression he meets the three magicians or philosophers who talk at some length about the "old wisdom," and who discern some merit or hope in the woeful knight. They demonstrate to him that time is an illusion, that the past is "alive." Sir Charles, bettered and purified, washes his hands of the evil lord, and is rewarded by the discovery of a bastard son of whose existence he was unaware and a complete set of grandchildren.

The parable is not too clear, but the magicians themselves offer some amusement to the reader.

Two Novellas

THE GOOSE ON THE GRAVE. By John Hawkes. New Directions. \$3.

The work of John Hawkes shows some of the advantages and, unfortunately, a great many of the disadvantages to be found in determinedly baroque fiction. His most recent book—two novellas entitled "The Owl" and "The Goose on the Grave"—is filled with fascinating stage effects and little else.

"The Owl" is a brooding, chiaroscuro prose poem set in a medieval city and filtered through the mind of the city's hangman, of whom the owl, bird of prey rather than wisdom, is the symbol. There is a great deal of religious symbolism in the story—a preordained prisoner (also a Christ figure), a nightmarish last supper with the "twelve old men," a deity of darkness and unmercy (the hangman himself), crucifixion symbols, guilt and fertility figures, and a final benediction of death.

Hawkes employs rhythms reminiscent of Kafka, more ornate perhaps, but maintaining the simple declarative treatment, with added metaphors, of bizarre and surrealist events. As in Kafka's "The Country Doctor" the effect is one of dream and timelessness; we are never

sure what is actually real, or what exists only in the darkness of the narrator's mind.

In "The Goose on the Grave," an opaque tale of a war orphan in search of his mother, Hawkes uses external narration. By disrupting time sequence and point of view, however, he avoids contaminating his fiction with traditional plot development.

Throughout both novellas, Hawkes self-consciously imbues symbols and images into his prose, where they remain jewel-like but separate and unblending. There is also a consistent preoccupation with surrealist atmosphere. Hawkes's people are gargoyles or dream images, vivid but lacking sufficient basis in humanity.

High Artistry

NOT HEAVEN. By Waldo Frank. Hermitage House. \$3.50.

The surest way any one person can form a judgment about a book is to reread it. When Frank's latest novel—his twelfth—was in proof sheets I read it and recognized in it real originality, great depth, and maturity. Now I have reread it, and I realize I did not see the half of it.

The intellectual worth of "Not Heaven"—the scientifically exact psychology, the acute perception of social and economic influences, the philosophic mind behind it all, the superb wit—is easily perceived. What is harder to see—but visible on rereading—is its high artistry, for this is an artistry out of

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space and time. Indeed, space and time play a part only in the Prelude to the book; in the rest they revert to the insignificance of dimension or any other measurement.

A piece of artistic writing can be true only if some of the statements in it are, out of context, not true. The combining of literal truths with literal truths produces a scientific description, but nothing more. The combining of untruths with untruths produces nonsense. The combining of untruths with truths to communicate an untruth is the pathetic fallacy. It is only when untruths and truths are combined to make an otherwise inexpressible truth that art results.

What "Not Heaven" says is sayable only in "Not Heaven," but what it is about is the human soul—an expression which Frank avoids even in his non-fiction because it has connotations that

are less profound and less definite than what he is talking about. He prefers to adopt the vocabulary of Spinoza and call the ego-free individual who recognizes equally his smallness in the universe and the effectiveness of God—or good, or a sense of the whole—within him, a Person. The characters in "Not Heaven" are tried: one becomes a Person wholly and unites literally with Karma; some come close; many fail. The act of becoming a Person is thereby revealed in a way that it could not be revealed by any other combination of words than those in the book.

In "Not Heaven" Frank shows his skill as a story-teller as he has never shown it before. And beneath the fascinating and amusing and occasionally mystifying reflections of the surface, one cannot avoid seeing the big fish down deep.

germination of our young American drama as against certain more civilized and mature continental products which are frequently clever and brittle imitations of past literary modes rather than truly felt reflections of European life. Thus without minimizing the gross defects easily perceptible in their work, Gassner utters a heartening yea to the impulses and achievements of O'Neill, Odets, Williams, Miller among others, and a cordial but quizzical nay to the pretensions of a Cocteau as well as those Gassner, with learned wit, calls epigones in religion and poetic drama—for example, T. S. Eliot.

These opinions do not spring from any esthetic, political, or national partisanship. Gassner speaks with admiration and understanding of Bertolt Brecht whose great talent—essentially poetic, despite its didactic orientation—is so different from that of the Americans. If Gassner recognizes the sweeping power of Sean O'Casey and prizes it above the refinement of certain more shapely dramatists it is not because Gassner espouses emotion for its own sake. He realizes the value of a certain detachment and irony in drama and praises a number of French playwrights who possess this quality. If Gassner tends to favor specific reality and contemporaneity as well as national and even local color as against abstruse mythical and "universal" inspiration—in short if he esteems the concrete above the abstract—it is because as a matter of fact the most substantial and stirring plays of our time—Ibsen, Strindberg, Chekhov, Shaw—have issued from the stimulus of immediate rather than recorded reality.

Thus Gassner is able to make a case for modern drama (including, without apology, the American) even though it has produced no Shakespeare or Racine—dramatists who may appear to contradict his thesis. But what about "high" tragedy, the dicta of Aristotle, Matthew Arnold, and all that? Gassner is, if you like, on the side of the "barbarians": those who are the source and carriers of that living substance which makes art matter. One doesn't grow great by worshipping giants. Beaumarchais, Gassner tells us, once wrote "Only little men are afraid of little writings." Gassner knows these things, and his "Theatre in Our Times" is that rare thing in dramatic criticism, a comprehensive book.

Theater

Harold Clurman

IN A WAY John Gassner has done himself a disservice by having made himself known to that part of the theater-going public which reads about the theater as an anthologist and historian. His latest book "The Theatre in Our Times" (Crown Publishers, \$5) reveals Gassner as something more than a "scholar"; he is an excellent critic.

We need such a critic in the world of the American theater. I say this neither to puff him nor to disparage other critics, but to make a point in regard to his particular contribution. The American theater critic is not only an impressionist in method but because of the nature of our journalism and the nervous taste of its readers is virtually forced into becoming a kind of entertainer, a sort of literary glamor boy. Gassner is never a bright guesser, a self-infatuated phrase-monger, or a ballyhoo expert. His aim is to make sound evaluations on the premises of clearly defined standards and reasoned analyses.

He is not only sober, but forbearing. No writer or actor need fear that he will make him a target or victim. Gassner's manner is always self-effacing, respectful, and, best of all, attentive. When he sees a play he does not think

primarily of what he is going to say about it or believe the play was expressly made so that he might voice his opinion of it.

This does not mean that he is the type of professor-critic who is balanced because he never moves for the simple reason that he's not trying to get anywhere. Underneath the rather copious gray garment of his prose, Gassner takes strong positions, affirms and defends opinions which are by no means routine either on Broadway or in the colleges.

In his preface to "The Theatre in Our Times," Gassner enunciates a credo: "—the American stage," he says, "is most vital when closest to American sensibility and interest, whatever their shortcomings, but the European enterprise in theater provides a necessary perspective and corrective. I also believe that realism and contemporary interest alone can give us a living theater, but that realism should not limit us to realistic technique or style while contemporary interest should not limit us to commonplace or topical matters and attitudes."

This sounds reasonable, but it is not, as some might suspect, tame. For what Gassner in the succeeding essays manages to do is to champion the vigorous

Records

B. H. Haggin

OUTSTANDING among records I have heard recently is the one issued by Concert Hall with Beethoven's Bagatelles for piano played by Grant Johannessen—the two dated 1797, the seven of Op. 33, the eleven of Op. 119, and the six of Op. 126. It is the two late sets that make this record important: they offer remarkable examples of Beethoven's late writing for the piano, with its introspective remoteness and occasional strangeness, its concentrated brevity, its abrupt shifts of thought, feeling, and style—remarkable because of the reduction in scale in these pieces that makes for greater concentration, brevity, and abruptness. Perhaps the most extraordinary of all, in these respects, is No. 7 of Op. 119, which begins with quiet strangeness, and then, like the final variation of the Sonata Op. 109, begins to pick up momentum in what becomes a wild acceleration to an abrupt fortissimo conclusion. And the record is important also because of Johannessen's masterful pacing and shaping of the pieces and treatment of the instrument.

A Period record has given me my first hearing of Prokofiev's Piano Concerto No. 1 (1911), which turns out to be another of those astonishing first works of his, characteristic both in its intricate and percussive figuration and in its lyrical writing, and with a freshness and creative energy that make it far more impressive and enjoyable than the two later works on the record, the Piano Sonata No. 5 (1925) and Piano Concerto No. 5 (1932). The Concerto No. 1, which is in one long movement, is played superbly by a Russian pianist named Richter with the Moscow Symphony under Kondrashin.

Having reported a few months ago on the magnificent Oiseau-Lyre performance of Monteverdi's Vespers of 1610, I think I should mention a Period record which offers an astonishingly different but equally beautiful performance of three sections of the work and a different Magnificat, by singers and instrumentalists under Ephrikian. This is some of the early music that was not

completely written out like the music of the last two centuries, but that instead presented performers with the bare outlines which they had to elaborate into melody, harmony, rhythm, and figuration in the current language and style of the period; and the two performances give us strikingly different—and, it seemed to ears more expert than mine in this matter, equally valid—realizations of the work from the vocal and bass parts. The Oiseau-Lyre performance offers higher-pitched, delicate singing with robust orchestral ritornellos; the Period lower-pitched, robust, intense singing with delicate, fine-textured orchestral ritornellos. In the Oiseau-Lyre *Nigra sum* the continuo is supplied by the harpsichord; in the Period by organ and strings. In the Oiseau-Lyre *Ave maris stella* the stanzas are sung by the soloists in succession with organ; in the Period all are sung by the contralto.

The Haydn Society is issuing the Anthologie sonore recordings on LP; and a record of motets by Mozart (AS-34) offers a number of pieces dated from 1775 to 1782—all new to me, some engagingly buoyant, some quietly lovely, some poignant and moving. The performances are by unnamed soloists and chorus and orchestra of L'Anthologie sonore under Félix Raugel; and I must report choral singing with no refinement of tone and texture, and a solo contralto whose voice is rough.

Musorgsky's powers applied to the texts of "The Nursery" produce results which for once leave me uninvolved. The songs are sung with the necessary dramatic imagination and animation by Maria Kurenko, to equally fine piano accompaniments by Vsevolod Pastukhoff. On the same Capitol record are some songs of Rachmaninov.

Debussy's music for the children's ballet "La Boîte à joujoux," as orchestrated by André Caplet, is played beautifully on a Remington record by the RIAS Symphony of Berlin under Jonel Perle; but I find that its point-to-point invention for the ballet is not a coherent and satisfying experience when heard alone or with a description of the action.

Letters

(Continued from inside front cover)

federalism, and universal birth control, and the rest of the social patent medicines—is one of perception. It is their heretical humanism, their supposition that man is supreme, capable of knowing and achieving his own good, individually and collectively, without reference to God. . . . Ironically, the effect of this misperception, the humanist denial of God, is the dehumanization of social life to which Mr. Frank bears witness.

One does not, I think, suggest that our difficulties can be corrected simply by our "return" to God, that is, to a more comprehensive awareness of the human situation than is now active. But without that awareness, and the sense of man's high position in the world and of his absolute subjection to the love of God, which that awareness includes, our efforts to help ourselves are wasted and without basis. Perhaps this was the drift of Mr. Frank's remarks. If so, allow me simply to add my support to them.

Cos Cob, Connecticut ROBERT D. MEAD

Dear Sirs: In seven or eight years of reading *The Nation*, "The Anti-Communist Peril" by Waldo Frank is the first really fresh piece of writing and thinking I can recall. If these views are not the underlying principles of *The Nation*, though I realize that no one set of principles can be said to underly so varied a group of writers, if this article has not clearly summed up the general editorial philosophy of *The Nation*, then I have been misinterpreting the less forthright tones of the magazine.

It would seem to me . . . that there can be only those who believe in man and those who do not. Mr. Frank is one who believes. I hope that those editors who offer Joseph Wood Krutch's "The Measure of Man" as a book club selection in the same issue in which they print Waldo Frank's article also believe.
Monterey, Cal. GENE MORNELL

Dear Sirs: Waldo Frank uses too many words to say too little clearly. American popular reaction to the Communist peril stems largely from a national political immaturity rooted in a woeful lack of understanding of the basic principles of American democracy. Eventually, through education, we may become sufficiently mature to follow England's example where Sir Oswald Mosley's Fascists meet in public and strut their black shirts and where the Communist Party advertises and holds public meetings unmolested. No one denies their right to do so. England believes in democracy. It trusts its people's over-all good sense and feels safe in practicing what it believes in.

Do we really believe in the democracy we boast?
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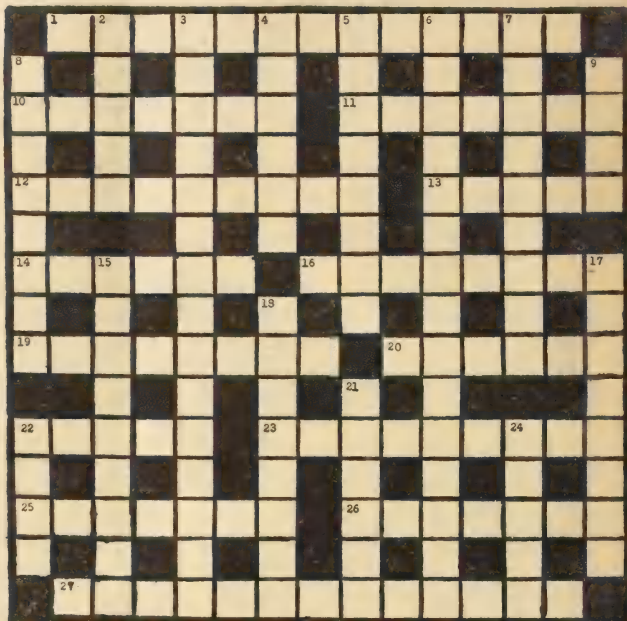
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Crossword Puzzle No. 574

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 The first part of 11 shouldn't have this chance. (9, 4)
- 10 This sometimes doesn't appear to be quick. (7)
- 11 Experienced before 6, therefore in condition. (7)
- 12 See 21 down.
- 13 Weapon, alternatively for defense. (5)
- 14 Drives back a little less than 6 Pullman on the return trip. (6)
- 16 The result of investigation of tools. (8)
- 19 An almost standard arrangement is longer in what the melody is reputed to do. (6, 2)
- 20 Changes, as does port. (6)
- 22 and 9 down. Love it at tea-time, perhaps? One might! (5, 4)
- 23 If it isn't, the hearing's impaired, nowadays! (9)
- 25 Not necessarily a logical part for Miss Shearer. (7)
- 26 In short, non-progressive craft in Harry's state should carry just about everything! (7)
- 27 If his effort is wasted, would one blow a false note? (13)
- 4 Wild damson. (6)
- 5 A singular sort of 14 with French wine. (8)
- 6 Original producer of "La Gioconda." (8, 2, 5)
- 7 The little devil is broken in pieces! (9)
- 8 Relating to a man of learning, like Einstein, P. H. D.? (8)
- 9 See 22 across.
- 15 Particular tin cup, with the wrong grease on it. (9)
- 17 There was a famous last one before his, in a way, suggesting the need for a spokesman. (8)
- 18 S. O. S. of the dance? (4, 4)
- 21 and 12 across. The possible consequence of an inside pitch isn't safe! (3, 3, 3, 6)
- 22 Stretches out with cushions? (4)
- 24 "Death, the — smoke where vanishes the flame." (Childe-Harold's Pilgrimage) (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 573

ACROSS—1 MIDSHIPS; 5 PRIMED; 9 NIBBLER; 10 ORGANIC; 11 HOUDINI; 12 EXALT; 13 HIGHLAND FLING; 14 RADICAL CHANGE; 21 SABLET; 22 NEO-GENE; 23 HANYANS; 24 ROISTER; 25 WADDLE; 26 ODOGRAPH.

DOWN—1 MANCHU; 2 DEBOUCH; 3 HOLDING; 4 PARTIAL PLATES; 6 and 20 RIGHT OF SEARCH; 7 MENOTTI; 8 DUCK EGGS; 10 ONE IN A HUNDRED; 14 CROSS-BOW; 16 DEPONED; 17 CUE BALL; 18 NOONING; 19 ELECTRA.

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NUMBER 4

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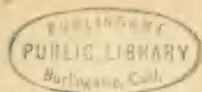
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Letters

Latin America and the Guatemala Crisis

Dear Sirs: Whatever the final results of the crisis in Guatemala may be, a significant new chapter in Inter-American relations has begun.

The first reaction in Latin America to the invasion of Guatemala was a popular and spontaneous indignation against the United States. This was manifested uniformly throughout the continent: in Chile, Panama, Uruguay, Cuba, Bolivia, Mexico. Even in Honduras—accused by Guatemala as the main supporter and base of operations for the invading army—the university students expressed their solidarity with the Guatemalan cause through strikes and public manifestations. In Argentina, the main opposition party, Unión Cívica Radical, expressed a vote of solidarity for Guatemala. Two days later, the Peronist party introduced a bill in the Chamber of Deputies inviting all the parliaments of the American continent to take collective action in order to help Guatemala find peace and reach economic independence. Similar resolutions were passed in Chile and Uruguay. Most of the newspapers in all the South American countries also expressed their sympathy for the government of Colonel Jacobo Arbenz.

However, the most extraordinary reactions took place among the people of these countries; even among those normally passive. In Venezuela, for example, a country which has profited most by infusions of United States capital, it would be hard to find an opinion adverse to the Guatemalan government. Signs of *Viva Guatemala—Mueria la United Fruit* may be seen all over Caracas. At Sears Roebuck, the most important store in this city, the customers who had always bought United States merchandise in preference to any other have suddenly refused to buy American-made goods. It should be noted that Sears Roebuck here caters mostly to the middle and upper classes.

In this tragic moment for the Guatemalan nation, everyone points accusingly at the United States. Whether one sympathizes with the socialist policies of the Arbenz government or not, no one should underestimate the effect of the conflict on Inter-American relations. People are talking about the rebirth of "big stick diplomacy." Opportunist and unscrupulous military servants may always be found in Latin America. However, the results in Guatemala will not enhance the already waning prestige of the United States among the people of the neighboring republics.

All unbiased information to have come out of Guatemala confirms the belief that the government was not subject to the orders of the local Communist Party nor those of Moscow. The Archbishop of Mexico stated that he did not believe the insurrection was motivated by reaction to communism. He added that the communism which has infiltrated this continent does not represent a menace to the peace and sovereignty of the American nations.

For those who have always worked for democracy in our countries, the Guatemalan conflict has come as a severe and sad shock. The experience is more bitter because we have always looked to American democratic procedure as an example to be followed. Sometimes, after much effort, progress has been achieved, but it has seldom endured. For this reason the Guatemalan conflict comes as convincing proof that the Department of State has decided that "democracy" is to be achieved with the aid of undemocratic governments.

F. LLERANDI

Caracas, Venezuela

More on Waldo Frank

Dear Sirs: In Waldo Frank's brilliant and challenging article, "The Anti-Communist Peril," he stresses that a political party which does not share the false mechanistic and exclusively economic values of communism must be "matrixed in the adequate life-values and knowledge of man's nature in which alone sound economic and political action must grow." The point is well taken and eloquently developed. But to the question of what are those adequate life-values and what is their basis, Mr. Frank gives no explicit answer. In his references to the "Judeo-Christian tradition," "love of life," and to the writings of Reinhold Niebuhr, I take it that he is referring to Christian ethics with its roots in Judaism. It is this reference which I should like to discuss.

My question is: Does Christian ethics in itself provide the "adequate life-values and knowledge of man's nature" which must be the foundation of a political party? Does it delineate social justice? Does it say what the functions of a good society are, how far it should regulate actions of individuals, and what rights of the individual it should protect? And the answer is that its primary concern lies elsewhere.

Christian ethics, no matter how splendidly compelling its ideals of love and universal brotherhood, does not answer these questions because it is an individual ethics. It is concerned with how the individual may live best within any society, even under the oppressive yoke of

the Romans in Palestine, or—I might add—under the spiritual injustices of *laissez-faire* capitalism. It does not deal with the ways in which society must be changed if social justice is to be realized.

What is implicit in Christianity's concept of doing good to others must be made explicit. For the values of the good and complete life are also values of achievement and of development of abilities—esthetic, intellectual, technical, or social—which make men able to do good to themselves and others. And activities must have an outlet in society, a welcome and protection in economic and social conditions. Consequently, any adequate life-values must extend to the conditions of society. A complete ethics must be a social ethics, as a long line of philosophers have attested.

Perhaps Mr. Frank would grant the points I have indicated. And perhaps, too, he is more in agreement with John Dewey's philosophy than he recognizes in his article. Dewey also wrote of the basic similarity of *laissez-faire* capitalism and communism, both being "collectivisms" which rule out the active contribution of the individual. He criticized Marxist economic determination for its "ignoring of human qualities" and providing no theory of human nature; and he, also, criticized *laissez-faire* capitalism for its disastrous neglect of esthetic and intellectual values. Finally, he too would say that the most effective basis of a sound society is a pervasive creation of positive life-values.

EDITH W. SCHIPPER

Assistant Professor of Philosophy,
The University of Miami

Miami, Florida

Dear Sirs: For some time I have been intending to write to you to express my admiration for your courageous and independent magazine. The article by Waldo Frank seems a good occasion.

It was good to read an article by at least one person who does not seem to have been cowed by the McCarthy camp. It seems to me that many liberals are so busy covering their intellectual tracks of the last twenty years, so busy dreaming up liberal reasons for backing reactionary measures, that they have no thought or inclination towards constructive criticism of our present political, social, and cultural predicament. I would yet like to hear someone stand up and say that maybe Oppenheimer was not "naive" or "innocent" in his association with left-wingers during the thirties. Could the man who headed the Los Alamos Project be expected to get his political ideas from some less "naive" thinker—say Herbert Hoover?

The liberal movement at this time seems to be in great danger of steering so far from the Charybdis of the Left that it will soon be devoured by the Scylla of the Right. Mr. Frank's article will perhaps awaken some to this danger.

Laanark, Illinois

TED KINNAMAN

Guatemala Guinea Pig . . *Freda Kirchwey*

ADMINISTRATION officials from President Eisenhower down have made no effort to conceal their satisfaction at the overthrow of the legally elected government of Guatemala. This is not surprising. Washington's hostility to the leftist regimes that have held office in that country since the downfall of the Ubico dictatorship in 1944 has been fairly consistent. It increased to a new pitch of intensity, however, during the administration of President Jacobo Arbenz. Long before the Caracas conference last March the State Department was busy popularizing the idea that the Arbenz government was Communist or at the very least Communist-controlled. The department backed to the hilt the resistance of the United Fruit Company to the terms on which the government was expropriating areas of uncultivated banana lands; and by doing so challenged in effect the whole legal basis of Guatemala's land reform. Right-wing Senators echoed the Administration's line. As early as January 14 Senator Alexander Wiley, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, charged that Guatemala had "become a serious beachhead for international Communism in this hemisphere." A few weeks later he referred to the expulsion from Guatemala of two United States journalists as the "latest sickening demonstration of the Communist octopus at work." News reports obviously stemming from State Department sources began explaining that the time was at hand when "we" would have to do something about the "Communist threat in Guatemala"; the question was only when and how. And Assistant Secretary of State John Moors Cabot said in so many words, though without naming names, that the test for determining United States policy toward Latin American countries was whether they were with us or against us.

As the campaign against Guatemala built up, the resentment of the Arbenz government naturally mounted too. On January 30 it announced in a communique that a plot had been prepared to invade Guatemala and overthrow the regime. The statement said that the conspirators were supported by Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Venezuela, and also the "government of the North"; and that the United Fruit Com-

pany had supplied arms for the planned invasion. Later the charge against Nicaragua was withdrawn. Among the individuals implicated were Lieutenant Colonel Carlos Castillo-Armas (who led the rebellion last month and is now a member of the ruling junta) and General Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes, another of the chief figures in the current crisis.

The State Department dismissed Guatemala's charges as too ridiculous to answer, and no evidence was published to prove that the United States was directly involved. But when President Arbenz a few days later accused United States Senators, State Department officials, and American newspapers of instigating a concerted attack against Guatemala, not only at home and in Latin America but "throughout the world," the charge could be documented. Guatemala also bitterly reproached the State Department for linking it with the "international Communist conspiracy," pointing out that it had repeatedly denied that it was Communist or in any way subservient to Moscow.

CARACAS was the climax. By a very shrewd mixture of warnings, reassurances, and promises, Secretary Dulles overcame the outspoken reluctance of a majority of the delegates, who plainly feared intervention more than Communism, and shoved through his resolution calling for a consultative meeting in case the "political institutions of any American state" became dominated "by the international Communist movement." Guatemala ably opposed the measure as one directed against itself. But in the showdown seventeen delegates voted with Dulles, many of them solemnly echoing his assurance that the resolution did not invade sovereign rights or sanction intervention. Two states, Mexico and Argentina, abstained. Only Guatemala voted no, and Mr. Dulles remarked after the final ballot: "The fact that one American nation voted against the resolution shows how necessary it was that the conference should have acted as it did. Now, of course, we shall have the task of assuring that the enemies of freedom do not move into the breach which has been disclosed in our ranks."

These words may have been the death warrant of the

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Arbenz government. Certainly when the United States denounced Guatemala for buying arms from Poland—after having refused to sell Guatemala any arms at all and having prevented the shipment of arms from neutral nations—its charge of Communist penetration and its exaggerated indignation offered clear evidence that the "one American nation" which had breached unanimity at Caracas was not going to be allowed to survive by its own efforts.

ONE day the whole story will be told. Some honest unbiased diplomat who rode out the storm in Guatemala City or some energetic newsmen will fit together and expose the series of plots and intrigues that finally brought down the government of Guatemala and set a military junta in its place. But now we simply do not know the facts. The deposed leaders openly blame the "government of the North." They insist that the weapons carried by the invading rebels were put in their hands by the United Fruit Company or came from the supplies rushed by the United States into Nicaragua and Honduras after the Polish arms incident. This has been officially denied in Washington and first-hand reports of the equipment carried by the rebels hardly seem to bear it out.

Other stories, some of them from the American side, credit the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency—both Messers Dulles—with organizing and carrying through the political operation which dumped the Arbenz regime. While these seem more plausible and come from better sources, they cannot be accepted as sure. What is sure is that Mr. Peurifoy, the American ambassador to Guatemala, was actively involved in all the final stages of the drama. According to a detailed Associated Press story of June 30, Foreign Minister Toriello called on Mr. Peurifoy the previous Sunday and told him the war could be ended in fifteen minutes "if a military junta were formed and accepted." Toriello said he would step out himself but he urged that President Arbenz be kept in office. Mr. Peurifoy replied that he felt the only solution was "a clean sweep of the Arbenz government." That day Arbenz resigned and his chief of staff, Colonel Diaz, formed a junta to take over. The next day Diaz called on Peurifoy to ask if he could guarantee that Colonel Castillo-Armas would recognize the new junta. Colonel Diaz promised to outlaw the Communist party if he took office, but Mr. Peurifoy says the A.P., insisted on stronger measures. "Communism must go," he told Colonel Diaz.

Our Ambassador remained to preside over the subsequent shifts from Diaz to Monzon and finally to the combined Monzon-Castillo-Armas junta which remains precariously intact as these words are written. By what right he gave the orders that displaced one government and dictated the politics and composition of its suc-

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sors we do not know. One can assume, however, that he was instructed to do just that and guess that he or other representatives of Washington were at least as busy in preparing the coup as he was in completing it.

BUT really it is not very important to fix detailed responsibility for the climax of the drama. What seems to us clear without further proof is that the whole massive weight of Washington's influence was marshalled against the left-wing government of Guatemala. Little did the Administration care that that government had been freely elected and represented about 95 per cent

of the voting strength of the country. What the State Department could not tolerate was Guatemala's toleration of Communists in key places—though not in the government itself—and its defiant insistence on following its course of energetic reform along lines which cut into major American interests—though again the reforms were not Communist in character or application. Guatemala was chosen as a test case and a warning. The defeat of the Arbenz government, along with its supporters, has provided a sample of Washington's cold-war strategy in the Western hemisphere. As such it should be studied with care by the other American states.

Program for Insecurity . . *H. H. Wilson*

GIVEN the premises of the loyalty-security program, the decision of the Atomic Energy Commission to declare Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer a "security risk" is reasonable and logical. The commission by a 3-1 vote has declared Dr. Oppenheimer unfit for "access to restricted data" because of "substantial defects of character and imprudent and dangerous associations." That the decision may seriously weaken the true security of the United States, as implied in the testimony of Mr. John McCloy, becomes irrelevant. Quite rightly the earlier Gray report emphasized that "this case puts the security system of the United States on trial, both as to procedures and as to substance." Beyond demonstrating the ultimate absurdity of a security mania which inexorably leads to insecurity, there are a number of facets in this case which many citizens will find extremely disturbing, if not downright menacing, to the survival of a free society.

The commission explicitly denies that Dr. Oppenheimer is being punished for a difference of opinion on the question of developing the H-bomb. This means, in essence, that no new evidence was submitted to, or considered by, the A. E. C. since Dr. Oppenheimer's clearance in 1947, which was, significantly enough, approved by Admiral Louis L. Strauss, now the commission's chairman. Apart from this one unsupported allegation all of the other information about his associations and activities had been known for years.

In purporting to find "proof of fundamental defects in his character," the A. E. C. has subjectively evaluated material provided by individuals who were characterized by Dr. Henry De Wolf Smyth, the only qualified scientist on the commission, as professionals, "enthusiastic amateurs" and "powerful personal enemies." In view of the devoted scrutiny given to every action of Dr. Oppenheimer over a period of years, it is most revealing that no objective evidence of a derogatory nature has been submitted. It is revealing, as well, that so heavy a burden is

placed on "associations" in the 1930's, when millions of citizens, including Communists, were deeply concerned about the apparent capitulation to fascism. The so-called "close association with Communists" took place in the period prior to 1942 when the Communists, for whatever motives, were in conflict with nazism and fascism. It is no longer fashionable to recall that many persons who now are being smeared as subversive were actively fighting fascism at a time when many of today's patriots and devout anti-Communists were urging our acceptance of the "wave of the future." Oppenheimer's sympathy and his financial contributions were directed to specific causes which were supported by many to whom Communism was anathema then as now.

In considering a mishmash of testimony purporting to relate to "character" and "associations," the A. E. C. apparently elected to ignore scores of exhibits, never revealed to the public, which clearly indicate the positive anti-Communist position of Dr. Oppenheimer since 1942. It might reasonably have been expected that overriding consideration would have been given the Grey board conclusion that he "seems to have had a high degree of discretion reflecting an unusual ability to keep to himself vital secrets," or the fact of "the undoubted and unparalleled contributions of Dr. Oppenheimer to the atomic energy program." Having renounced such reasonable criteria as the man's unique contribution to American survival and security, it is not surprising that Commissioner Thomas E. Murray should actually make explicit his certainty that such objective and measurable achievements are inadequate to offset the "disloyalty" involved in Oppenheimer's associations, "however innocent in fact" these were.

It cannot be denied that disparate items in the Oppenheimer dossier, arranged to argue a case, do succeed in creating an impression of deliberate "falsehoods, evasions, and misrepresentations." No one, including Dr.

Oppenheimer, would attempt to excuse or to justify the Chevalier incident involving, as it did, temporary concealment of attempted espionage and deception of an intelligence officer. It was a serious mistake eleven years ago, perhaps reflecting the anguished concern for a friend, and it was never repeated. But by any fair test—in Dr. Smyth's words—to "balance his potential contribution to the positive strength of the country against the possible danger that he may weaken the country by allowing important secrets to reach our enemies," the balance must be resolved in favor of Dr. Oppenheimer's continued service.

In his dissent from the opinion of his colleagues on the commission, Dr. Smyth has set forth the only viable standard for evaluating this record. "If one starts with the assumption that Dr. Oppenheimer is disloyal, the incidents which I have recounted may arouse suspicions. However, if the entire record is read objectively, Dr. Oppenheimer's loyalty and trustworthiness emerge clearly, and the various disturbing incidents are shown in their proper light as understandable and unimportant."

Profitable Failures

It is commonly argued that taxes on corporate profits discourage the employment of venture capital. Maybe so, but there are times when wealthy concerns risk their money knowing that in the event of failure their losses will be largely compensated by offsetting tax credits. For instance, the National Steel Corporation a few years ago invested a good many millions in the Weirton Mine, a West Virginia coal operation. "Extremely difficult mining conditions" were encountered, and in June, 1953, the mine was closed down. Later in the year it was sold to the Pittsburgh-Consolidation Coal Company, which reports that it has no plans to resume operations and has transferred Weirton's equipment and machinery to some of its other properties.

The annual report of National Steel for 1953 indicates a gross loss on this unsuccessful venture of \$7,469,303. However, after taking account of a tax credit, the net loss was \$1,160,050. In other words, roughly six-seventh of the risk was borne by Uncle Sam and only one-seventh by the company.

COEXISTENCE

A Respectable Word? . . . by J. Alvarez del Vayo

United Nations

THE Eisenhower-Churchill talks, observed the Manchester *Guardian*, were marked by "common anxieties, not common politics." The talks are over and the anxieties remain. One phrase in the joint communique can be interpreted as an American victory: the passage which rejects in advance any East-West agreement that would confirm the present status of "formerly sovereign states now in bondage." But on the whole the communique shows indisputably that the British maintained their positions on all major issues.

There is also no doubt that the occasion was a personal triumph for Sir Winston, whose extraordinary performance was watched everywhere with admiration and a kind of affectionate amusement which he always seems able to inspire. On Americans especially, who are inclined to think that life ends at sixty, this man of seventy-odd years who displays more spiritual and intellectual

strength than most living politicians half his age, left an indelible impression. Doubtlessly Washington resented the firmness of his attitude on the basic issue: negotiate or fight. It was an attitude of transcendent importance for the future of international politics. The mere fact that a Tory of his stature dared to agitate so strongly—and in Washington of all places!—in favor of normal relations with the Communist world was a portentous event. It was also a lesson for those of the Left who either out of hatred for the Communists or fear of being branded as pro-Russian, have actively supported the cold war.

It has been a bad year altogether for the cold-war protagonists. The desire for peace seems stronger and more widespread than ever, and every development tending towards peace seems to have a contagious effect. In France the remarkable rise to power of Pierre Mendès-France has only one explanation: Frenchmen want to see the finish

not only of the Indo-China war, but of the cold war. Everywhere in France he is referred to as "*l'homme de la paix*"—the man of peace. It is only on this issue that he has the support of the majority of the Assembly; on any other issue, domestic or international, his majority is likely to fall apart.

In Germany the easing of international tensions and the statements of Churchill and Eden to the House of Commons preceding their departure for Washington cost Adenauer a million votes in the recent Rhineland and Westphalian elections. In Italy the E. D. C. loses ground steadily. In other NATO countries, including Scandinavia, the attitude of the press and radio towards Russia has changed profoundly during the last year. More and more voices are being heard in favor of replacing the cold war by a policy of active relations with the East. Especially in the field of trade this drive is gaining great momentum.

Despite these trends it would be

dangerously naive to believe that the danger of war is over. In certain areas it is rising. The British still feel that peace in Asia is unobtainable so long as China remains outside the United Nations. On this point the Washington talks failed to narrow the gulf between the two countries. Commenting on the "great problem" of readapting American policy to the march of events, Walter Millis wrote in the New York *Herald Tribune*:

While British policy has frequently recognized the virtues of force and while American policy has frequently accepted the desirability of negotiation, as the President did with his acceptance of "co-existence," it is clear that American policy remains much more strongly tinged with the military, and British policy with the negotiatory approach.

On this broad and fundamental issue, too, the Washington conference brought no results. No doubt the disciples of the "policy of strength" will argue that it takes two to negotiate and that so far the Communists have refused to com-

promise. But looking back upon the three-months-old Geneva conference, it is now possible to state as fact that on several occasions Molotov and Chou En-lai advanced suggestions which, in more normal times, would have provided a basis for discussion. But the American concept that Geneva must at all costs not be permitted to turn into an "Asian Munich" led to their rejection. If it had not been for Eden's firm and serene stand and the shift in French policy the conference would have broken down weeks ago.

In a speech at Ottawa Eden suggested that perhaps China was more interested in building up its internal economy than in territorial expansion. The behavior of Chou En-lai since his departure from Washington would tend to confirm this interpretation. Chou's visit to New Delhi, symbolizing the friendship between Asia's two greatest powers, was perhaps to have been expected. But he also visited Rangoon in the company of a high Indian official. It will be remembered that Burma's premier, U Nu, had

vigorously fought the Burmese Communists in the summer of 1952. Yet Burma was the first state outside the Soviet orbit to recognize the Peking government. So Chou's visit to Rangoon can be taken as evidence that negotiation follows recognition, a lesson of which the West might take due note. In the offing for China and Burma is a pact of friendship along the lines of that signed last April between China and India on the subject of Tibet. Chou En-lai is competing with the West for the friendship of the Asian nations, and in so doing he is apparently making great efforts to allay any fears which the phenomenal growth of Communist China's military power may have raised in them.

Thus in the coming months the word "coexistence" may become respectable. It is a unique moment for the liberal, peaceful forces in the United States to regroup themselves around an imaginative and courageous foreign policy. But whether that happens here or not, Churchill's appeal will not go unheard elsewhere in the world.

HONG KONG

Britain's China Trade . . by C. P. Fitzgerald

Melbourne, Australia

STANDING on the Peak at Hong Kong, with his back to the narrow strait which separates the island from the mainland of China, an observer looks out over an extensive archipelago of other islands reaching to the far horizon. For Hong Kong, the British colony, is but one of scores of islands large and small which lie off this part of the Chinese coast. Some are part of the colony, territory ceded to Britain by China in 1841; others are British-leased territory, held on a lease which expires in 1997; the great majority are Chinese territory. All are so intermingled that it is impossible, without a detailed map, to

distinguish British from Chinese territory.

In addition to the adjoining islands the colony also includes the tip of the Kowloon peninsula, the nearest point of the mainland, on which is built the town of Kowloon with its docks and port installations. The strait itself forms the harbor of Hong Kong. Beyond the ceded portion of the peninsula stretches the Leased Territory, often still called the New Territory, which extends some seventeen miles inland. Much of the nearer district is now covered by the expansion of Kowloon town, the only visible indication of the changed status of the territory being a street called Boundary Road. The further district is extremely mountainous with a deeply indented coastline. In this region of the New Territory there are agricultural villages and fishing ports, and since the

war, a mushroom growth of light industrial factories. The Leased Territory on the mainland, like the leased islands, reverts to China in 1997. When that happens the town of Kowloon will be arbitrarily bisected and many of the essential installations of the port and the city will be found to be situated in Chinese territory. In the opinion of residents, it would not be possible to retain the colony as a viable unit when the Leased Territory goes back to China.

Even before those forty-three years have passed Hong Kong cannot live—unless in a most abnormal manner—without the consent of China. The population exceeds two millions, and the mountainous colony and Leased Territory produce barely a tenth part of the daily consumption of food. Almost all the fresh vegetables, and all the meat, as well as much of the fish consumed by

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Hong Kong's population comes daily from the neighboring districts of China, or, in the case of meat, by ocean freight from distant countries. A blockade of China, as has been proposed by some in the United States, would create a catastrophic situation in Hong Kong, and would inflict upon the inhabitants all the miseries which they might expect from open warfare with China, without doing the Chinese any comparable injury.

When the British government, tired of the inconveniences to which their traders were exposed at Canton, demanded the cession of the barren island of Hong Kong, with its deep-water harbor and small fishing village, they had no intention of founding one of the greatest cities of the Orient. They did not foresee that this naval base would become a huge commercial port dependent for its food supply on sources in foreign territory. Hong Kong, however, just grew. The advantages of a free port, the security of property in an age when internal strife made life unsure in China, the development of large steam vessels which could not ascend the river to Canton, and the great expansion of the trade with China itself contributed to the steady growth of Hong Kong throughout the century, right up to the Japanese invasion in 1941.

THAT invasion rapidly demonstrated another changed aspect of Hong Kong's relation to China. The area which the British in the nineteenth century had deemed amply sufficient to provide a defense in depth for the naval base proved utterly inadequate for such defense in the twentieth century. The Japanese took no more than a week to overrun the entire colony and territory. Even if the British defenders had not been crushed by superior numbers, they would have been forced to surrender for lack of food and water.

If the fate of Hong Kong when attacked by major military forces controlling the mainland was thus illustrated by the Japanese invasion, the subsequent Japanese occupation until the surrender in 1945 provided an example of what must happen to Hong Kong if its normal commerce is suspended for a long period. Allied attacks upon Japanese shipping, the stagnation of trade with Japanese-occupied China, and the im-

possibility of commercial relations with Free China reduced Hong Kong in those years to the last stages of misery and depression. The population dwindled to less than half a million. Food was scarce, firewood almost unprocureable. The unoccupied residences of the interned British or absent Chinese wealthy class were stripped even of their roof beams by fuel seekers. Far more damage was done to the city in this way than by the bombardment which preceded the Japanese conquest.

When the British returned after the Japanese surrender, the prosperity of Hong Kong returned also. This was not wholly the consequence of the admirable work of reconstruction carried out by the colonial authorities, but due still more to the revival of trade, shipping, and the influx of Chinese capital. The population rapidly increased, soon attaining and then far surpassing the maximum of pre-war days. The increasing economic crisis in China, the progress of the civil war, and the consequent flight of capital and enterprise to safe Hong Kong accelerated the development of the colony during the last years of the Nationalist regime. When the Communists triumphed, Hong Kong had a population of more than two millions, many thousands of whom were recent arrivals.

The experiences of the war and post-war periods had made both British and Chinese residents fully aware of the realities of Hong Kong's situation. The British understood that Hong Kong could not be defended against major military power controlling the mainland, and that the colony's economic life depended on free navigation of the seas and trade with China. The Chinese knew that the apparent safe refuge of Hong Kong was a dangerous illusion, dependent on the favor of the regime

which dominated the southern provinces of China. They fled to Hong Kong, but they kept their suitcases packed (metaphorically) ready to go further when the need arose. In the last days of the Nationalists, a current saying neatly illustrated this point of view. "First-class passengers go to the United States; second-class go to Formosa; third-class to Hong Kong."

The third-class passengers were, however, very numerous, and their presence created new difficulties and also opportunities. Already during 1947 and 1948 much Chinese capital had come to Hong Kong and turned to the development of light industry, textile manufactures, and electrical appliances. These new factories sprang up at a rapid rate in the hitherto agricultural and fishing villages of the New Territory, where land was cheaper. With the Communist triumph came thousands of poorer migrants who flooded the labor market and camped on the outskirts of Kowloon in shanty towns of insanitary squalor.

IN the late autumn of 1949 this huge population, rich and poor, Chinese and British, saw the rapid advance of the Communist armies approaching the border of the New Territory, and realized that a situation similar to that which had preceded the Japanese attack was about to reappear. Once again the mainland was coming under the control of a major military power. The climax, however, was almost an anti-climax. The British military forces were withdrawn a mile or more inside the boundary fences, which were left in charge of the civil police. The Chinese Communist forces also refrained from approaching within a few miles of the frontier, where the take-over was accomplished without incident by Communist cadres and civilian police. Hong Kong breathed again; soon the slogan was "business as usual."

Trade in fact was booming. The Communist port authorities in Tientsin—which owing to the Nationalist blockade of Shanghai was now the principal port for foreign trade—were far more efficient in their dealings with foreign shipping than the departed Nationalists. Freight rates could be reduced owing to the quicker turnover and increased demand for cargoes. The restoration of internal communications in China made



possible the flow of export goods to the ports; the manufactures of Hong Kong, almost entirely a post-war phenomenon, found a ready market in the new China. With business in this happy state, the Hong Kong residents found it easy to take a rather optimistic view of Communist China. The British had had little reason to love the Nationalist regime, which continually made trouble for Hong Kong. The Communists kept a chilly distance, and remained officially aloof, but they caused no trouble in the colony.

The Chinese community, the most vocal part of which was composed of wealthy merchants and industrialists—persons not normally enamored of Communist regimes—were also quite content with what had happened in China. They did not want to live there themselves, but they quickly realized that Hong Kong was too useful to the Communists to be in danger from them. So long as the Nationalists in Formosa, possessed of all that remained of China's naval forces, could blockade the south coast, so long would Hong Kong be the main transfer point for all trade with mainland China. Direct passages from Hong Kong to Tientsin could not be interfered with by the Nationalists on the high seas, and Tientsin itself was beyond the range of their naval power. Moreover, Hong Kong is not only a free port, it is also free from the currency restrictions prevailing elsewhere in the British Commonwealth. This fact rapidly made Hong Kong the financial center and clearing house of the region, through which the New China financed her foreign trade.

THE people of Hong Kong, of either nation, had no urge to go crusading. They did not themselves support Communist doctrine, but they were ready to trade with anyone who could be trusted to pay, and they knew all too well that Hong Kong would be destroyed in the opening rounds of any conflict with China, no matter how the fortunes of war might go thereafter. Consequently they greeted the British recognition of China with enthusiasm, and when a few months later the Korean War broke out, the hope was widely expressed that it would not involve China or Hong Kong. This hope was, of course, not realized; after Chinese intervention became a fact



the British government placed many categories of strategic goods under the embargo, and a large part of Hong Kong's trade with China came to an end. Much more serious was the United States restriction put upon exports to Hong Kong—principally cotton—which threatened to deprive the Hong Kong industries of their sources of raw material irrespective of where the finished product might be sold. These restrictions were, of course, designed to prevent strategic materials and products useful for war purposes from reaching Chinese Communist hands, but their effect was also to prevent the normal operation of Hong Kong's industries and reduce the colony's trade with nations on the democratic side of the Iron Curtain.

Hong Kong merchants saw with growing exasperation and a strong sense of grievance that whereas they were unable to import the materials they required to supply a market outside China, Japan was permitted to carry on trade in certain articles, and to import coal, from China itself. The embargo on shipping certain goods by British ships which trade with China means, in practice, that these strategic materials and products are still reaching China carried in Polish or "neutral" ships. Occasionally a ship is interfered with, but most get through. They are, moreover, entitled by international law to call at such ports as Hong Kong for water, and thus the Hong Kong merchant has the infuriating spectacle of seeing these

ships, which carry the goods he is not allowed to ship to China, lying in his harbor en route to Chinese ports. In addition to all this, he reads in the press that Hong Kong's trade with China is being criticized as a selfish and unprincipled trafficking with the enemy.

In the background of this controversial issue lies the problem of the future of Hong Kong itself. It is certain that neither the present Communist government of China, nor any conceivable alternative government, Nationalist, democratic, or "Titoist" would consent in 1997 to renew the leases upon which the New Territory and some of the islands are now held. In less than half a century Britain must come to some agreement with China upon the future of the residue of Hong Kong: the island itself, the subsidiary islands, and the tip of the Kowloon peninsula. These territories are at present British, but they are untenable in the face of Chinese opposition and useless if separated from the Leased Territories. So long as Hong Kong, conforming to the general policy of Britain, enforces embargoes on free trade with China, and in other ways can be represented as "hostile" to the New China, there can be no expectation of a favorable agreement emerging for the surrender of the colony. In Hong Kong, as in Britain, very few people expect to see any but the Communist government in power in China by the end of the present century. It is with this government that they expect to have to deal; and it is against this government that the

restrictive measures on trade are being enforced.

There would, therefore, appear to be three possible policies for Hong Kong. If the present tension between China and the Western powers is expected to continue and may lead to open war before the end of the century, one course would be to evacuate Hong Kong now, abandoning what cannot be defended. This would inflict hardship on the population, both Chinese and British, and would amount to a manifest retreat in the face of Chinese communism which could have wide and potent repercussions in South East Asia. It would not make sense unless the Western powers intended to follow up this move by

intensified action against China, including a blockade of the coast. If the present situation of partial trade, restrictions, and embargoes continues indefinitely it must be expected that the Chinese will feel little compunction in making things difficult for Hong Kong, and will at the end of the century be in a position to impose most disadvantageous terms when the question of the future of the colony has to be determined.

If a settlement with China were achieved at Geneva or elsewhere which removed the acute causes of dispute, it is certain that British and Hong Kong opinion would insist on a removal of the restrictions on trade, and would endeavor to cultivate better relations with

China so as to prepare the way for an amicable solution of the problem of the colony's future. This policy, of course, definitely implies accepting Communist China as a permanent fact, according to full diplomatic recognition and membership in the United Nations. If such a policy is politically impossible, or at best unattainable at present, it is necessary to recognize that Hong Kong must live, and to live, must trade with China to some degree. Unless the Western powers are prepared either for a retreat or a showdown in the Far East, the continuance of illogical compromises must be accepted and should not be made the cause of disputes and charges of insincerity among the partners.

IS THERE AN AMERICAN

In the House? . . . by David Cort

THERE was a day—one need not go far into history—when an American could not be frightened politically. In that golden age an American entertained absolutely any thought or dogma or iconoclasm that happened to enter his mind, and some of them were very wild. An American knew that all other Americans found their convictions in the American air. An American defied anybody on earth to invade his mind, and did not presume to invade the mind of his neighbor.

That day passed and the Roman degeneration of the republic was confirmed when an honorable magazine said editorially: "Because ideas can lead to betrayal, the impulse toward orthodoxy in a period like ours becomes almost compulsive. Conformity, sameness, and agreement tend to replace originality, diversity, and the free play of opinion as national ideals." For these lines describe an atmosphere that no American

could, or would, breathe. They declare the repeal of the perpetual democratic revolution. And they seem to guarantee that there are no Americans left in America.

If there had been a few Americans present at the McCarthy committee hearings of recent years, it is irresistible to speculate on how one of them would have responded. The following dialogue is certainly not definitive. It is simply a sentimental exploration of what might have happened had this vanished American found himself in the witness chair.

McCarthy: Gliou wham gringle pistlewait fursun etlike olem mommy nissy you wabbit (and so on, for ten minutes. MacCarthy pauses, as if expecting an answer.)

The American: Could you boil that down a little?

McCarthy: It makes me mad deep down may I say when a simple answer to a simple question to expedite this investigation to save this land from Communist subversives I don't know where I find the strength to go on (and so on, for three minutes.) I want an answer: yes or no.

The American: As soon as I hear a

question, I'll give an answer, if I know one. Are you gargling, sir?

McCarthy: If the witness finds these proceedings funny, I'd like to know it. What are you—an intellectual?

The American: Don't be deceived because I speak better English and have better manners than you, sir. I'm just as common as you. Maybe commoner.

McCarthy: I see. You want the protection of the Fifth Amendment to keep you from incriminating or degrading yourself.

The American: I'm not afraid of self-incrimination. But degradation—that's different. I don't propose to testify in any way that would degrade me in the eyes of my friends.

McCarthy: Well, we'll give you a chance to use the Fifth Amendment. Are you a Communist?

The American: I am not now, never have been, and never will be in any foreseeable future a member, associate, affiliate, co-traveler, puppet, stooge or whatever, of the Anarchist, Syndicalist, Trotskyite, Lovestonite, Communist, Fascist, or National Socialist parties of this or any other country. Does that cover it?

McCarthy: I didn't ask you about

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those last two parties. Let them be stricken from the record.

The American: I flatly forbid that. To do so would degrade me by putting me in a class with the chairman of this committee.

McCarthy: Who does this witness think he is, giving orders to the committee stenographer?

The American: I'll tell you. I'm a member of the sovereign power under this form of government. I considerably outrank you. The sovereign power occasionally delegates, but never alienates, certain rights. A long time ago we gave fairly broad privileges to the members of the United States Senate. We reserve—and have always reserved—the option of cancelling those broad privileges if they become a matter of sinister abuse, tending to endanger the whole operation of our government and the dignities of the sovereign power.

McCarthy: Gliaou wham gringle pistlewait fursun etlike (and so on . . .)

The American: This is one proposition you will have to meet head-on. Acting like a greased pig or a gopher or a schizophrenic paranoid will get you nowhere. I repeat, I am a member of the sovereign power. Hear that, and remember that.

McCarthy: Gliaou wham gringle pistlewait . . . Are you or are you not an anti-anti-Communist?

The American: That's not a simple question, but I'll give you a simple answer. In some cases and some circumstances, I have been an anti-anti-Communist just as in certain circumstances I have been an anti-anti-Fascist, and during Prohibition in this country I was anti-anti-alcoholic. The circumstances are determined somewhat by the nature of the Communist, Fascist, or alcoholic whom the antis are anti. Sometimes the antis are fakes, and their victims have not been Communists, Fascists, or alcoholics at all. In those cases, I have automatically been anti-anti.

McCarthy: You're anti-McCarthy. And I think it's fairly well-known that I'm an anti-Communist.

The American: On the contrary. A genuine anti-Communist would have asked the help and advice of most of the people you have persecuted. Some of them would actually know a Communist when they saw one, as you have not yet proved you do. To call twenty

years of Democratic administration twenty years of communism is obviously subversive. You are clearly a subversive, though not of the Kremlin variety.

McCarthy: Name-calling will get you nowhere. You have admitted to being an anti-anti-Communist. I want that on the record for action by the Attorney General.

The American: So do I. America has been anti-anti from the beginning. Abraham Lincoln was anti-anti-Negro but that didn't mean, as his enemies said, that he was hankering to run after young Negresses. Washington and Jefferson were anti-anti-people, and fought a Revolution to prove it. In 1917 we were anti-anti-Belgians and Czechs and Serbs and Rumanians but we didn't expect them, automatically and forever, to be perfect democrats just by saying the words "self-determination of peoples" over them. In 1931 and 1941 we were anti-anti-Chinese. As far as Hitler went, we were anti-anti-people but you can even be that today without thinking that all the people in the world are still wonderful after the age of five. America today is anti-anti-peace, anti-anti-freedom and anti-anti-American. The anti-antis are generally for people.

McCarthy: These Communist subversives we're ferreting out are people. Are you for them? That's what I'm trying to find out.



Des Moines Register

"He was getting a big kick out of watching the McCarthy hearings on TV until he realized these are the men who are running the government. . . ."

The American: As people, I am for them, as people. Especially these college boys who decide they're Communists for a year or two and then decide they can make some better sense out of their lives.

McCarthy: So now you want to subvert our precious American youth.

The American: We put a boy in college to try to get him to think. The best way he knows to think is generally to disagree with all the adults. I'm for him, no matter what idiotic thought he thinks he thought for a couple of years there. And I'm certainly against anybody who's against him, either then or ten or twenty years later.

McCarthy: This is open and shameful treason.

The American (laughing): I thought it would sound peculiar to you. That's not treason; it's ancient Americanism. Probably sounds just like treason to you, no doubt.

McCarthy: I know just as much about Americanism as you do, and probably a little more.

The American: Well, perhaps. America is so magnanimous it accepts even second-class citizens such as yourself.

McCarthy: So you're bringing in race prejudice?

The American: No, prejudice prejudice. First-class citizenship is open to anybody of any race, creed, or color or parentage or place of birth who roughly understands and accepts the American system, the American dream, and the American constitution. You have deliberately and consciously opted for second-class citizenship—and that is your right under a democracy. You do not believe that the citizen is sovereign over the state. Get back in the second-class coaches, boy.

McCarthy: I'll get you if it's the last thing I do.

The American: My last word to you about America is this. Americanism is not afraid. It is not afraid of communism or fascism. It will eat communism and you, possibly both together, possibly one at a time.

McCarthy: Gliaou wham gringle pistlewait fursun etlike olem memmy nissy you wabbit . . . (The American closes his eyes and dreams and presently fades away into a shadow, which faintly darkens the witness chair and then is gone, nobody knows whither.)

GREAT ATOMIC GIVEAWAY

The Private-Monopoly Bill . . by Leland Olds

WHAT would the atom bomb in the hands of private monopoly mean to the world's future? This sounds like a far-fetched question; no one directly proposes to turn the super-weapon over to private interests. Yet the pending Cole-Hickenlooper bill to amend the Atomic Energy Act offers an equivalent threat to our civilization. Hearings on the bill have been completed by the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy and, as I write, the committee is preparing to push it through Congress before the midsummer adjournment.

The Atomic Energy Act of 1946, the famous McMahon act, reveals in its very first section its authors' sense of the profound significance of the new forces with which we are dealing:

The effect of the use of atomic energy for civilian purposes upon the social, economic, and political structures of today cannot now be determined. It is a field in which unknown factors are involved. . . . It is reasonable to anticipate, however, that tapping the new source of energy will cause profound changes in our present way of life.

These wise words, the basis for the general declaration of atomic policy which follows, would be stricken from the law by the proposed Cole-Hickenlooper amendments. The authors of today's bill would apparently resolve all doubts by substituting private for public monopoly over this greatest of all energy resources.

This fact in itself could prove a delayed-action political and economic bomb of the first order of magnitude. James Finucane, testifying before the committee on behalf of the National Council for Prevention of War, saw the threat in even more concrete terms. Stating that the plutonium "ash," which under the revised law would be pro-

duced as a by-product at a score or more of privately owned atomic-power plants, is a prime-weapon material and the principal ingredient in our atomic stockpile, he added that the proposed safeguards against private-utility use of atomic fuel to make bombs are only verbal. "Might not there arise," he asked, "a larger, more sinister form . . . of 'gun-running to Cuba'?"

ONLY a week before the committee started marking up the Cole-Hickenlooper bill, Lewis L. Strauss, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, submitted a hastily prepared report on the social, economic, political, and international implications of the use of atomic energy for civilian purposes. The report was obviously designed to meet the criticism that neither the people nor Congress had been adequately prepared for such far-reaching legislation. It set the stage for the drive to turn atomic power over to the power trust without regard for the public's interest in low-cost electricity. Were it not for the great fight being waged by Congressman Chet Holifield of California, supported by Congressman Melvin Price of Illinois, both members of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, a shockingly bad piece of legislation might already be on its way to the President for signing.

According to Strauss, the A. E. C. strongly supports the Cole-Hickenlooper bill as substantially meeting all the objectives of Eisenhower's February 17 message to Congress. In his message the President urged that the McMahon act be changed to strengthen the defense and economy of the United States and the free world, as well as to encourage private participation in the development of peaceful applications of atomic energy. Strauss declared:

Continuance of complete government dominance into the period of major peacetime applications, involving as it would a basic change in the fundamental roles of

government and of private individuals and firms, could produce a change in our society as significant in its way as any that might accrue from the technical novelty of nuclear power. . . .

In order that the principal effect of realizing nuclear power may be to confirm and strengthen rather than to change our economic institutions and our way of life, we believe that nuclear power as it becomes economically attractive, should be integrated into the existing power economy of the nation; that nuclear power should be produced and distributed by the public-power systems and not by the commission.

This presents the basic philosophy of the Administration as well as of the authors of the bill. It is a position which allows for no middle ground between whole-hog federal and whole-hog private monopoly, although such a balance is the essence of the American system. The very casualness of Strauss's reference to public-power systems sharing in the development is revealing. For he admits that atomic-electric energy can be developed initially at competitive costs only in plants of capacities ranging from 250,000 to 1,000,000 kilowatts. Municipal and cooperative electric systems cannot be expected to undertake projects of such size. In Strauss's own words: "Much development work will need to be done before small nuclear plants producing at competitive costs can be built to meet small loads." Only with federal help can public-power systems be assured a share in the development of atomic energy. Neither the Atomic Energy Commission nor the authors of the pending bill envisage this as a desirable possibility.

Throughout Strauss's statement runs the theme that, for atomic power to come into its own, costs must be driven down through increased private participation. Furthermore, he hints broadly that, once the act has been amended, the government may reduce its own reactor-research and development program. He even suggests that the government may depend upon the private-power com-

LELAND OLDS, for five years chairman of the Federal Power Commission, is one of the country's foremost power experts. This is the first of two articles.

panies for the plutonium required for its military program. This recalls Finucane's warning. Every argument for the revised law strikingly reflects the Administration's determination to sacrifice enormous public benefits for the sake of a relatively small immediate reduction in the investment of public funds.

During Strauss's final appearance before the committee Holifield brought to light a proposed deal which reveals the fraudulent character of the Administration's shift in power policy. Buried in the Cole-Hickenlooper bill is a seemingly harmless clause enabling the A. E. C. to undertake twenty-five-year contracts for power supply in the Ohio valley. Ostensibly under this provision a plan has been prepared, with the bureau as sponsor and a Federal Power Commission-Ebasco Services, Inc., team as technical advisers, to carry out the President's first major move to curb the T. V. A. The plan calls for the A. E. C. to contract with two private-power groups bordering the T. V. A. on the South and West to build, own, and operate a 600,000-kilowatt steam plant near Memphis. This would replace a similar project for which T. V. A. had asked an appropriation. Theoretically the A. E. C. would buy power from the new plant as a substitute for the equivalent amount which it contracted to purchase from the huge T. V. A. Shawnee plant just completed near Paducah, Kentucky, which was built at 25 per cent less than corresponding private costs. Actually the A. E. C. would continue to take Shawnee-plant power while the big new private plant would deliver its power to the T. V. A. system. In Eisenhower arithmetic the government would save an investment of about \$100,000,000 in the new plant. In T. V. A. arithmetic the power would cost the government \$140,000,000 more over the twenty-five-year period of the contract and, in the end, the private companies and not the federal government would own the plant.

The A. E. C. balked at signing this imprudent contract unless ordered to do so. But the President, apparently crusading against the "creeping socialism" of T. V. A.—a concept given him by a multi-million-dollar propaganda campaign put on by the utilities—obligingly supplied the necessary directive. There is still a hitch, for Repre-

sentative Holifield secured a letter from the acting chief of the General Accounting Office which raises the question of the directive's legality. But the difficulty will doubtless be overcome.

The hearings had already brought to light a fundamental split in the five-man commission with Strauss and Campbell, the Eisenhower appointees, in the minority. The division was emphasized when the three Truman appointees emphatically objected to a proposed addition to the McMahon act which would designate the chairman as the "principal officer" of the A. E. C. Commissioner Thomas E. Murray, New York businessman, voiced sentiments shared by the majority when he said: "A one-man commission under any circumstances or a five-man commission that in practice functions as a one-man commission would be dangerous." He also testified that members of the commission had been excluded from some major decisions and that there were instances in which they had lacked access to atomic matters. Subsequently the proposal was revised to invest each of the five commissioners with equal

authority, but not before Chairman Cole of the Joint Congressional Committee, sponsor of the bill, had indicated the incongruous possibility of an occasion arising in which a member of the commission might not be entitled to all the facts. With the expiration of Commissioner Eugene M. Zuchert's term on June 30, the way will be paved for the President to appoint a new commissioner who would assure Strauss a majority.

The serious implications of the proposed Strauss "dictatorship" became apparent when the Joint Congressional Committee took a look at the deal under which the A. E. C. would serve as the President's vehicle for private-power "containment" of the T. V. A. For the hearings revealed the same split on this issue as on the power of the chairmanship. Commissioners Smyth and Zuchert, in identical letters to the Bureau of the Budget, characterized the proposed deal as awkward and unbusinesslike and as saddling the A. E. C. with a power contract for which it had no use.

On the other hand Strauss clearly supports the President's attempt to carry



"Yesir—peacetime use of atomic power."

out, through the Bureau of the Budget, a private-power strategy directed at the ultimate liquidation of the T. V. A.

Senator Albert Gore of Tennessee, in a brief interchange with Strauss, put the whole shoddy transaction in its proper perspective. Stating that the big issue involved was not the T. V. A., but "the integrity, the responsibility, and independence of the Atomic Energy Commission," the Senator asked Chairman Strauss: "Are you willing to use or permit the use of the Atomic Energy Commission, with the atom in its hand, to impose your power philosophy upon the United States?" Although Strauss tried to evade the question, Senator Gore finally pinned him down to the reply: "I am perfectly willing to cast

my vote in favor of the proposal."

Congressman Holifield's attempt to save our public-power policy is backed by great organizations, representing tens of millions of Americans, which have sent their spokesmen to testify before the committee. The American Public Power Association, the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, the Cooperative League of the U. S. A., the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the National Farmers Union, and the National Council for the Prevention of War speak for many more voters than do the National Association of Manufacturers and the Atomic Industrial Forum, the spearheads of the private-power drive to amend the McMahon

act. These popular organizations would support any legislation to broaden the basis for cooperation in the atomic field with the peoples of the free world. But they strongly oppose the provisions in the Cole-Hickenlooper bill which by permitting the licensing of private development of atomic power without safeguards, opening the way to almost unlimited private patents in the field of commercial atomic progress, and allowing private interests to take over federal rights in the uranium-rich public lands of the Western states, would clear the path for an unparalleled control of the country's economy. Their testimony should have made headlines, but they did not. I am going to let them talk in my next article.

BALANCE OF TERROR

Weighing U.S. Policy . . . by Arnold Bernhard

THE Secretary of State announced that it was United States policy to prohibit the imposition by any means of a Communist form of government upon the nations of Southeast Asia. The announcement was accompanied by the statement that if the dictum were violated, massive retaliation might be undertaken. This means, in effect, that we fire when we will and that the other fellow may be blasted off the face of the earth unless he beats us to the draw. If, in such circumstances, 5,000 atomic bombs could be 250 times as effective as 200, we might rest easy. But in the light of Admiral Strauss's statement that the newest bomb could be built up easily and at relatively little cost to a virtually unlimited degree of power, the ratio of the bombs in enemy hands to those in our own loses much of its significance. What counts most is who fires first.

How can the United States of Amer-

ica dictate what the form of government in other countries shall not be? Have we a right to treat it as aggression when a people overthrows an existing government in their own land and by their own efforts? If we presume that we have that right, we are in effect denying to other people the right that in the very beginning we took for our own. The United States developed out of a revolution against a colonial government. It puzzles us how the American people can stand on the proposition that a revolutionary movement toward a radically different form of government was good in our own case but would be intolerable on the other side of the world.

It is of the essence of the matter that the population of the world is increasing. The industrial and agricultural development of Asia is an absolute requirement, without which literally millions of people cannot live. If the Kuomintang failed to develop China, as was the case, it was to be expected that the people of China would become indifferent to the regime, even though it called itself republican. If the Mao-Tse-tung government develops China, even by means that are ruthless and cruel, and even if it calls

itself, and is, Communist, the people of China may be expected to support it. They must. They have no alternative except to rot.

We have read of the thousands of Vietminh rebels dying in "human sea" attacks on the French-held fortress of Dienbienphu. These men died on their own soil. They were not invaders. How, we wonder, can their victory, if it is finally achieved, be regarded by the United States government as an aggression justifying massive retaliation against Russia and China?

Of course these people are not fighting without aid from abroad. That aid, as Secretary Dulles said, comes awfully close to being aggression. But aid from abroad has always characterized revolutions of any size or importance. Our own American Revolution might not have succeeded without the help of France. Foreign aid was secretly given to the Confederate States during our Civil War. Foreign intervention certainly was a factor in the Spanish civil war.

Where the right of intervention on the side of revolution and against foreign power takes the form of open policy, as in the case of our Monroe

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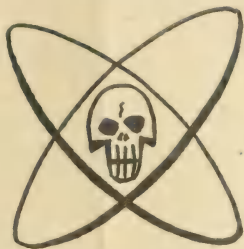
Doctrine, the moral justification lies simply in the fact that the people concerned are close neighbors. How, then, can we take the position that Asiatic nations that intervene openly or secretly in the revolutionary affairs of countries close to their borders are aggressors?

We read that our Secretary of State explained carefully to the people of South America just why we regard communism as a threat to the values upon which our social order rests. Communism, he said, is a system of government that denies religious freedom, that denies the right of free speech, that denies free elections, that denies to the individual the rights in courts of law that in our world are regarded as the inalienable rights of every man. We think that every American could subscribe to these strictures on communism with good conscience.

But, ironically, our Secretary of State voiced this condemnation of communism in Caracas, the capital of a country ruled by a junta of colonels, where freedom of speech and elections are prohibited, where severe restrictions are imposed upon religious worship, where, in varying degrees, every hateful characteristic of dictatorial communism flourishes except socialist organization of the economy. If we hate dictators, why do we tolerate them in South America? If we believe that freedom of worship and speech are inalienable rights of man, why do we tolerate their abrogation in countries close to home? If we believe that communism is evil in itself and that there can be no rapprochement in this world between Communist countries and democratic countries, why do we supply arms and aid to Yugoslavia?

If the Kremlin is allowed to extend its sway over larger and larger areas of the world, there is, indeed, a threat not only to our national existence but to those human values on which our civilization stands. But if that is the issue, the only way it can be met is by a positive program that offers the people of the world something better than communism. Our policy appears to be to offer them only a prohibition against something that they hope will be better than what they have. Their hope may be insubstantial, but thousands of men are laying down their lives for it, and men do not willingly die for no reason at all.

While no American in his right mind wishes his government to stop building up its arsenal of atomic weapons to the greatest extent possible, we can continue to work for some form of international control of all atomic weapons. Nothing in American foreign policy is so reassuring to the ordinary citizen as the knowl-



edge that we tried, through the Baruch plan, to establish international control of atomic weapons at a time when no one had those weapons but ourselves. The Russians rejected those offers.

We must continue to live, then, in an international situation stabilized, if it can remain stabilized at all, by the balance of terror. In such fearful circumstances the very least that the man in the street can expect of his government is that it state without hypocrisy and in the most straight-forward terms the rules of the game by which it will abide and by which it will expect other nations to abide. If dictatorships are to go, do they go only in the other fellow's backyard, or in our own too? If freedom of the individual is to be respected as an inalienable right of man, does that go for colonial peoples in Africa and in Asia as well as for American citizens?

If our foreign policy consists simply of denying to the peoples of the undeveloped areas of the world the right to set up their own governments and economic systems whenever such efforts receive aid from Communist sources, then our policy is merely a hopeless interdiction. If our policy is to make it possible for backward peoples to establish a better system of society, freely and without their being beholden to communism, then we must provide the help they need.

We cannot help wondering whether the experts are right in assuming that Russian power is always extended when Communist governments take control of a country. It has been observed that the only people on the face of the earth

whom the Russians fear are the Chinese. It is conceivable that the Chinese might not remain subservient to the Russians even though they have adopted a form of government and social organization similar to the Russian in many respects. As a matter of fact, much evidence indicates that the Chinese would stand as a buffer against Russian expansion if they were not forced to depend on Russia economically. Eisenhower pointed to the uncertain loyalty of the satellite countries as a weakness of the Russian empire. There is much reason to believe, as in the case of Yugoslavia, that countries beholden to Russia for aid in bringing about a revolution will not remain subservient to Russian dictation when later they find their own national interests opposed to Russia's. There is no magic in communism that holds China loyal to the Kremlin, or that would hold Indo-China, or any other nation, except economic dependence. The American policy of containment of communism, therefore, which is based upon a negative concept, might even be judged to be one of the most powerful forces in advancing Russian power.

ONE cannot help wondering what would be the consequences if America, the land of the free, were to ally itself with the nationalist movements in their struggle for political and economic advancement instead of opposing them. If United States Military technicians, engineers, and administrators brought sympathy and aid to nationalist aspirations as well as the revolutionary industrial technology, we might win firm friendships in whole sections of the world where we are now developing only bitter enemies. If the rights of man were carried abroad along with the other blessings, it is possible that the most hated nation might again become the best loved and most admired, and the fears of Communist domination could then be set aside with less bloodshed than must be contemplated under present policy.

This interpretation could prove to be wrong, but the risks seem small compared to the certain disaster that faces the world if we set the hydrogen bomb, on which we have no monopoly, against humanity's desire for a self-respecting national life and the economic development that is required to support populations.

BOOKS

Theory and Practice of Peace

STRATEGY FOR THE WEST. By Sir John Slessor. William Morrow and Company. \$3.

By Mark S. Watson

OUR LITERARY peeks into the political-military future are rarely wholly satisfying. The military soothsayers—for all the theory that a soldier is essentially a bold man—are decidedly lacking in boldness when they write about the future. And the political soothsayers, however wise in the theory of policy-making, are habitually badly informed about the very essence of a good national policy, viz. the immediately available means of enforcing it.

A new and much-needed study of "Strategy for the West," by Sir John Slessor, is admirable because it is free from both faults. Sir John was one of the great leaders of the Royal Air Force in World War II (as head of the Coastal Command he had a major part in whipping the U-boat menace) and later as chief of the Air Staff he added to his large attainments in staff matters, with their dominant concern over planning for the future. More than most, as shown in his earlier writings such as "Air Power and Armies," he has knowledge of the theory as well as the practice of war, and of other arms than his own, and of a profound truth too rarely grasped by our own soldiers and planners—that victory is not merely thrashing an enemy but, far more importantly, of "creating world conditions more favorable to yourself than if there had never been a war." Certainly that aspect of victory eluded our own war captains in 1944-45, and it is a grave question whether at this moment we grasp the fact.

Certainly there is justification for

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Slessor's initial urging that in the free world's planning against communism's aggressions we find out, and remember, what we wish to achieve. If we do, he goes on, we must retain a free-world unity and sense of common purpose, must base strategy on spiritual values, and must avoid rushing at our objective "like a bull at a gate." We must escape the confusion due to thinking that all humans are alike and that only our forms and traditions are admirable. We must recognize that we have no mission to destroy communism, but a very definite one of preventing Communist nations from dominating other nations, whether by violence or subversion. And communism is not to be fought off by a Maginot-line policy of containment, but by a "consistent, politically aggressive policy which we are brave enough to pursue because we are strong enough not to fear."

Slessor is no Pollyanna, and no evader of the uncomfortable fact. He is confident that some day the world will reach a real peace, but equally certain that it is a long way off; that meantime we must exist for years in a twilight between real peace and real war; and that we will maintain that relative calm only by possessing enough force to prevent war—not avoid war, but prevent war by our own strength and determination. So plain-speaking is he on this matter of national determination that he says bluntly: "In the last resort we should not even shrink from striking the first blow, as an alternative to bloodless defeat."

This succinct approval of a first-blow concept (on conditions) will startle a good many, as will other considered declarations on the plain necessity of the free world's maintaining a superiority in atomic weapons, possessing an absolute readiness to use them, and making both facts fully known to the world. Is an atomic war a horrible thing to contemplate? Of course. But for that reason it is something which must be prevented, and Slessor's view (which is that of our own most competent mili-

tary men) is that it is the threat of total disaster to all, and literally nothing else in the present state of the world, which will avert that disaster.

Actually, he proceeds, war in any large sense has begun to abolish itself because the great bombs have found their way into the world's armories, and "the greatest disservice that anyone could possibly do to the cause of peace would be to abolish nuclear weapons on either side." For the great bombs make war intolerable to both sides. And the outlawing of the great bombs would instantly restore the Russo-Chinese Axis's enormous manpower superiority over the free world, providing a probably irresistible temptation to World War II, and sure conquest of the free world. In the present Russia's reliability he has no faith, noting that in its thirty-seven-years' history it has shot all members of the first Inner Cabinet, all of the Politburo after Lenin (save Stalin alone), forty-three or fifty-three central organization secretaries, seventy of eighty council members, 60 per cent of all Soviet generals. He trusts Russia not at all.

Nevertheless he argues persuasively that we must continue to meet with Russia, but avoid all formal detailed pacts, seeking only general agreements for actions which are tolerable. And we must think of appeasement not as an opprobrious thing, but in its true meaning of pacification and reconciliation—by the strong. Always the strong, not the wilfully weak.

He does not see that China will always be a Russian satellite. How long will depend on the good sense of America and Britain in making a Western alliance more attractive; Russia need not be either underrated or overrated; it is not supreme. Meantime he holds that the West should aim at a comprehensive Far-East-Southeast-Asia grouping. It would be folly to scrap the United Nations, he proceeds, or seek to turn it into an anti-Communist alliance, but urges that we have the wisdom to make U. N. work—and not become despondent. It would first be well to adopt "an adult approach to the thorny problem of trade." He defends the 1951 decision not to bomb across the Yalu, simply because it would have hurt us strategically in all our Asian relations.

In conclusion Slessor offers certain

concise, clear recommendations beyond those basic ones discernible in what has been written. He stands firm for a continuance of the NATO-EDC concept (but, with some unmistakable doubts of EDC, he suggests rather an extension of the old Western Union of sovereign nations, to which as a mutually-defensive grouping he would soberly invite Russia and the satellites too). He stands for continued American participation in Europe.

Slessor also stands for German unity, coupled with assurances to France, and based on a belief that Germany never again can become an aggressor if America and Britain firmly forbid it. He stands for ultimate withdrawal of all occupation troops from Germany. He would search for ameliorating conditions acceptable to Russia. He would have the West so conduct itself as to wean satellites away from Russia. He would face the probability of East-West incompatibility for a long time to come, and against it would try to develop a "chain of Swedens," truly neutral, across Europe.

And above all is the provision that America and Britain, "the two great democratic powers who have in their hands the weapon of retribution, do not throw it aside, disrupt our unity, relax our resolve, and sink back into that same

FRIENDLY CHALLENGE TO THE CHURCHES

(Beyond selling space for publication of the accompanying material, *The Nation* is not to be held responsible for statements contained in the material.)

THE MEN who produced the new Revised Version of 1952 do not believe that the miracle-based Pentateuch is a trustworthy introduction to Hebrew history; and in this respect they represent the position of modern progressive Biblical scholarship. They agree with the late Dr. George A. Gordon, minister of the Old South Church, Boston, who said, "Slowly miracles have ceased to serve me in the evolution of my belief, in the moral campaign of my spirit" (*Religion and Miracle*, Preface).

"Miracle or evolution," therefore, is the antithesis, or dilemma, which organized religion is more and more compelled to face, whether it will or no. If the rise of Israel's mass-belief in one true God is not to be accounted for by supernatural transactions upon a flaming mountain in the desert of Arabia, we are necessarily thrown back upon a process of historical development in order to explain the religion.

Our young people, who are more or less familiar with the methods and results of science in astronomy, geology, chemistry, physics and general history, are graduated without any solid instruction in the cultural beginnings that underlie our conceptions of God and morality. They find, in the curricula of high school and college, much information about ancient and modern peoples; but they scarcely realize that there is a deadly academic ban against Hebrew history in the current scheme of general education.

When young people are exhorted to be religious, they resent the patronizing condescension of those who tell them what to do, but who are unable or afraid to face the dilemma involved in scientific progress that has at length led us into the heart of the atom. The always honest and sincere leaders in our churches must prepare to face the changed conditions that rule the intellectual and spiritual perspective of today. The situation is, of course, appalling, and cannot be dealt with easily or quickly. Suggestions about meeting the difficulty will be found in a circular that you can obtain free by sending a three-cent stamp to L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York. (One free copy only.)

blind, selfish apathy that brought us to the brink of disaster fourteen years ago."

A very thoughtful and stimulating book.

the time. He warns F. D. R. in the middle of things that if he does not win the court fight he may as well resign because he will not be able to do what the people elected him to do: "We will lose everything that we have gained during the last four years, and a great deal besides." After the defeat he notes sadly, "It looks to me as if all the courage had oozed out of the President."

Another year passes, and early in 1939 the Democratic leadership fails to squelch Martin Dies, who, as first chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, was experimenting with another technique that would be perfected in the 1950's. Ickes's comment has a hair-raising aptness today:

I cannot forget that Mussolini rose to absolute power in Italy as a result of a "Communist" hunt; that Hitler did the same thing in Germany; that Japan invaded China in order to suppress "communism"; that England has groveled on its belly before Hitler because it is afraid of communism. Dies can put his pieces together in the same pattern. It is not unlikely that as a result of his efforts a Communist scare will be fomented and kept fanned in this country, following which some man on horseback may arise

Ickes: Volume II

THE INSIDE STRUGGLE, 1936-1939. Volume II of "The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes." Simon and Schuster. \$6.

By Bruce Catton

THE second volume of Harold Ickes's secret diary—aptly named "The Inside Struggle"—is a much better book than the first volume. There is in it, somehow, more than the author ever put there. The hour in which it was written contributed something of its own, so that what begins as simple gossip assumes now and then the somber dignity of words spoken by a man who

stands at the edge of descending night and sees doom taking shape in the shadows.

The recital begins with 1937, the year when the New Deal turned a corner—the year of the great fight to remodel the Supreme Court, after which nothing was ever quite the same. It was in that fight that the nation's press worked out an effective new technique—a trick, not so much of slanting the news as of basing the entire treatment of it on the unspoken but all-pervading assumption that any departure from the extreme conservatives' point of view could be due only to original sin willfully adhered to. In a sense, the 1952 election was won in 1937. The Great Crusade was bound to come, once the court fight was lost.

Ickes seems to have sensed this at

BRUCE CATTON, a contributing editor of *The Nation*, is the author of "A Stillness at Appomattox," recently awarded the Pulitzer prize for history.

July 10, 1954

to "protect" us against this fancied danger. The result here in that event will be fascism.

Toward the end of 1939—and the end of this volume—there is another note. The war in Europe has come; America's own defense program begins to assume what will clearly be overriding importance before long; and "all of us have been greatly concerned by the inroads into Washington of Wall Streeters and economic royalists. . . . We wondered how far the President would go or would permit others to go in abdicating in favor of big business, as Wilson did at the time of the First World War. We had no illusions as to the celerity with which the 'big boys' would move in and take over control if they were not rapped over the knuckles."

New Books in Brief

Classic War Diary

MY DIARY NORTH AND SOUTH. By William Howard Russell. Edited and Introduced by Fletcher Pratt. Harper. \$4.

Russell of the London *Times*, who invented the art of war correspondence in the Crimea, arrived in the United States in the spring of 1861. He went south just as Fort Sumter fell, observed the wild enthusiasm for secession, interviewed many of the leading Confederate generals and politicians. Back in Washington, he described the panicky flight of the Federals after Bull Run in a dispatch that caused him to be bitterly attacked in the north although its essential accuracy was attested by those in the best position to know the truth. Denied facilities for accompanying the Army of the Potomac when the 1862 campaign opened he returned to London.

Russell was a superb reporter, assiduous in collecting facts, objective in interpretation, vivid and vigorous in style. He had a sharp eye for character and at a time when disparagement of Lincoln was fashionable he immediately recognized his "shrewdness, humor, and natural sagacity." His sympathetic sketch of the President is one of the high-lights of the diary.

It is good to have a new edition of this classic work which has never been republished since it first appeared. Un-

derneath everything else, of course, there is the fact that Ickes by nature was an inveterate gossip. It is impossible to miss the comparison with Gideon Welles, another gossip who kept a diary of great historical significance. There is the same consciousness of rectitude, the same haste to jot down the inside news, the rumors, the tales borne in high places; there is the same eagerness to prove a rival Cabinet minister wrong. (Welles's favorite target was Secretary Stanton; Ickes's was Secretary Wallace.)

But what raises the book far above the level of back-fence chitchat is the fact that the man had an eye for the big things as well as the petty ones. Reading this book, you can see the existing situation coming—and you can get a better understanding of why it came.

fortunately considerations of cost have necessitated much cutting which lessens its value for students even though Mr. Pratt assures us that nothing of interest to the modern reader has been omitted. Moreover the cuts, which are not indicated by breaks in the text, have been made in a way that causes many awkward transitions. There are also numerous typographical errors.

Politics in Art

BLAKE: PROPHET AGAINST EMPIRE. By David V. Erdman. Princeton. \$7.50.

This study demonstrates that every fiber of William Blake's art and poetry is saturated with politics. Blake sympathized passionately with the victims of oppression, and despised kingship, slavery, and war. Mr. Erdman shows that the odd books of engravings combining poetry and illustrations which Blake manufactured in his own workshop had a detailed and immediate reference to the struggle against monarchy. His simple, childlike lyrics and his soaring epic narratives express the same visionary libertarianism. The tiger of his most famous poem is a symbol of the divine energy which Blake saw breaking forth in protest against oppression at Lexington and the Bastille. In Blake's hands the conflicts of the French and American revolutions and

the Napoleonic wars were transformed into cloudy, majestic myths, full of action and emotion. Historical figures like George III, Pitt, and Washington became towering characters in a cosmic drama. Blake sought to do for the rise of liberty what Milton in "Paradise Lost" had done for the fall of man. Although the symbolism of his strange and beautiful books has always been elusive, Mr. Erdman now seems to have nailed it down by giving abundant evidence to show that its primary significance is historical.

The Only Jew in Town

DAN'L BOONE KISSED ME. By Felix Holt. Dutton. \$3.

This novel about Kentucky in 1845, though romantic enough, is not so cute as its kittenish title suggests. The story is of Pappy Duke Caldwell, a self-made man, suspicious of the blue-grass aristocracy but far more contemptuous of the "riffraff." Pappy Duke is so fearful of slipping down the social ladder he has climbed that he is morbidly class-conscious; he has made his sister an old maid rather than see her marry a suitor a shade beneath his position, driven his brother to drink and his son to rebellion.

The novel revolves around an event of great interest to the Kentuckians. A Jew has come to town; he is a far more powerful magnet than the foot-washing preacher or the itinerant phrenologist. The very notion of a Jew is strange, exotic, wrenched out of Biblical context and set down in the times of James K. Polk. From his advent Pappy Duke draws a favorable augury: Jews don't settle in declining towns. Others have heard differently: the coming of a Jew means a blight on the land.

It is Mr. Holt's virtue that he has not been tempted to depart from historical accuracy in describing the response of time and place to the Jew. Applied anti-Semitism—as distinguished from the attitude that hurled the epithet at Benjamin and Yulee while electing them to the Senate—was seventeen years in the future with Grant's Order No. 11. The author's Kentuckians are sharply curious, anxious to see a Jew with their own eyes; they stare, but not rudely; they comment, but even when the comment is ribald there is an undertone of respect. Even the party which accepts the blight

theory is not moved to hostility; the Jew may bring decay, but only as an instrument of fate.

It is too bad that this catalyst has only a walk-on part; as the focus of the story we could be more interested in what he might have to say than in the rather hackneyed love stories which necessarily are resolved happily.

A Minor Pleasantry

SWEET THURSDAY. By John Steinbeck. Viking. \$3.50.

"Sweet Thursday" is a minor pleasantry from a major novelist. John Steinbeck has returned to the never-never-land of Cannery Row, and the result is once again unpretentious but relaxing; a cast of intriguing eccentrics bound together by a loose and lazy narrative.

Of course, the times—World War II in particular—have changed Cannery Row. Some of its residents are gone and some, even more to be mourned, have turned respectable. The cannery plant itself is silent, shut down after years of immense activity demanded by a nation at war. There is no more fish in the neighboring sea, and therefore no canning of them. This emptiness is reflected opaquely in the lives of Mack, Hazel, Fauna, Doc, and the other survivors of post-war Cannery Row.

"Sweet Thursday," however, is in no way a nostalgic novel. The boys in the Palace Flop House are still free souls; the girls at the Bear Flag House still have hearts of gold; and Doc—the vagabond Ph.D.—is still puttering around with his sea specimens, leading a life that would have turned Athenian philosophers green with envy. If Lee Chong

and Gay are lost, Joseph-and-Mary is gained, a double-named genius of immorality and one of Steinbeck's more fascinating creations.

For a time it looks as though the war might have betrayed Cannery Row into thinking about life instead of living it. "Sweet Thursday," however, is replete with happy ending, as Doc discovers a love for octopuses and a girl named Suzy. The plot is forthrightly sentimental; Steinbeck concentrates on characterization and gentle satire. Even the portrait of Joe Elegant, a pointed burlesque of the moonlight-and-magnolia school of novelists, is not likely to arouse the wrath of any reader. The book was designed to go nicely with a cool highball and a warm sun, and it does.

It's Happened Before

V-2. By Walter Dornberger. Translated by James Cleugh and Geoffrey Halliday. Viking. \$5.

The man who directed Peenemünde, the German experimental rocket station, describes in detail the development of Hitler's "secret weapon"; the fantastic technical difficulties which were overcome; and the even greater difficulties of creative scientific work under a totalitarian regime with its bitter rivalries and constant personal struggles for the dictator's nod, difficulties which in this case delayed an invention that might have determined the course of the war to a point where it was no longer a decisive factor. A lucid, well-written book. Of particular interest today is the author's account of the Gestapo's distrust of the scientists and its arrest of key men on suspicion and false information.

Art

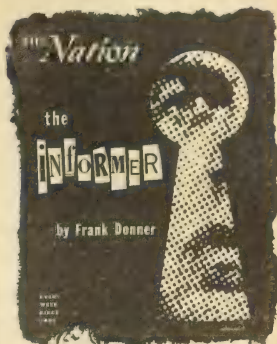
S. Lane Faison, Jr.

THE sculpture of Jacques Lipchitz, on view at the Museum of Modern Art through August 1, impresses through a combination of static weight and dynamic force. This very large retrospective, containing over 120 items, surveys work done between 1912 and the present. It has deservedly attracted interest and respect since it opened nearly two

months ago. Two collaborating institutions, the Walker Art Center of Minneapolis and the Cleveland Museum of Art, will display it in the fall and winter seasons.

Two colossal bronzes, *Song of the Vowels* and *Prometheus Strangling the Vulture*, are appropriately erected outdoors in the garden in central positions.

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Though both castings are recent, the conception goes back to the thirties and the growth of both ideas can be studied in the exhibition itself. Each of these major works seems to me to occupy a position in the total career not unlike that of the Floating Figure in the production of Gaston Lachaise. In both artists a stupendous monumentality had already been achieved; not mere size or weight, but a scale to justify such dimensions and such a displacement. The result, as in much great sculpture, is to energize the basic and eternal sculptural principle: the existence of mass in space. Prior to the Floating Figure, Lachaise seemed to be yearning to lift his gravid Maillol-like masses off the ground. The contours increasingly assumed the shape of a flame, the supports grew even slenderer as the upper masses broadened out, and eventually these human images became, as it were, Michelangelo-like beings engaged in the frenzied ballet of a Pollaiuolo. In Floating Figure, the self-levitation was finally accomplished and a new quality of freedom was attained.

In Lipchitz, the point of departure was Cubism, but not immediately, of course, for an artist born in 1891. The exhibition includes a rather Lachaise-like head of 1911, a strangely Manish-like Woman and Gazelles of 1912, and several compositions of 1913 and 1914 in which potentially Cubist forms got diverted into neo-archaic decorations. By 1915, however, in such works as Bather, and in several Figures and Personages of the following year, Lipchitz was fully embarked upon a kind of translation in three dimensions of the two-dimensional art of Cubism. I have always felt there was a degree of contradiction in such a problem, to the extent at least that simultaneity seemed to imply a fixed point of view in the spectator which sculpture by its very essence denies. Some of Zadkine's Cubist sculpture seems to me to suffer from this intellectual paradox, but on observing the early Lipchitz works I am forced to the conclusion—and not for the first time either—that an idea about art can all too easily pull down a curtain between you and the work itself. In Bather III (1917), for example, I think we have the equivalent of several superb Picassos locked around a single invisible axis into an indissoluble unity.

During the twenties, two distinct trends made their appearance in Lipchitz's work: a concern with free-flowing space (as in modern architecture) and a very contradictory concern with sheer massiveness (as in the most ponderous archaic sculpture of Egypt, Sumeria, and Mexico). The work of this decade shows, accordingly, a very wide divergence, almost as great as Van Gogh's in the Paris period. In my opinion, the more conservative massive pieces have more intrinsic value than the "transparent" from which they differ so greatly; but unquestionably both types of work have strong connections with later masterpieces as the Song of the Vowels and the Prometheus. Actually, the divergence which I have suggested is by no means complete. If the black basalt Reclining Nude with Guitar (1928) is the finest work of the 'twenties here shown—and I think it is—its voids are as imposing as its masses; furthermore, the stark rectangularity of earlier Cubist figures has been energized by a free play of bent and sinuous, though still gravid, contours. The closest parallel in painting is perhaps to be found in Leger of the same decade, as for example in *Le Grand Dejeuner*.

The more recent work effects a synthesis of all these trends, exalted by tremendous architectural scale and suffused with passion. Rodin reemerges as a source of baroque energy, just as he later inspired younger revolutionaries who reacted against what I would like to call Maillolism.

I was glad to see, in the most conspicuous position that the overweening staircase of the Philadelphia Museum of Art affords, another full-scale casting of the Prometheus: a permanent accession. Here is yet another reason why Philadelphia, with its newly reopened Gallatin Collection (allowed to depart by New York University) and its Arensberg Collection (which will open in October) will rival New York as a center for the study of modern art.

A reviewer is inevitably drawn to "original" works of art without thought of expense or public availability (after the close of the exhibition). An unfortunate result of this practice is to give far too little attention to the graphic arts, through which even the greatest artists have always sought a larger public. Among many commendable efforts in this field, IGAS (International Graphic Arts Society) may be singled out on this occasion. Founded in 1951, IGAS has commissioned prints from many leading American and European artists, with results—to judge from the examples I have seen in museums in New York, Baltimore, and elsewhere—of high quality. As such work is available for under ten dollars per print (with a minimum of four prints to be purchased during the year of membership), it seemed to me worth risking the charge of advertising a product to bring a fine project to the attention of whatever readers this column attracts. For that matter, a chief function of any criticism is to advertise what you believe in.

Records

B. H. Haggin

CONTINUING one of the most valuable of LP recording projects—that of issuing all of Haydn's string quartets played by the Schneider Quartet—the Haydn Society has issued the six quartets of Op. 33: Nos. 1 and 2 on HSQ-19, Nos. 3 and 4 on HSQ-20, Nos. 5 and 6 on HSQ-21. Nos. 2 and 3 are well known to the public, and No. 6 is one I remember hearing; but most listeners will find the others as unfamiliar as I do, and should be as grateful as I am for the opportunity to hear them and go on hearing them. The

best-known No. 3 continues to stand out as one of Haydn's masterpieces in this genre; but No. 6 with its highly elaborated first movement and impassioned Andante, and No. 5 with its extraordinary Largo, its real Haydn scherzo, its beautiful variation finale, are superb works; No. 2 is very fine; and there are fine movements in Nos. 1 and 4.

I have referred to the real Haydn scherzo of No. 5, with its fast tempo, its energy, its play with cross-rhythms and contrasts of sonority, including the trick of having a loud passage break

off unexpectedly for a silence after which it ends not loudly but softly. The Schneider Quartet plays it superbly for what it is; and the movements Haydn calls scherzos in the other five works the Schneider group plays for what they are—Haydn minuets. The one of Ländler type in No. 6 and the profoundly reflective one in No. 3 could not possibly be played fast; Haydn himself marks them *allegretto*; and the Schneider group is right in obeying this marking rather than the designation "scherzo," as it is in playing *allegretto* even the ones Haydn marks *allegro* and *allegro di molto*. After such rightness it is surprising to encounter what seems to me wrongness: the group plays the first movement of No. 3 much more slowly than I have ever heard it, with a further slowing down for what becomes an over-deliberate statement of the so-called second subject; and what seems wrong is the effect this most brilliantly high-spirited of the six first movements has when played this way, as against the effect it has when played in the usual faster tempo. It can't be that the group is obeying the *allegro moderato* direction in the score; it must be rather that it is carrying out an idea of the music that it considers better than the usual idea; and I can only say the usual idea seems the better one to me.

For the rest—which is to say in their energy, their enlivening inflection of the four parts, their integrated operation—the performances are excellent.

My recent discussion of the Haskil and Demus recordings of Schubert's Posthumous Sonata in B flat brought me letters from two readers who reminded me of Webster Aitken's performance and asked why I hadn't spoken of it "when you wrote so appreciatively of his performance of the Posthumous Sonata in C minor some years ago." The answer is that I reviewed Aitken's performance of the B flat in *The Nation* of March 3, 1951, and reported that I couldn't accept what the quietly meditative opening section of the first movement and some other quiet passages were changed to by his emphatic pounding and distention, or what the scherzo became when he played it with an iron-fingered lack of the delicacy and grace which the music itself would demand even without Schubert's directions of *pp* and *con delicatezza*, or what this treatment made

of the finale; but that his realization of the slow movement was a superb achievement. There was therefore no reason to mention the performance when I discussed the new Haskil and Demus recordings.

There is a minimum cost for the best in reproducing equipment; and those who can't afford this minimum have to be content with the good that is less expensive. But my own recent experiences in assembling a moderate-priced set-up for the country—together with other people's experiences—have taught me that there is a minimum cost for the merely good, and have given me a horrifying image of the mixture of distorted musical sound with the various noises from cheap motors and amplifiers that many people know and accept as reproduced music.

Take motors, for example. I mean just assemblies of motor, turntable, and pickup-arm without automatic record-changing mechanisms (but in passing I will mention that the minimum cost of an automatic changer with an arm that tracks well enough not to erase what is engraved in the grooves appears to be the price of the Garrard Triumph). A year ago I suggested the Garrard manual assembly, only to be informed by a reader that the vibration transmitted by the plate to the arm produced a bad rumble, and that the arm itself tracked badly. He suggested getting a good separate motor and arm, and reported his satisfactory experience with a General Industries DR motor mounted on a heavy plywood base with rubber washers between the metal and wood where the motor was screwed down, and a Clarkstan arm. But my service man reported several unsatisfactory experiences with this motor, and a satisfactory experience with a Collaro manual assembly, which however was followed by unsatisfactory experiences, including mine. And so the minimum cost of a good motor and turntable appears to be the price of the Rek-O-Kut LP-743, with which I suggest the Livingston as the minimum in arms. But I should mention that the vibration from my expensive Rek-O-Kut T-12-H was magnified by the cabinet to a disturbing hum that was eliminated only when the plate was mounted on U. S. Rubber Company A-900 shock mounts.

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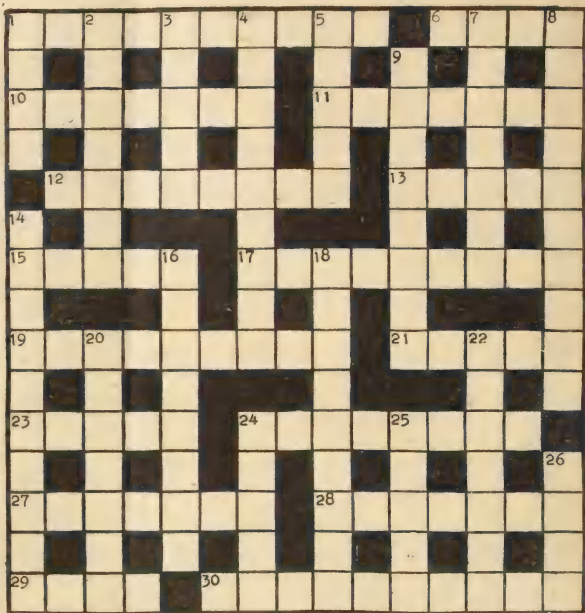
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- 6 The way to injure one animal in thousands. (4)
- 10 and 11. Just one escape after another? (7, 7)
- 12 This support certainly doesn't suggest a lover's knot. (8)
- 13 Imposter which could be disguised as 25. (5)
- 15 Still trips, however! (5)
- 17 One of those things that necessitate your having connections; (perhaps someone will put in a plug for you!) (9)
- 19 Backwards in Ella, or Ella backwards. (9)
- 21 Famous head of a band is nothing more than 29. (5)
- 23 These people sound rather cheesy. (5)
- 24 Is, with the virtuous about to inflict punishment. (8)
- 27 Burn or build about a thousand. (7)
- 28 Get off the plane? (7)
- 29 The palace of Darius was here. (4)
- 30 Not exactly what Paris chuckled about! (4, 6)
- 4 Enlarge, not quite so much as one who leaves his country. (9)
- 5 and 20. Steal crackers from country stores? (5, 7)
- 7 Greek. (7)
- 8 It might carry major articles rather than private property. (7, 3)
- 9 The word to pass them was part of a political campaign. (8)
- 14 What to do at the complaint window is part of the game. (5, 5)
- 16 His death was staged. (8)
- 18 Delve about the possessive article—it is irrelevant. (9)
- 20 See 5 down.
- 22 Follows the down-beat. (7)
- 24 Pindar claimed it the best of healers, if good. (5)
- 25 An old clasp. (5)
- 26 The Atlantic, even when cold, contains it, as does 13. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 574

ACROSS—1 BEGINNER'S LUCK; 10 OPUSCUM; 11 PROVIDO; 13 ARMOR; 14 REBELS; 16 FINDINGS; 19 LINGER ON; 20 OIKESSA; 22 and 9 PETIT FOUR; 23 TELEVISION; 25 DELILAH; 26 OMNIBUS; 27 COUNTERFEITER.

DOWN—2 EPISODE; 3 INSTALLMENT PLAN; 4 NOMADS; 5 REPLEVIN; 6 LEONARDO DA VINCI; 7 CHIPMUNKS; 8 DOCTORAL; 15 PUNCTILIO; 17 STANDISH; 18 SOFT SHOE; 21 and 12 FLY OFF THE HANDLE; 22 PADS; 24 SABLE.

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THE AGE OF UNREASON

IN THE EARLY nineteen hundreds there was a young man who went to London in the summers and haunted the second-hand bookshops in Charing Cross Road. His bills for books were large, but his family did not protest them, thinking that books were preferable to wine, women, and song.

Some years later his young niece had the run of his books. She read what struck her fancy and no one censored her choice. It was thought that if she understood what she read she was old enough to do so; if she did not understand—what harm was done. This was an attitude which belonged to an age of reason, for the more a man learns of the past the better he is prepared to assess the present and to act wisely in the future.

We now seem to live in an age of unreason—an age when one hears the slander of many and fear is on every side. In this modern world the man in the street is a powerful individual. He holds the fate of more than his own country in his hands, for he is a danger to everyone if he is ignorant and a prey to hysteria. Today he is afraid of communism; but the history of Russian ambition is long and did not originate with the present government. He hears our scholars slandered and their loyalty questioned because they believe in freedom of opinion and the unfettered pursuit of knowledge. Is he unaware that this is the method of totalitarianism? While he must not be blind to the real dangers without, he must not let unscrupulous men destroy his freedoms within.

Has he forgotten so quickly how the world went mad in the 1930's when men burned books and

drove out their scholars—all in the name of racial purity and superpatriotism; when they denounced their neighbors and listened to the mouthings of demagogues?

Has he forgotten the Inquisition and its persecution of those who defied it? In 1632, Galileo's famous *Dialogue*, a passionate fight against any kind of dogma based on authority, was banned and Galileo was summoned to Rome by the Inquisition. Yet perhaps no other book had such a combined impact upon the thought of philosophers, scientists, theologians, and the literate of that day.

What happens in the future rests in the hands of the man in the street. He can sit back in indifference or in helpless bewilderment at what is going on around him. Or he can stand up and declare himself. By reading history he can see that in similar crises it was not until men of good will protested and fought that right and reason have prevailed.

The members of the American Library Association make it possible for all men to read books; in serving literature they also serve democracy. For knowledge is power. In the constant struggle for the possession of men's minds, we in the universities, the presses, and the libraries of this country must play our part. We have a common responsibility—to keep knowledge free and unbiased and available to all. We must have the courage to resist threats from all quarters and to prevent the demagogues and book-burners from taking over here. It is not just an academic point: it is a matter of our survival and the survival of the rest of the world.

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THE *Nation*

July 17, 1954

20¢

America's No. 1 Strong Man

by Edgar Kemler

The People's Atom

by Leland Olds

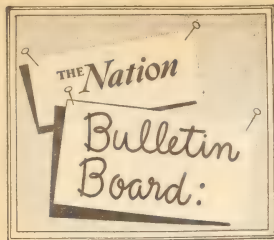
EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

Benelux Disunion

C. de Dood

Maury the Maverick

Hart Stilwell



I HAVE BEEN celebrating *The Nation's* eighty-ninth birthday this month by looking over the first four issues published in July, 1865. Since this is summer, I found myself skipping such imposing items as *The Essence of the Reconstruction Question* and *The Social Influence of the National Debt*. Instead, I got sidetracked by the advertisements.

It seems that even in those less (?) commercial days, the testimonial was a sturdy aid for the enterprising copy writer. In an advertisement for the "Universal Clothes Wringer with Cog Wheels" (\$10, cheaper model \$8.50) no less a lady than Mrs. Henry Ward Beecher says: "The inventor of this machine may have the satisfaction of knowing that he has changed one of the most toilsome parts of woman's work into a most attractive amusement."

Hoop skirts represented a formidable problem, but the Messrs. West, Bradley, and Carey offered the solution: "A lady having enjoyed the pleasure, comfort, and great convenience of wearing our Duplex Elliptic Steel Spring Skirt for a single day will never afterward willingly dispense with their use."

Mindful of today's claims by real-estate agents that virtually every suburban area—no matter what the distance—is "only forty minutes from the heart of the city," I noted that a gentleman offered for sale his country estate, "only one hour from the city." He did not specify whether it was by foot, horse, railroad, or what.

The Metropolitan Insurance Company seemed to have the jump on its rivals by promising "if premiums are paid in gold, losses will be paid in gold." And a forecast of the present plethora of good titles in the paper-back book trade was clearly evident in the dignified announcement by Ticknor and Fields that they were publishing the works of Whittier, Browning, and Holmes in tasteful, dignified editions for only 50 cents in order to gain them wider distribution.

The Nation was an immediate success. The first two issues became collectors' items. By the third issue the magazine could boast a roster of "regular and occasional" contributors including Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, John Greenleaf Whittier, Samuel Eliot, Henry James, and William Lloyd Garrison. It could also refer loftily to snide observations on it from organs like the *New York Times* as "inaccurate and

of no consequence," something to be expected from the "light, spicy newspapers."

"A MILLION YEARS AGO," says our distinguished foreign editor, J. Alvarez del Vayo (former Foreign Minister of the Spanish Republic), "I played a good game of soccer." I mention this apropos of a newspaper story from Gibors, an industrial area in southern France, where Spanish Republicans in exile have formed a soccer team to compete in a league with local French clubs.

The grand prize for the winning team is a special cup which the league has designated the "J. Alvarez del Vayo cup." The Spanish youths, under the direction of two veteran Republicans, Beltran and Perales, have scored an impressive series of victories, and stand a good chance of winning the Del Vayo trophy. This news has naturally delighted our foreign editor. Mindful of his ever-optimistic spirit, I expect him to show up at the office any day now with a pair of knee guards.

IT'S STRICTLY a busman's holiday when our editorial director embarks on a vacation. In the course of a few weeks of alleged holiday, Carey McWilliams found time to speak on the baleful impact of McCarthyism on foreign and domestic policies under the auspices of the following groups: Great Neck Forum, Great Neck, New York; Chicago Committee for Academic and Professional Freedom, Chicago, Illinois; Friends Committee on Legislation, Berkeley, California; First Unitarian Church, Los Angeles, California; and the Southland Jewish Organization, largest Jewish group in Southern California. His address before the Quaker group in Berkeley was recorded by radio station KPFO for subsequent rebroadcast.

ONE OF OUR READERS tells me he has some two years of *The Nation* in his files. Says he'd be happy to give them to some individual or organization. If you would like them, please drop me a card.

MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

Mr. Miller's "Freedom Bill"

Dear Sirs: Permit me to express my unqualified approval of Arthur Miller's "Modest Proposal." Oh, there will be protests. No doubt you have already received a sizable batch of poison-pen letters from professional bleeding hearts, phony liberals, and self-appointed guardians of our civil liberties. (How typical of this latter group that they should fail to recognize the *only* practicable means of preserving those liberties.)

However, the plaintive yelps of the red-tinted fraternity merely prove that you, and Mr. Miller, are on the right track. You may rely upon unwavering support from the responsible leaders of public opinion. It will be crystal-clear to every thoughtful American that had this proposed law been in effect ten years ago, we would not have lost 600,000,000 people to the Communists.

A suggestion in closing. Mr. Miller's secondary title (Proposal for the Pacification . . .) while comprehensive and lucid, appears somewhat cumbersome. I believe that this proposed law, when ready for submission to the legislative body, could more appropriately be designated the Freedom Bill.

Riverside, Calif.

MILTON SMITH

More Comment on Frank

Dear Sirs: Waldo Frank's plea to rediscover the "real roots of our culture" is a challenge and should act as a rallying point for all who want to salvage the best our Western culture has produced. Humility is our great need; we are so apt to say that we have all the answers.

The need for humility applies particu-

larly to our dealings with the peoples of Asia. How true it is, as Mr. Frank says, that "all our wealth and gadgets do not bring us comfort . . . And all our power does not succeed in making two billion East Europeans, Asians, and Latin Americans behave as we do." Why should we want them to? They have their own contribution to make, and it is a valuable one. For six years I taught in the hinterland of China, and I learned much more of value than I ever taught.

I am deeply appreciative of Mr. Frank's article. I'd like to make it must reading for everyone in our government from President Eisenhower and our Congressional leaders down through state and municipal officials.

CORA MAY SLEDGE
Chicopee Falls, Mass.

Dear Sirs: Waldo Frank's obfuscations, I am afraid, only add to, rather than decrease, anti-Communist hysteria. I find his article obscure and murky. The amazing thing is that *The Nation* considers it the opening of a debate. A debate about what? How can you debate when you're not sure what the man is talking about? All I could gather is that he is anti-Communist and is angry at anybody who is not, or at those who are anti-Communist in their way rather than his way.

Frank, of course, is entitled to his opinion and it is the duty of *The Nation* to be the forum for various and conflicting opinions. I have noticed, however, that while your political articles are almost always lucid, concise, and liberal, your book-review section is often a maze of obscurantism. So please, in the future, assign—or consign—Frank and his private

(Continued on page 59)

The Shape of Things

The Republican Pursuit of Democrats

IS THE leadership of the Democratic Party in Congress capable of recognizing a clear threat to the very existence of that party? This is the issue presented by the action of Senator Butler's Internal Security subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee in urging favorable action on S. 3706, which would add a new category of "Communist organization" to the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950. At present the act applies to two classes of organizations—"Communist-action" and "Communist-front" organizations. S. 3706 would add a third category—"Communist-infiltrated." The wording is all-inclusive; any organization could be haled before the Subversive Activities Control Board on a charge, originating in the sole discretion of the Attorney General, that it was Communist-infiltrated.

One need only glance at a document issued by the Republican Policy Committee on May 6, "The Republican Pursuit of American Communists," to recognize that, among other intended victims, the Democratic Party is the target of S. 3706. The statement charges that the Democratic Party has long been "infiltrated by Communists" and that both its New Deal and Fair Deal wings have consistently been at sword's point with the Republicans over "the infiltration question." If S. 3706 is enacted, therefore, one may predict that Mr. Brownell will move at once against certain state and county central committees of the Democratic Party as well as certain local Democratic clubs.

Attorney General or Fuehrer?

Mr. Brownell will of course contend with great piety that he is not attacking the Democratic Party as such, that he is only attempting to "clean up" certain local cesspools of Democratic subversion. But the Democratic Party will be the unnamed defendant. Indeed the groundwork for proceedings of this character has already been carefully laid. In the recent Seattle hearings of his committee Mr. Velde has at great pains to encourage the informer Barbara Hartle to testify that the Democratic Party in Washington had been "infiltrated" by Communists. On the same junket the Velde committee subpoenaed Bert Coffey, a member of the California State Democratic Committee. Mr. Coffey denied present

membership in the Communist Party, but his refusal to answer questions about prior membership prompted Representative Clyde Doyle to comment: "You are a Democrat and so am I, so I am urging you on that level to speak out against the criminal Communist conspiracy." Elements of Democratic leadership unquestionably share Mr. Doyle's willingness to cooperate with Republicans in a plot to destroy the Democratic Party.

Failure to defeat S. 3706—and only a united Democratic opposition is likely to defeat it—will place the very existence of the Democratic Party at the mercy of a Republican attorney general. Even if Mr. Brownell were merciful, which he is not, the failure of the Democratic leadership to oppose the bill in Congress will encourage the right-wing Democrats to purge every member of the party who has been named or "fingered" before a committee. And by this time nearly every New Deal or liberal Democrat has appeared on one or another of the various indexes. Thus rank-and-file Democrats should lose little time in demanding that the heads of the party take a position against a bill which, if enacted, would make it possible for Mr. Brownell to fashion a one-party system on the Nazi pattern.

The Right of Asylum

With Colonel Castillo Armas in power as head of the ruling military junta, Guatemala's counter-revolution is off to a rather uncertain start. Its first acts were to suspend the agrarian reform and disfranchise the "illiterate masses," meaning some 73 per cent of the people. Jails and foreign embassies are crowded, the former with members or supporters of the previous government who were not lucky enough to find refuge in the latter.

Secretary Dulles is evidently getting ready to recognize the new regime, as he most certainly should. To refuse to do so would show a mean nature; like a man who refuses to recognize his own child just because it happens to be a bastard. In any case the Castillo setup conforms to a T with Washington's growing predilection for right-wing governments, even though established by force, over left-wing governments, even though freely elected.

The question of asylum may well cause trouble. Mexico, whose embassy is bursting with 500 or more refugees, has requested safe-conduct for former President Arbenz, former Foreign Minister Toriello, and

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several other leaders of the old regime. Other countries harboring refugees are following suit, and it is clear that a decision cannot be put off long. But the new junta pretends that it must scan the record of each political opponent now sheltered in a foreign embassy; anyone charged with a "common crime" will be held. This ruling could be used to reach President Arbenz and most of his colleagues, since Castillo is assembling a fine collection of charges, ranging from murder to stealing public funds, to lodge against them. But if he follows this course he will collide head-on with Latin America's most stable and revered traditions.

A New York Herald Tribune dispatch from Guatemala City suggests that legal support for rejecting the Mexican request "may be found in the argument that signatories in the Caracas convention denouncing communism should not give asylum to Communists." The dispatch fails to mention that another resolution voted at Caracas uncompromisingly backed the principle of political asylum. For the Castillo regime to refuse safe-conduct to refugees who have been given political sanctuary would involve it in a diplomatic row it can hardly afford at this stage. Mexico, in particular, will neither deliver the people it is sheltering nor long endure the intolerable nuisance of keeping them in the embassy.

Our War Against the Kurds

THE shoddiness of the American alibi for arming Iraq is sharply exposed, quite inadvertently, in a recent series of dispatches from Iraq to the New York Times. Emphasizing that "no one, Iraqi or otherwise, believes that a force capable of really slowing a major Soviet thrust can be built here, but some Iraqi strength in being might deter the Kremlin from launching an attack," Robert G. Doty quotes American and Iraq sources as stating that the real threat to the Baghdad regime is in the exposed position of the Kurds, who might be open to subversion by the Soviet Union. And it is to guard against this that we are arming Iraq.

The 900,000 Kurds in Iraq—nearly one-quarter the population—have been seeking autonomous or semi-autonomous status. Periodic rebellions have been put down by the Iraqi army with the help of the British. If the danger of Kurdish rebellion with Soviet help is real, then the arming of the Iraqi government only increases the danger. Why would not the Kurds turn their anger both on the Iraqi government and the country which is strengthening Baghdad's military capacity to frustrate their nationalistic aspirations?

The insecurity of the Middle East is real. It stems from social economic and political instability. Iraq, rich in land, water, and oil is an underpopulated country with a 90 per cent illiteracy rate; disease is so rampant that the average life span is 26 years. The per capita income is less than \$90 a year. To suggest that giving

arms to Iraq will stabilize the country, or to arm any Arab state as the first act in the process of seeking security, is only to store up a gigantic headache if not a gigantic disaster. For it can only accelerate the alienation of the people from us, while adding nothing to the military strength of the area. Not one Arab state is secure either against rebellion or a possible Soviet attack.

We may see ourselves in the role of the world's policeman. But do we have enough man power to police 2,000,000 square miles of areas in ferment? If we are truly seeking security, we should abandon our present tortuous policy of seeking to propitiate the amour-propre of decadent governments and get on with a real offer of large-scale development for the area in honorable exchange for settlement of the Arab refugees in Arab countries and a formal end to the Palestine war.

Such a program may not win us an immediate Middle East alliance. It can win us the friendship of the peoples of the area. That friendship is the only solid basis for security.

Knowland's Needle

THE so-called "internationalist" wing of the Republican Party, led as usual by the whip-cracking Mr. Dulles, has scored a tactical if not a strategic victory over the Congressional Asia-Firsters led by Senator Knowland. The Secretary made plain—much plainer than the President—the undesirability of any resolution which would commit the United States to take a walk if Communist China were admitted to the United Nations. He said, in effect, that the resolution was undesirable because it was unnecessary.

In stating this the Secretary made two assumptions, one of which is misleading and the other is unjustified. The first was that Communist China can be kept out of the Security Council by a simple veto. This is a reversal of the American position in 1950, when the Soviet Union sought to gain Peking's admission to the Council. At that time Ernest A. Gross, the United States representative, shared the general view that the problem involved not the admission of a state but merely the acceptance of credentials—Communist China's or Nationalist China's—and was therefore a "procedural" matter and not subject to the veto. The State Department has now clearly changed its mind. But the legal question is still moot, at the very least. According to the *New York Times* some U. N. diplomats are insisting that "the only way out will be to ask for a ruling from the International Court of Justice."

The Secretary's second assumption was that it would take a two-thirds majority to admit Communist China into the General Assembly. The facts are somewhat different. Article 18 of the Charter lists certain "important questions" which must be decided by a two-thirds

rather than a majority vote, but the question of the acceptance of credentials is not included. However, the same article permits the Assembly, by a simple majority vote, to add to the list. Should a resolution be presented to admit Communist China to membership in the Assembly, the United States may either ask for postponement of consideration for another year, or request that the matter be voted an "important question" and thus be made subject to the two-thirds rule. In either case the United States would have to gather a majority to have its way. Only after the Assembly had agreed by majority vote that the acceptance of Communist China's credentials was an "important question" would Washington be in the strong position of needing only a one-third vote to block Peking.

Nose-counting will be a favored pastime at the U. N. for the rest of the summer. But by September, when the Assembly meets, so much can have happened to shift the picture that no one's guess at this stage is worth very much, not even Mr. Dulles's.

IF Senator Knowland has lost his itch to take a walk, he has quite clearly not lost his itch to run the Republican Party. His maneuvering last week gained him considerable ground. He helped to keep Secretary Dulles away from Geneva. He succeeded in taking the headlines away from Vice-President Nixon, a very gratifying result from his point of view; and, as an Asia-Firster and a stalwart champion of Nationalist China, he has succeeded in making the question of Communist China's admission to the United Nations a major campaign issue and put the Democrats once more on the defensive.

Under its present leadership, and on the basis of its present policy, it is difficult to see how the Democrats can fight back effectively. Minority Leader Johnson's "me too," even if delivered in a somewhat less strident voice than Knowland's original demand for a walk-out, was clearly not designed to wrest the initiative away from anybody. The truth is that on this issue they are caught in precisely the same trap as they have been on the issue of McCarthyism. Having granted the validity of the objective, they can only quarrel childishly about the means to attain it. What the Democratic leadership needs is a good dose of Churchillian Toryism in international affairs.

Thanks largely to the supineness of the opposition, then, both the Republican Party and Senator Knowland can continue to count their blessings. The party, through adroit maneuvering, has once more averted a split in its ranks; and the Senator, who has his eye on the entrance to the White House as well as the exit from the United Nations, undoubtedly hopes he has strengthened his position in California, which will send the second largest delegation in the country to the Republican National Convention in 1956.

FLANK ATTACK ON U.N.

New U. S. Maneuver . . by J. Alvarez del Vayo

United Nations

READERS of the New York Times probably gave little attention to the following paragraph from a story by Michael L. Hoffman, reporting on the present session of the Economic and Social Council in Geneva: "After Mr. Hammarskjöld had spoken, Preston Hotchkis, United States delegate, made one of the sharpest attacks ever heard in the Council on the tendency of the United Nations' three regional commissions—for Europe, Latin America, and the Far East—to operate without reference to the overriding authority of the Secretary General and the Economic and Social Council." Apparently no more than an expression of bureaucratic concern for the proper functioning of the international organization, Mr. Hotchkis's statement was in fact a political attack of a most serious sort. The story behind it should be told.

First, a word about the three regional commissions, their chief executives, and the work they have accomplished. The Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) has its headquarters at Geneva. Its executive secretary is Gunnar Myrdal, and this writer has found so many occasions to praise his work that little needs to be added about him. The Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), with headquarters in Bangkok, deals with the following territories: Brunei, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, China, Hongkong, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Laos, Federation of Malaya, Nepal, North Borneo, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sarawak, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. Its executive secretary is the distinguished Indian economist Dr. P. S. Lokanathan. The Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), centered in Santiago, Chile, is headed by the Argentine economist Dr. Raul Prebisch. Before Perón came to power, Dr. Prebisch's services had been used by successive Argentine governments. A genuine democrat, he declined to serve Perón and came to

the United Nations in spite of official opposition from Buenos Aires. Now even Perón takes satisfaction in having it known the world over that an Argentine is doing so excellent a job.

The meetings of the ECE in Geneva are among the most important events of the United Nations. Though its activities are deliberately kept within a firm economic frame, its efforts to develop East-West trade have been an extraordinary political contribution to the cause of understanding among the nations. It has shown great imagination in selecting its areas of study and complete integrity in its reports even on the most "sensitive" of subjects.

ECAFE, during the seven years of its existence, has greatly helped the Asian countries to deal with an economic situation that everybody knows is far from satisfactory. As external loans and investments are scanty, it has proposed measures for increasing national income with little aid from foreign capital. It has initiated a great number of regional-development projects, discovering, advising, and training directors and technicians and thus making technical assistance a reality. The expansion of trade, housing, and all that contributes to improving a desperately low standard of living have received its constant and intelligent attention.

ECLA, composed of the twenty Latin American states together with France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States, has given special attention to the formulation and coordination of economic-development policies aimed also at improving living standards.

The regional commissions have earned great praise in the United Nations as well as in the countries benefited by their activities. In receiving their executive secretaries when they visited New York, Secretary General Hammarskjöld declared his belief—that the regional commissions were among the most important branches of the U. N.

in the economic field. He made no reference to their ignoring "the authority of the Secretary General and the Economic and Social Council" on which Preston Hotchkis had so caustically commented.

The last session of the General Assembly expressed its confidence in the economic commissions by adding \$10,000 each for ECLA and ECAFE: the entire cost of maintaining the three commissions is no more than \$4,000,000 a year.

IN VIEW of all this how can one explain the attack by the United States delegate—an attack of unprecedented violence in a discussion of economic and social matters? The answer is to be found in Washington's resentment of the independence of thought and action which characterizes the men who direct and staff the three commissions. Apparently the United States would like to have Point Four, Technical Assistance, and Economic Regional Planning carried out in intimate connection with the necessities of the cold war. It would like to exercise pressure—strengthened by the fact that America after all provides most of the dollars—through the office of the Secretary General in New York. Hence the recent criticism and the talk about the need of "greater coordination."

This is only the beginning of an offensive which must be understood and counteracted in the higher interest of the international organization. In commenting on the Guatemala maneuvers I spoke of the "war against the United Nations." That was war in the political domain. Now we see the first skirmishes in the most important sector of the economic field. The world organization was never designed as a private agency of any great power, whether the United States, Russia, or, one day, China. All the nations—not one nation or another—assumed at San Francisco the historic task of promoting peace and welfare among the peoples of the earth.

NO. 1 STRONG MAN

The Asia-First Admiral . . by Edgar Kemler

THERE is still something bizarre and unreal about Admiral Radford's now-defunct plan for American intervention in Indo-China. Reconstructed from unofficial leaks—the official story has not been published—it reads like a spooky chapter out of H. G. Wells's "The Shape of Things to Come."

Two aircraft carriers, the Essex and the Boxer, were deployed in the Gulf of Tonkin; long-range bombers in the Philippines and Okinawa were stripped for battle. On the morning of April 28 a force of 500 planes was to drop tactical A-bombs on the Vietminh troops besieging Fort Dienbienphu. If, as seemed probable, the first strike failed to break the siege, others were to follow. And if the subsequent strikes brought the Red Chinese overtly into the war, which was also considered probable, then America's atomic arsenal would be directed at Peking.

This last contingency was an old Radford favorite. Two years earlier he had told a Congressional committee that Red China would have to be destroyed even at the cost of a fifty-year war on the Asiatic mainland. Radford never got the green light for his strategic concept. For almost a month this spring—from April 3 to April 25—he fought for it almost with desperation. But neither the President nor Congress nor the British nor even the French, who were the ostensible authors of the plan, were willing to share the responsibility with him.

Radford is one of the most articulate and persuasive military men ever seen in the Pentagon. But on April 3, when eight Congressional leaders, including Senator Knowland, a great Radford admirer, first heard of his plan, they were frankly flabbergasted. Among other things, they could not forget that atomic annihilation is now a two-way street. A

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Admiral Radford

few weeks later Vice-President Nixon came to Radford's aid with his famous off-the-record speech to the nation's editors. "It would be more expedient," he said, "to compromise by giving Red China a seat in the United Nations. But we must adhere to principle." Face to face with Radford in London on April 26, Churchill replied to Nixon's argument: "If you adhere to your principle, it will be the greatest mistake you have ever made."

At the moment Congress is piqued at the British because of their "expediency" in urging the seating of Red China in the United Nations. But in April, when the expedient British took responsibility for the final veto on the Radford plan, Congress heaved an audible sigh of relief. In view of Nixon's speech it is ironic indeed that Arthur Summerfield, the Postmaster General, is now suggesting "Ike kept us out of war" as the Republican campaign slogan for the 1954 Congressional elections.

Hindsight makes it appear that the Admiral should have been kept at his desk in the Pentagon. His half-military, half-political role was too suggestive of the "man on horseback" that Americans have traditionally feared and hated.

Those who opposed putting a military man in the White House pictured Eisenhower as such a character, though at present he is probably thought of as too tame rather than too belligerent a President. Now the chairman of his Joint Chiefs, whom he consulted about three times weekly during the intervention crisis, has revived the specter. This is not to say that Radford covets the role for himself. On the contrary, he seems to be a remarkably self-effacing and dedicated official. His strategic plans, however, as he points out, were designed to meet "a three-pronged threat" from Soviet Russia—a threat that is politico-economic and psychological as well as military. While these plans were being seriously considered, he loomed larger than Defense Secretary Wilson, who is nominally his boss, and at least as large as Secretary of State Dulles.

As a professional navy man Radford's competence is rivaled by only one or two others. Yet knowing his far-ranging plans, many people were surprised by his appointment to his present job, as he was himself. One day, driving back to the Pentagon after lecturing 200 service officers, he told an aide: "It's hard to believe that I'm actually in this spot. I just haven't faced up to it yet." Radford is so commanding a person that it is difficult to humanize him. With his steel-gray hair, his irregular teeth, his level stare, he looks exactly as a four-star admiral should look. He is so meticulous, his aides say, that he can reach into the cupboard and pack his bags in the dark. Newsmen feel dampened in his presence; yet he has an awkward, disarming smile that sets them partially at their ease. During World War II a pilot under his command remarked of him: "I always had the feeling that if he called me in and looked me in the eye, and said, 'You're to take off in fifteen minutes and you won't come back from this flight,' I'd go right out and take off."

His great success in the military

sphere has given him confidence in the politico-economic sphere, which he believes to be closely allied to it. The same paternalistic rule which prevails in the former, he says, could also prevail in the latter. In 1949-50, when he was High Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, which includes the northern Marianas, the Carolines, and the Marshalls, he looked after the 54,000 Polynesian inhabitants, a contemporary said, "as though they were his own children." He fostered schools for general instruction and for teacher-training. He set up an Island Trading Company to export copra, the islands' main product, and to import the goods the natives actually needed instead of the canned oysters and so on they thought they needed. He had a tank landing craft fitted out with an X-ray machine, a dentist's chair, and sundry medical equipment and sent it through the islands to provide the natives with free check-ups. The United Nations, the islands' trustee, has commended Radford for these innovations. The Interior Department, which has carried on the Admiral's work since July, 1951, has also been commended. Indeed, until the recent protest of the exiles from Bikini, the atomic-test island, it looked as if United States island administration was a complete success.

Aviation, particularly naval aviation, is the grand passion of Radford's life. When as a wide-eyed boy he saw his first planes at an international air show at Chicago in 1910, "he stood before [those] ancient aircraft," one writer has said, "the way some men have stood before the Mona Lisa or Michelangelo's David or the Colossus of Rhodes." But it was not until four years after his graduation from the Naval Academy—he stood 59th in a class of 178—that he became a qualified pilot. He spent the intervening years of World War I with the Atlantic Fleet. In the decades since then he has flown virtually every kind of naval plane under virtually all conditions. Before the advent of carriers he was catapulted off the decks of cruisers and once was launched out of a battleship gun mount by gear of his own design. Last year, at fifty-seven, he flew an F-80 "Shooting Star."

On Pearl Harbor day Radford was a captain in command of the naval air station at Trinidad. Almost immediately

he was brought to Washington as director of aviation training, a critical job in view of our pilot shortage. Promoted to be rear admiral and ordered into action in April, 1943, he soon made a reputation as one of the navy's best flat-top force commanders. His carriers took part in the landings at Baker, Makin, and Tarawa islands, in the air strikes against the Japanese homeland, and in the heavy fighting around Iwo Jima and Okinawa. He was



the first to warn the Navy Department of the need for an effective radar system to counter the Japanese night raids on the fleet. Before this scientific system could be worked out, he used "bat-wings" of defensive fighters without radar, an extremely hazardous system. Time and again he had to send his best pilots out to almost certain death. Among the victims was Lieutenant Commander "Butch" O'Hara, one of our first aces. Today, whenever the war widow or gold-star mother of one of his boys calls on him at the Pentagon, he can always fit her into his crowded schedule.

AFTER V-J Day unification of the armed services was the great issue. Radford warned James Forrestal, then Secretary of the Navy, that he did not believe in unification save with a minimum of civilian interference and a maximum of autonomy for the navy. "I know nothing about this business and would prefer not to get into it," he said. Then a deputy chief of naval operations, he was put in charge of unification work anyway, and Forrestal discovered that he meant exactly what he said. It is difficult now to recall the bitterness of those early negotiations among the different services.

Even after the unification law went into effect—this was in September, 1947

—the feuding continued. Forrestal, the first Secretary of Defense, tolerated it, but Louis Johnson, his successor, did not. Indeed, one of Johnson's first acts was to transfer Radford to the command of the Pacific Fleet. Without him to lead them, high-ranking navy officers felt that they were being "nibbled to death in the Pentagon by landlocked strategists." The admirals' resentment simmered under wraps until October, 1949, when the House Armed Services Committee brought it out into the open. After turning down three invitations, Radford finally appeared before the committee and at the risk of his prospects charged the air force with hoodwinking the Secretary of Defense in re the B-36 long-range bomber procurement program. Also, if he did not exactly claim the air force had obtained the cancelation of the new Forrestal carriers, he at least accused it of "refusing to recognize carrier planes as a valuable supplement to [its] own strategic-bombing mission." At present there is little doubt that Radford has had the best of the argument. The air force no longer relies on the controversial B-36, and since the newest carrier planes can deliver the A-bomb, carrier task forces are now included in the strategic-bombing mission.

Radford was in his second year as Pacific Fleet commander when the Korean war broke out. His official role in this war was distressingly routine, but it gave him an opportunity to visit the "hot spots" of Asia at least twice a year and to observe the politico-economic situation as well as the military. The tragedy of Korea, he decided, like the tragedy of unification, was the result of too much civilian meddling. If strong military men like MacArthur, Van Fleet, and himself had their way, the United States could recover the initiative and the Communist tide in Asia could be rolled back to the Siberian border, if not beyond. As one commentator put it, this would be a good trick if it could be worked. But here, for the first time, the Admiral was face to face with something that was bigger than he was—the abhorrence of Americans and of the world for preventive war.

During the unification battle General Eisenhower as army chief of staff had had such a bitter taste of Radford's

temper that he had sworn never to sit at the same council table with him. Radford also regarded Ike as a Europe-First man, not an Asia-Firster like himself. So when the General was elected President, Radford expected that he would be retired forthwith. Then on December 2, 1952, on their famous flight to Korea, the President-elect and his choice for Defense Secretary, Charles E. Wilson, paused overnight at Iwo Jima. Radford, who was also at Iwo Jima, gave them dinner and told them of his strategic plans. Wilson was completely captivated. As he put it later, "Radford's plans were as sharp and clear as the designs of a new-model Cadillac. You could draw up a budget on them, and you would know precisely where you were going." Eisenhower also was much impressed with the Admiral, and it was probably at the latter's suggestion that soon after his inauguration, he "unleashed" Chiang Kai-shek for aggressive action. But the President could not forget the unification fight. "Don't appoint him [as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff] until you are sure his first loyalty is to you and not to the navy," he cautioned. And according to one report he continued to oppose Radford until in early May, 1953, he was finally swayed by overwhelming pressure from the Taft-led Republican extremists.

Radford's appointment was viewed with alarm by virtually the whole liberal press. The only consolation was that since the other three chiefs—Admiral Robert B. Carney for the navy, General Matthew B. Ridgway for the army, and General Nathan F. Twining for the air force—were all Europe-Firsters, no radical change in high strategy need be expected. The others *did* oppose their chairman on the first Indo-China intervention plan, but Radford overruled them, partly by virtue of his fiery personality and partly through the increased powers given the chairman by the reorganization of July 1, 1953.

ON taking office in August, 1953, the Joint Chiefs thoroughly examined this country's long-range defense needs. By the end of October their findings were sent to the White House via Secretary Wilson. This was the origin of the controversial "New Look" doctrine. On the assumption of a ten- or twenty-year

period of peace it seemed plausible enough. First, in place of the old dual system of conventional and atomic weapons, it made atomic weapons conventional throughout the three services. Secondly, as a deterrent to Soviet aggression it called for the build-up of air power at the expense, partially at least, of the navy and army. The army was cut from twenty divisions to seventeen, but the cut was to be offset by the increase of the allied ground forces. Although the defense budget for fiscal 1955 was slightly higher than for 1954—\$37,500,000,000 as against \$35,300,000,000—major economies were envisaged for the long future. In one of his appearances before Congress, Radford emphasized that economy was also an element in national security.

The assumption of a long peace made the "New Look" seem reasonable. But on January 12, when Secretary Dulles gave his famous "massive retaliation" speech, the New Look was twisted from a defensive or counter-offensive doctrine into an offensive measure directed at Red China and by this new interpretation was revealed to be completely lopsided and unrealistic. The point was made by the army chief of staff, General Ridgway, who is Radford's most vocal opponent on the board. "The new [atomic] weapons are not absolute," Ridgway said recently. "The ultimate objective [of war] remains the control of land areas and the people who live in them. There must still be ground forces to break the enemy's will to win."

Much more serious is the impact of the New Look on our democracy. Democracy, after all, is what we are fighting for, and democracy, if properly implemented, could be a much more effective weapon against the spread of communism than any atomic striking force. It is significant that *Life* magazine, which has approved most of Eisenhower's policies, has accepted the New Look as a temporary expedient only. Said *Life*: "A world of two malevolent colossi is one in which none of this nation's political ideals can make itself at home. It is not a world in which freedom can thrive." In October, 1949, Radford referred to the doctrine of massive retaliation, then merely an air-force pipe dream, as "morally reprehensible." "We must realize," he said,

"that the best way to win a future war is to prevent it. We must realize that the threat of instant atomic retaliation will not prevent it and may even invite it. We must realize that we cannot gamble that the atomic blitz will win a war. We must realize that if war is forced upon us, we must win it and win it in such a way that it can be followed by a stable, livable peace." Now he explains his turnabout by saying, "I do not feel that in a day with such much change as we have now you can have four years pass and feel exactly as you did about [these] questions."

THE President has described his personal dilemma in the Indo-China crisis as a struggle for a middle ground between the "unattainable"—that is, an easy victory over the Communist Vietnam—and the "unacceptable," or capitulation to the Vietnam. Yet so long as the President is dazzled by the unattainable, as embodied in Radford's plans, he will surely never find this middle ground, and he will be so hogtied by Congress and our allies that he will have to accept the unacceptable. Speaking after the President at the Press Club on December 14, Radford said: "We could become a world of nuclear giants and ethical infants in which we know more about war than we know about peace."

Democracy is generally discounted as a practical weapon against communism. The choice, said Admiral Carney, echoing Radford, is between "the smooth dead-end road" of capitulation and "the rougher road" of massive retaliation "that offers a good destination if we have got the guts and strength to manage it." But this "good destination" will remain in doubt until Radford answers his own questions—to wit, how such a war could be won, and if won how it could be followed by a stable, livable, non-Communist peace. At the moment massive retaliation is not politically salable. The Admiral's own efforts to sell it have been unsuccessful, and most of its exponents in the Senate look on it as merely a form of oratory. It is like the Gorgon's head, which was covered with snakes and so hideous that anybody who looked at it was turned into stone. Its effect may well prove so fatal that the President will have to dispense with it once and for all.

McBRIDE VERSUS SMITH

Philadelphia Court Drama . . by Alex Marlowe

Philadelphia

THE latest developments in the career of informer Paul Crouch are being followed carefully by observers of the Smith Act trial of nine alleged Philadelphia Communist leaders. As the government's first witness here, Crouch clashed so strongly with defense lawyers that the reverberations have been felt nationally.

Even before the Alsop brothers tore into him (New York *Herald Tribune*, May 19), Crouch had been exposed on the witness stand in the federal court here. Thomas D. McBride, chief defense counsel, demolished Crouch's recital of his career as a Communist Party member from the 1920's to 1942 (see *The Informer*, by Frank Donner, in *The Nation*, April 10). It was at this point that the Alsops wrote the story which has since reached the attention of Attorney General Brownell. Now the government has decided to take a closer look at Crouch's court career.

Without diminishing the credit due the Alsops, it can be said that the chief source of this storm is lawyer Tom McBride. The journalistic brothers were correct when they termed McBride "Philadelphia's leading criminal lawyer." Last December he won a hot three-corner election for the post of vice-chancellor of the Philadelphia Bar Association. By tradition he should become chancellor of the 2,800-member group in two years. In local legal circles the feeling is that McBride and his team of nine lawyers are giving the government one of its strongest Smith Act challenges.

The defendants in the local Smith Act prosecutions are David Davis, organizer for Local 153, United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers (U.E.); Walter Lowenfels, former managing editor of the Pennsylvania edition of the *Worker*; and Irvin Katz, Robert Klonsky, Joseph

Kuzma, Sherman Labovitz, Thomas Nabried, Joseph Roberts, and Benjamin Weiss, all described as holding various Communist Party positions in this area.

After their arrest in July and August last year and a fruitless search for counsel the nine petitioned the Philadelphia Bar Association for aid. The bar appointed McBride, who quickly plunged into bail proceedings. In most instances the bail was lowered from a maximum of \$50,000 to \$10,000. McBride then chose a staff from among Philadelphia's best attorneys. Picked were Joseph S. Lord, 3d, co-chief with McBride; Henry W. Sawyer, 3d; Charles C. Hileman, 3d; Joseph N. DuBarry, 4th; William Jenks Woolston, John Rogers Carroll, Robert W. Sayre, Benjamin R. Reed, and Edmund Spaeth. One defendant is representing himself, and another was able to obtain counsel on his own initiative.

McBRIDE epitomizes the great Philadelphia lawyer tradition that dates back to the John Peter Zenger case in 1735. Zenger, a New York publisher, was acquitted of libel charges through a masterful defense by a Philadelphia lawyer, Andrew Hamilton. The decision established truth as a defense in libel cases and bolstered the freedom of the press. Mild-mannered but unyielding, McBride has an angry contempt for injustice and oppression. The *Shingle*, official publication of the Philadelphia bar, paid tribute to McBride in 1951 with these words: "He does not fumble, mumble, jumble, bumble, or crumble . . . and in the lexicon of McBride, there is no such word as can't."

The crucial test in the current trial came when McBride cross-examined Crouch on David Davis. Crouch testified here that he had worked closely with Davis in the Communist Party. But McBride pointed to the court records of the Harry Bridges trial in 1949, which showed that Crouch "had no knowledge of the existence of David Davis." This

discrepancy has put the prosecution's case in danger.

The government appears to be shooting the works in what started out to be a routine Smith Act affair. This was evident when Louis Budenz followed Crouch on the stand. Nevertheless, embarrassing information about the courtroom earnings of the former *Daily Worker* editor was elicited by the defense. The witness repeated his story that Communist writings are couched in "Aesopian" language. Questioned by Judge J. Cullen Ganey, however, the prosecuting attorney was hard-pressed to explain as "pretense" the Communist Party's constitutional provision for expelling any member advocating violent overthrow of the government.

After Budenz came Herman Erwin Thomas, an Allentown business man who said he was a member of the Communist Party who quit and then rejoined after five years at the request of the F. B. I. He was supposed to "finger" the local defendants in the alleged conspiracy. Despite the government's opposition, the defense succeeded in subpoenaing documents given to the F. B. I. During Thomas's appearance the court pressed the prosecution to stick closer to the period covered by the indictment—the last three years.

The trial has already gone on for three months and may continue for two more. Public interest was stirred last summer when the defendants were unable to obtain counsel. At that time the bar association, the newspapers, and the people argued that the defendants, whatever the nature of the accusations against them, had a constitutional right to be represented in court. Since then, however, public interest has dwindled. The local newspapers, it is true, have generally presented fair and adequate accounts of the proceedings, and no intimidation campaign such as has accompanied other Smith Act trials has been launched. But protest has been limited to a letter to Brownell by eight

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Philadelphia religious leaders who opposed the use of informers.

This area can point to several important achievements in the civil-liberties field during the last year. McBride won an acquittal last June for Eric Winston, a metallurgical worker charged with failing to mention Communist Party membership in a federal security questionnaire. Judge Ganey threw the case out of court when the government refused to produce its files on Winston. In September, McBride won another significant victory. Anthony Valentino, a Camden labor leader, had been convicted in 1952 on a charge of falsely denying Communist Party membership on a Taft-

Hartley affidavit. On McBride's appeal the circuit court reversed the decision.

Last January the Pennsylvania Supreme Court acquitted Steve Nelson of a sedition charge carrying a twenty-year jail sentence. Nelson, a western Pennsylvania Communist leader, was cleared by a four-to-one vote. He is now fighting a Smith Act conviction with the aid of McBride.

Finally, Philadelphians can boast of an open rebuke to Senator McCarthy. In February the Senator was invited here to receive an award from the local chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution. Dr. Samuel Fernberger, professor of psychology at the University

of Pennsylvania, promptly canceled his membership in the organization; two other members, including the chapter president, boycotted the affair. The newspapers published a good many letters on the incident, most of them favoring Dr. Fernberger's stand.

Even if justice catches up with Paul Crouch, the Philadelphia defendants would not necessarily benefit, as the Alsops were quick to point out. With five Smith Act defendants recently convicted in St. Louis and seven Connecticut men now under arrest, the trend does not look favorable for them. But at this stage of the trial the possibility of an upset cannot be completely ruled out.

BENELUX DISUNION

Why It Didn't Work . . . by C. de Dood

The Hague

BELGIUM, the Netherlands and Luxembourg together form an area little more than half the size of New York State but containing some twenty million people. In spite of the overcrowding, these tiny nations rank with the Scandinavian countries and Switzerland as among the most prosperous in Europe.

In May, 1940, the Low Countries put up a resistance which took the German Supreme Command by surprise and was the strategic reason for the terrible bombing of Rotterdam. Even in those days the question arose: what would have happened if these countries had formed an economic, political, and military union? Might they not have put up an even stiffer resistance to the Germans—and perhaps brought on a western Stalingrad?

Thus the Benelux Union idea was born and flourished in the atmosphere of international good fellowship among the governments in exile in London. Toward the end of the war it had become a concrete political proposition. Allied statesmen saw in it a preparatory step toward a United States of Europe. Even

English statesmen, traditionally opposed to the formation of strategically strong combinations on the Continent, were disposed to look benignly on the attempt to unify the Low Countries.

On September 5, 1944, the first Benelux pact was agreed upon. Belgium and Luxembourg, after more than four years of occupation, were again free, though Holland had still to go through the dreadful "hunger winter" before being finally liberated. In this first draft the principle of a customs union among Belgium, Holland, and Luxembourg was laid down, with a pact to be worked out later containing provisions making it possible for France and even Italy to join. But Benelux, though full of promise, never got any farther than principle.

In order to understand the reason for this one must look at the economic development of Belgium and Holland since the war. The German occupation of Holland, which lasted until the very last day of the war in Europe, left the country desperately impoverished—its rich colonies in Southeast Asia lost, its industrial organization a shambles, its agriculture disorganized, its once important overseas trade gone, its monetary system in a frightful mess, its population undernourished and in rags. Belgium,

though it had not been spared by the Germans, had suffered much less. The Belgian Congo had managed to keep the Allied nations steadily supplied with raw materials, including precious uranium. Belgium emerged from the war a rich country and took its place among creditor nations. The Dutch market being a good one, Belgian business men were favorably disposed to having Holland as a Benelux partner.

The situation in Holland, however, developed differently. Before the war Holland had been one of the rich colonial powers. Now, with the colonies lost, a thorough economic reorganization was necessary to change this preeminently commercial country into an agricultural and industrial one. Such a reorganization was effectively accomplished by Professor Liefstinck, Minister of Finance. Inexorably he kept down the standard of living, limiting imports to the absolutely necessary raw materials and finished products. Relentlessly he fought inflationist tendencies and the impending wage-price spiral. Despite the severity of many of his measures "Pete" Liefstinck became one of the most popular statesmen of Holland, regarded by the common people with a kind of humorous affection. His program could

C. de DOOD is a Dutch novelist, essayist, and journalist.

never have been carried through successfully without the whole-hearted cooperation of the nation. Under his guidance Holland gradually built a comparatively sound export trade. On January 1, 1954, the country could announce that no further international financial aid would be required—an announcement which drew encomiums from Washington.

The preliminary arrangements for the Benelux treaty had been made at a time when the credit balance between Holland and Belgium showed a deficit of 300 million guilders in favor of Belgium. By 1950, however, Holland had become a formidable competitor, especially for Belgian farmers and industrialists, who now began to look upon Benelux with rather jaundiced eyes. This was particularly true of the textile, boots and shoes, and tobacco industries in Belgium, which began to clamor for protective measures.

A Benelux Union might be well and good, but only on condition that Holland would not produce more cheaply than Belgium. A slogan devised by the Belgian boot-and-shoe manufacturers, "*Benelux, voor ons de BENen voor hen de LUXe*" ("for us the bones, for them the luxury"), had a devastating influence on Belgian public opinion.

But the Dutch government steadfastly refused to raise its wage scale to meet Belgian standards, refusing to sacrifice Holland's export trade and favorable balance of payment for the "noble idea" of Benelux. The year 1950 passed, and the final Benelux treaty was not even drawn up, let alone signed. It died because of the strange paradox that financially strong countries may be economically weak, while financially weak countries may build up a strong economy.

Negotiations still continue on an ami-

cable basis as between neighbor nations. According to the pleasant customs of the Low Countries, Belgian and Dutch representatives meet for dinner in the friendliest possible fashion. Arrangements agreed on at these meetings are sometimes gravely reported in the press as representing progress of the Benelux idea. But such reports are not taken seriously in the Low Countries and should not be elsewhere.

The statesmen negotiating the Benelux Union allowed themselves to be swayed by the noisy objections of private interests. The future security and prosperity for all three tiny countries which might have been brought about have thus been sacrificed to momentary and questionable advantages. This is the tragicomic failure of the Benelux Union, an example of the common weal sacrificed to private profits.

THE PEOPLE'S ATOM

Safeguarding the Future . . . by *Leland Olds*

THE Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, once guided by the able hand of Senator Brian McMahon, has reported out a long, poorly drafted bill to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1946. If it should become law in its present form it would unquestionably prove the most far-reaching piece of legislation in its effect upon our social order of any in recent times. At stake is the question of who shall control the ushering in of the atomic age. When McMahon was steering the 1946 bill through Congress, the issue lay between civilian and military control. Today it lies between public and private domination, with the military increasingly close to the corporate interests, whose influence would be greatly enhanced by the bill.

The committee vote to bring the bill to the floor for debate was unanimous.

LELAND OLDS, for five years chairman of the Federal Power Commission, is one of the country's foremost power experts. This is the second of two articles on the Atomic Energy bill.

But this does not mean that there is unanimous support for it. On the contrary, committee members reserved the right to oppose it in whole or in part, and before this article is published, a minority as well as a majority report may be in print. As the proposed legislation involves not only the power issue but also the broad battle of small business against big business, there will unquestionably be a major fight over it, particularly in the Senate. The vital question will be whether the influence of the organizations representing the people will be sufficient to offset the powerful pressures exerted by the private-power monopoly and its allies.

The almost single-handed battle against the bill carried on by Representative Chet Holifield has had more effect in throwing its backers off schedule than in securing major improvements. Such changes as have been made are merely on the surface. The objective of the bill remains unchanged: to turn over to private monopoly the vast new energy resource which so far belongs wholly to the people and which was prospected

and developed with their money. This would be accomplished through patent and license provisions which lack the safeguards made mandatory by the Federal Power Act in connection with the development of hydroelectric power. All the giveaways contemplated by the Administration's "new look" at our national resources—offshore oil, Hell's Canyon, Niagara Falls, the abandonment of preference for community systems in the marketing of power—all these put together do not equal the extraordinary strengthening of monopoly's grip on our energy economy which will follow if this bill becomes law.

LET US review briefly what the committee has heard from representatives of the consuming public during the hearings on the bill.

Gillmore Tillman, counsel for the City of Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, appearing for the American Public Power Association, directed his attack especially against the proposal in the bill that acquisition of patent rights in the atomic-

energy field should be restricted only by the right of the United States to requisition in cases affecting atomic weapons or research. Tillman urged that the bill would unnecessarily and improperly make it possible for individuals holding one or more patents to "decide, without restraint, whether or not profoundly beneficial changes should be permitted in our way of life, and if so at what price." He noted that when at long last electric energy from atomic fuel becomes available for the commercial generation of electricity, the people of the country will have paid the overwhelming bulk of the research and development expenses. Then, speaking for the two thousand municipal electric systems and public-utility districts of the country, he added, "It seems to us manifestly unjust that the price at which this energy is made available to the people should be left to the absolute discretion of any person, or corporation, or group, holding a monopoly through ownership of one or more patents." The extent of the monopoly he was talking about may be judged by the fact that a single patent or group of patents in the atomic-energy field could control an energy resource estimated to be twenty times greater than all the coal, oil, and natural-gas reserves of the entire world. Obviously the Cole-Hickenlooper bill, as the new legislation is called, has international as well as national implications of mammoth proportions.

The testimony of Bennett Boskey, a patent specialist and former assistant counsel for the Atomic Energy Commission, supported Tillman's position. He presented a technical analysis of the lack of protection for the public interest in this phase of the proposed legislation.

The C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. attacked the proposed amendments as encouraging the growth of private monopoly. Andrew Biemiller, speaking for the A. F. of L., called for "an absolute ban on patents on the production of special materials [atomic fuel] or atomic energy," and expressed the belief that the Atomic Energy Commission's reserve power of compulsory licensing was "a most important instrument for insuring the development of competitive conditions in the field of atomic energy." He urged retention of the language of the McMahon act, which the proposed legislation would delete,

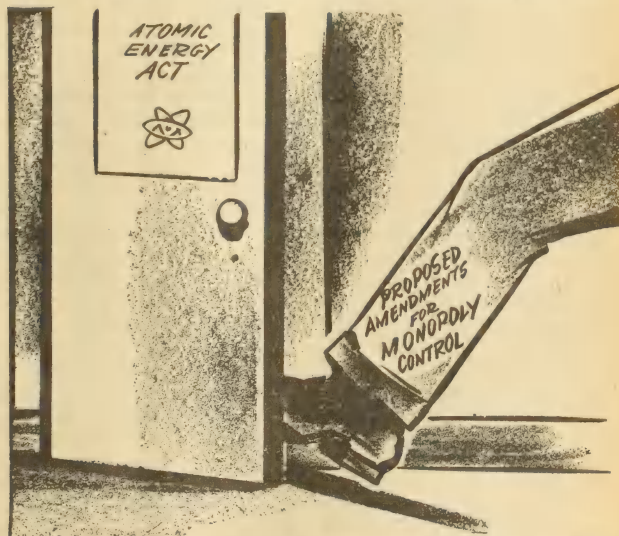
directing the commission to make certain that the activities of any licensee do not foster the growth of monopoly or any other trade position inimical to the entry of new, freely competitive enterprises in the field. Benjamin Sigal, counsel for the C. I. O., threw his organization's full weight against the Cole-Hickenlooper bill's encouragement of monopoly and attacked the proposals as "a staggering giveaway program."

From the farmers of the nation came constructive suggestions for assuring the ultimate use of this new energy resource to better our way of life. Murray Lincoln, speaking for the Farm Bureau Insurance Companies, pictured atomic energy as a key to the doors of plenty for ourselves and for the world. But to achieve such ends, he said, the people must keep control of atomic power. That control, he held, is at stake in the Cole-Hickenlooper bill. Clyde Ellis, speaking for the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, urged Congress and the A. E. C. to continue the federal development of atomic power with special consideration for the needs of these rural systems. He looked forward to the possibilities of a "package-reactor program" which might ultimately give the systems relief from their present high transmission costs and urged generally that the atomic-power program be

brought within the confines of established federal-power policy with its preference for public and cooperative electric systems. Finally, President James Patton of the National Farmers Union recommended the establishment of interregional, wholesale-power supply grids, with active federal development of atomic power as a part of such programs. This militant farmers' organization also called for extension of the statutory preference for cooperatives and public bodies to the production of atomic fuel and the distribution of electric energy created by atomic power.

THUS, in spite of the fact that electric power was not mentioned in the original Cole-Hickenlooper bill, consumer organizations recognized the measure as just one phase of the power trust's drive to reverse a public-power policy which has been evolved by the American people during the last fifty years. In this context, at the request of Representatives Holifield and Price, I appeared at the end of the public hearings to analyze the relationship of the proposed legislation to American power policy.

From the inception of the central-station electric industry, American policy has embraced both public and private ownership, with emphasis on the right of communities to choose that form of



Walt Partymiller in the York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily

More Giveaways?

ownership which they believe best serves them. Fundamentally, the proposals contained in the Atomic Energy Act, as it will be finally amended by Congress, will determine the conditions under which a new power resource belonging wholly to the people of the United States will be converted into salable electricity. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that legislation ushering in the atomic-power age be integrated into the body of local, state, and federal law protecting the non-profit portion of the electric-power business and the right of the people to undertake this business on a public or cooperative basis. Federal water-power legislation, evolved over half a century to protect the public interest in hydroelectric resources, offers a precedent for sound atomic-power legislation which would safeguard the people's opportunity to secure an abundance of low-cost electric energy.

Starting with the Federal Water Power Act of 1920, Congress has consistently acted to assure the prior right of federal, state, or municipal development of such resources and, where the development is federal, has provided for the prior right of public or cooperative agencies to distribute the power. A review of the whole range of water-power legislation, including the Boulder Dam Act of the late 1920's, followed by the Tennessee Valley, Bonneville, Fort Peck, Flood Control, and Reclamation acts of the 1930's and 1940's, makes it clear that this legal structure was erected to protect the people against monopoly. A similar body of law must now be constructed to safeguard atomic energy for the people.

In addition to safeguarding the prior right to public development, federal water-power legislation provides a complete set of principles protecting the public interest where private development is authorized. These include such mandatory license requirements as the following: the project must be best adapted to a comprehensive plan for using the resource for all purposes; the licensee must maintain adequate depreciation reserves and after the first twenty years must put a specified portion of excess profits in an amortization reserve; combinations or arrangements to limit the output of electricity, restrain trade, or fix or increase rates are pro-

hibited; the licensee must agree as a condition of the license to abide by reasonable regulation and to charge reasonable rates; the licensee must submit to the full accounting regulation of the Federal Power Commission; the project is subject to recapture by the federal government or to taking over by any state or municipality at the end of the license period; and the company can claim no more than net investment in the project as compensation on recapture or for rate-making purposes. Use of the country's atomic electric-power resource by privately owned utility corporations involves the public interest to at least the same degree as hydro and should be controlled by similar safeguards.

AGAINST this background, let us look at the Cole-Hickenlooper bill as revised and reported by the joint committee. Aside from its provision for somewhat broader cooperation with other friendly nations, the bill would make two major changes in the existing Atomic Energy Act. The first change would open the field to private patents, even retroactively permitting renewal of applications already denied under the existing law. Here we find the only important attempts to meet criticisms leveled at the original draft, probably reflecting the known concern of the Administration over the baldness of the proposed giveaway to big corporations. Thus the bill has been altered to extend for five years the commission's power to require the holders of private patents to make them available to others if the patents are of primary importance to proposed production or utilization of nuclear fuel or atomic energy. The bill has also been modified to provide for special awards for inventions or discoveries still excluded from the normal operation of the patent laws. And here we come upon a curious inconsistency in the bill. For while opening the non-military atomic field to private patents on the ground that this is necessary to encourage progress, the weapons field, where technical progress is most urgent, would remain closed to private patents.

The second major change which the bill would make provides for the issuance by the commission of licenses to non-federal agencies for the construction, ownership, and operation of facil-

ities for the production and utilization of nuclear fuel or atomic energy. Such licenses would also permit the possession and utilization of nuclear material, although ownership would be retained by the United States. It is here that the bill is today essentially a power bill, akin to federal-power legislation governing hydroelectric power. And it is here that the bill, as reported, remains absolutely lacking in provisions recognizing the public interest in low-cost power. The provision for marketing surplus energy or electricity from federal plants contains no preference for public or cooperative electric systems. The provisions for licensing non-federal atomic-power development include no preference for public development, no provision for possible federal recapture at the end of the license period, no provision restraining the private developer from claiming more than net investment for rate-making purposes and none of the provisions that require private developers of hydroelectric power to comply with effective regulation. Without such safeguards, no measure for developing the people's atomic-power resources is satisfactory.

An additional point should be noted. Aside from its monopoly features, the Cole-Hickenlooper bill contains certain technical clauses which open the way to large hidden subsidies to private industry at the taxpayers' expense.

THIS article, and the one which appeared last week, were devoted mainly to a discussion of the dangers of the proposed amendments to the Atomic Energy Act in so far as the electric-power field is concerned. But ultimately the whole range of human activities will be affected by atomic power. No one knows what the implications may be for medicine, agriculture, and the food industries, where monopoly based on patents may have equally restrictive effects on the general welfare. Until a thorough survey has been made in each field, the country is not ready for legislation affecting that field.

Except for provisions which open the way to fuller cooperation with friendly nations in developmental work, the bill should be stopped pending thorough consideration of the far-reaching changes involved. Following such consideration, the new legislation should

be divided into several bills so that each may be given a title and statement of purpose informing the public fully of its major intent. This would

open the way to broad popular understanding of the social, economic, political, and international implications of the use of atomic energy as a source of

electric power. It would provide opportunity for the drafting of legislation which would secure the benefits of the atomic age to all the people.

MAURY THE MAVERICK

He Died Unbranded . . . by Hart Stilwell

Austin, Texas

MAURY MAVERICK illustrated perfectly the meaning of his name. The term "maverick" came into use when some cattle acquired by Maury's grandfather, Samuel Maverick, were allowed to run free and wild, and were gathered in and branded by anybody who could lay hands on them.

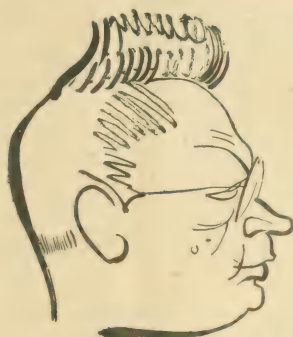
A maverick is one who does not run with the herd. Such was Maury Maverick. He exemplified what the term "rugged individualist" ought to mean. Even when he joined a "herd"—the New Dealers, for example—Maury stayed put only so long as he agreed on basic principles. He was never branded; he died unbranded.

The inventor of the word "gobblydegook" grew up as a maverick. Back in the early 1930's, when he was tax collector at San Antonio, he threw a lighted cigarette into the paper-filled wastebasket as he dictated to his secretary, Marie Purse. The secretary, who had learned Maury's ways, acted as though she neither smelled nor saw the smoke coming out of the basket. Maury dictated on—Miss Purse took the dictation. Smoke filled the room, seeped out under the door. Finally Malcolm Bardwell, Maury's assistant, burst into the room crying, "There's a fire!"

"God damn it," Maury shouted, "I guess we can have a fire if we want one." Bardwell retreated. As he reached the door, Maury called after him, "And don't come in here without knocking." Miss Purse kept right on taking dictation.

The incident is significant only in

HART STILWELL, former editor of the Brownsville, Texas, Herald, is a novelist and magazine writer.



Maury Maverick

that it reveals the man's tremendous power of concentration. The manner in which his mind worked was demonstrated again and again—when he broke up the old city political ring in San Antonio, in his record in Congress and as head of the Smaller War Plants Corporation, in his remarkable report on the Orient for President Truman, in his leadership of the Loyal Democrats of Texas at Chicago in 1952, where he was double-crossed by Governor Shivers.

It is easy to measure the value of Maury Maverick in terms of the concrete, especially in his own San Antonio, where La Villita, a charming little "chunk of old Mexico," the beautified San Antonio River, housing projects, and other civic monuments stand to his credit. It is not so easy to measure the intangibles. Probably most important of all is the feeling of freedom, independence, and equality that Maury Maverick helped to instill in the hearts of the down-trodden Latin Americans in Texas.

A scant twenty years ago the Latin Americans were discriminated against

as implacably as is the Negro today. What they needed was a leader. Lacking one of their own race, they turned to Maury Maverick and helped elect him to county office, to Congress, then to the office of mayor. Eventually he might have been in the United States Senate except for a little Texas-Mexican fire-eater named Emma Tenayuca, who battled for years to improve working conditions for the pecan-shellers in San Antonio. When she came under attack, Maury rushed to her defense. As mayor in 1940, he dragged out the entire police force and the city firemen as well to hold off a mob gathered by the American Legion which was threatening to disrupt a "mass meeting" for Emma in the city auditorium. Emma held her meeting—with twelve followers on hand. Damage to the hall after the police and firemen won the battle for her right to speak amounted to \$1,000. Damage to the political future of Maury Maverick can only be estimated. Never after that was he elected to public office. For Emma was a Communist.

Maury's fighting spirit remained undaunted to the day he died. The last time I talked to him, he denounced the Roosevelt boys for not killing Westbrook Pegler for the things the columnist had written about their mother. "Maury," I said, "you're advocating the same thing Hitler put into practice—rubbing out the opposition." Maury wasn't impressed. The Roosevelt sons weren't doing their duty, he said; chivalry was dead in the nation.

It is petty to expect consistency in a spirit so strong, so free, so vital, so dedicated to the dignity of man. He has passed on something of his fire to a son, Maury, Jr., who is steadily rising to a place of importance in Texas public life.

BOOKS

Northern Gothic Painters

EARLY NETHERLANDISH PAINTING. By Erwin Panofsky. Two Volumes. Harvard University Press. \$35.

By S. Lane Faison, Jr.

THOSE who are acquainted with Professor Panofsky's writings, particularly his two-volume study of Albrecht Dürer, will be prepared to spare no superlatives in estimating his newest work. Developed from the Charles Eliot Norton lectures which he delivered at Harvard in 1947-48, it offers an elaborate synthesis of the entire question of how Northern Gothic painting originated during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, and how the careers of the first great heroes evolved. These are, of course, Jan van Eyck and Roger van der Weyden. But there is also Jan's older brother Hubert, co-author of the Ghent altarpiece, who takes on in these pages a far less legendary character than heretofore. And there is a great and solemn but anonymous painter, the Master of Flémalle, who turns out to be the initiator before the initiators. His name may or may not be Robert Campin, and there has been a strong body of opinion in favor of considering his work an early phase of Roger van der Weyden himself. The complexities of this problem are almost unbelievable, but unless further evidence is forthcoming I find it difficult to imagine that the last valuable word has not been said in the present work. In fact, the reconstruction of the Maître de Flémalle as a major artistic career extending from about 1415, too early for either Jan van Eyck or Roger van der Weyden, to at least 1438, when both of these masters cast their spells upon him, is one of Panofsky's most astute and intricate unravelings. In a characteristically deft pass, he eliminates two works which provide the main support for what he calls the "unitarian" theory—of the identity of Roger and the Master of Flémalle: "when a work of art gives the impression of having been produced by either one or the other of two great masters, it often turns out to have been produced

by neither." And thereupon he proceeds to demonstrate in detail the truth of his general contention.

If there is any recent work of art-historical scholarship more likely to endure than this one I do not know it. For the first time in the English language—and what English!—and more brilliantly than in any compendium I know, the whole subject of how the secrets of light and space and the mystical being of things were unlocked by the Northern Gothic artists is surveyed and brought up to date. Hundreds of panel paintings, scores of illuminated manuscripts, archives of documents, libraries of bibliography—all are fitted expertly into place. Consider even the problem of illuminated Books of Hours—in which the greatest masters of Northern painting prior to Van Eyck were regularly employed. Frequently they were cut up and dispersed, several exist in the same collection today and are thus all the easier to confuse, many were done by several hands, many had extraneous pages bound in by later collectors. To push through this Gothic swamp implies the canniness of guides. But Panofsky is not only a guide. He is a detective, a connoisseur, a historian, a man of letters, a trial lawyer, and the brainiest quiz-kid of them all.

In a work of this nature it must have been difficult to decide what to place in the text (358 pages) and what to place in the footnotes (160 fine-print pages). What the footnotes relate is often fully as fascinating as the text. I conclude, therefore, that the guiding principle of choice is merciful judgment as to how much the merely human reader can retain at first reading. The plates, fortunately, are issued in a separate volume; these five hundred excellent reproductions in black and white provide in themselves a magnificent corpus, and they can be conveniently consulted while one reads the text.

Panofsky's great reputation is in the field of what he calls, by reversion to an old word, "iconology"—the meaning of a work of art in terms of idea and sym-

bol. He has been criticized on occasion, I think justly, for extravagance to the point of prestidigitation in the unfolding of his point of view. In more recent works, however, and especially in this one, the physical presence of the work of art is securely felt—its qualities as a work of the hand as well as a work of the mind. Furthermore, Panofsky now soars higher and probes deeper even than before by following the interactions between idea and image, between mind and hand, between symbol and art. Jan van Eyck is his hero. And in Van Eyck, perhaps the most completely anti-Mediterranean of all great artists, idea and art execute their most involved interlace.

Criticism implies a certain detachment and self-effacement. But in Panofsky we have something that far transcends criticism as I understand it. In Panofsky we have quite simply, and this book is witness to it, a modern genius, a genius whose work is made possible by modern facilities of scholarship. Genius operates, and properly so, on its own rules and momentum—by which I mean only to imply that it is necessary for Panofsky that Jan van Eyck represent the pinnacle, but that it is less necessary for the rest of us to believe so.

"The nuptial chamber of the Arnolfinis," he tells us, "is, in spite of its cozy narrowness, a slice of infinity. Its walls, floor, and ceiling are artfully cut on all sides so as to transcend not only the frame but also the picture plane so that the beholder feels included in the very room; yet the half-open window, disclosing the thin brick wall of the house and the tiniest strip of garden and sky, creates a kind of osmosis between indoors and outdoors, secluded cell and universal space."

I have quoted the above description—of the painting in the National Gallery of London—to give some indication of the texture of Panofsky's mind. But another quotation is necessary to convey his urbanity and the sudden and most unexpected flashes of his wit:

... in the prison scene known as *Caritas Romana* ... a young lady, Pero by name, saves the life of her aged father by offering him her breast, a demonstration of loving-kindness praised by Pliny, depicted in Roman wall paintings, much favored by the Baroque, gracefully metamorphosed by Guy de Maupassant, and last observed (or so he says) by Mr. Steinbeck near Route 66 in California.

"Strange Men in Peculiar Jobs"

OF WHALES AND MEN. By R. B. Robertson. Alfred A. Knopf. \$4.50.

By Jeannette Mirsky

OF WHALES AND MEN" is a wonderful book. Dr. Robertson has written an inspired study of an industry of which little is known, a study that pays equal attention to the motives, the men, and the machinery of the enterprise. With a pen that is servant to his alert, questioning mind, his easy gaiety and grave compassion—two qualities rarely joined—he discusses whales, modern whaling methods, and whalers. The result is a happy combination of facts and insights.

The author is a surgeon and psychiatrist with an abiding interest in "strange men in peculiar jobs." Generally whalemen have been treated either statistically or symbolically; at last they are human beings, seen whole by a trained observer, sharply individualized—their boom and swagger, their comradeship, their aloofness, their competence at work, and the pitiful wildness of their celebrations. A half-dozen men share the billing as featured characters—to New Yorkers it will seem quite appropriate for one of their taxi-drivers to be a sharpshooting harpooner—but all the men, regardless of background or occupation, conform to a certain type. Dr. Robertson regards them as men "too healthy to be acceptable to, or to accept, the civilization into which they were born." This trait, the author suggests, they have in common with writers and artists, with scientists, philosophers, and explorers; the difference lies in the whalemen's unfortunate lack of either the "talent or technique which gives them a spiritual avenue of escape from civilized humanity."

Naturally the book dwells on the elements that make whaling a fearsome adventure—the challenge and terror, the courage and stamina implicit in the pursuit of such prey; the long, lonely seafaring to the uttermost ends of the earth; the dangers to men operating

small ships in gale-swept, ice-studded seas; and the bizarre skills perfected by those who hunt the leviathans.

We are introduced as well to the marvels of modern, mechanized whaling. We are taken on a tour of a "factory ship"—some twenty thousand tons of industrial machinery; the radar and echo-sounding gear are explained to us, as well as a "thousand other safety gadgets" installed to protect the \$8,000,000 investment. All this is fascinating, but it is the author's constant awareness of the economic imperatives of the venture that places this account alongside of Scoresby's classic study written more than a hundred years ago.

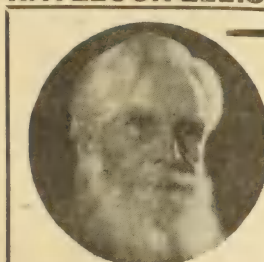
Scoresby closed the great early period of English whaling that had begun when Henry Hudson reported schools of whales in Spitzbergen waters. With England's rise to power, its energy flowing into other channels; by the beginning of the nineteenth century only a few whalers continued the hunt. A young and needy nation, in its turn,

dominated the industry for the next fifty years, and nervy New England whalers extended whaling to all the oceans of the world. American whaling began to decline, not, as the author suggests, when Edison "turned the switch of the Pearl Street power station" in 1882, but with the discovery of petroleum in 1859; its death came with the destruction of the whaling fleets during the Civil War.

Today whaling is again important to Britain's economy. Yet it is the rare Britisher who realizes that "his soap, his margarine, the cattlecake that fed the beef he had for supper, the fertilizer that grew the wheat for his bread, the feed he gives his chickens, the vitamin pills he gives his kids, . . . not to mention over seventy different pharmaceutical preparations that appear in his bathroom medicine chest regularly, have all been found for him down here in the Southern Ocean." The potentialities of the vast, still unexploited harvests of the oceans should caution those neo-Malthusians who persist in thinking only in terms of the crop production of arable land.

HAVELOCK ELLIS

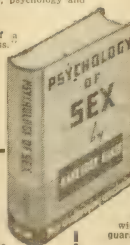
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JEANNETTE MIRSKY is the author of "Elisha Kent Kane and the Seafaring Frontier," "To the Arctic," "The Westward Crossings," and other books.

July 17, 1954

New Books in Brief

Kierkegaard in Person

SOREN KIERKEGAARD. By Johannes Hohlenberg. Translated by T. H. Croxall. Pantheon. \$5.

This is, in the literal sense, a book about the *life* of the great melancholy Dane—and a good one. Johannes Hohlenberg, born and bred in Copenhagen, descended from burghers who saw Kierkegaard every day, has read all the documents, studied all the gossip, and with the skill of a fine novelist projects his scenes and characters. The book begins with a portrait of early nineteenth-century Copenhagen; and from this, gradually, the protagonists emerge: Kierkegaard's father, cursed with a morbid sense of sin; his mother, the servant whom the father seduced and married

without love; Regina, the gay girl on whom Kierkegaard's love of life focused and shattered (after her outrageous jilting, she married a respectable citizen who became governor of the Virgin Islands); and of course, Kierkegaard himself, that unresolved amalgam of rake and saint, artist, mystic, and logician.

The book is not a critical biography. The author is too close to his material, too sedulous in elucidating every line of the voluminous works, too dazzled by the apparition of this genius in the small world of Denmark. There is not enough study of the parallelisms and analogies with other anti-positivist, anti-historicist leaders of Kierkegaard's day, from Spain to Russia. But the reader who wants a palpable sense of the man behind the confused, diffused, inspired, and half-articulate philosopher—perhaps the most influential since Rousseau—should read this volume.

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marginal voter, and his skill as a moderator the secrets of his success? Can it be that by remaining stationary while the Labor Party has been moving to the left, he is holding a crumbling outpost on the right? The book does not supply the answers directly, but even its hints are intriguing.

Negro Fishermen

GULF STREAM NORTH. By Earl Conrad. Doubleday. \$3.50.

This is the third volume in what the author calls an "idiom trilogy," and one which has been marked, in fact, by a special and lovely use of Negro dialect. The first book in the series was the powerful "Scottsboro Boy," written in collaboration with Haywood Patterson, a book which is likely to stand on a level with the early works of Richard Wright. Less well known, Mr. Conrad's "Rock Bottom" continued this vein of writing with the story of a Negro girl who escaped from the semi-feudal slavery of the Florida plantations, not too far away from the lavish winter hotels of the idle rich. The present volume, directed perhaps at a more popular audience but nevertheless an impressive work, is a chronicle of the Negro crews who conduct the menhaden fishing industry, in a modern sequel to the oil hunt of the Pequot. Mr. Conrad uses his narrative to explain the nature of an obscure area in our economic life, to describe the primitive nature of the fishing crews, half farmers and half sailors, to convey the dramatic story of a bad-luck cruise, but above all to express the speech of his people. And it is wonderful talk. The documentary basis of the novel gives it a solidity that is rare today, while the skill of Mr. Conrad's craft makes it a pleasure to read, and his Negro fishermen are remarkable and rewarding personages.

Philippine Expectations

AMERICAN ECONOMIC POLICY TOWARDS THE PHILIPPINES. By Shirley Jenkins. Stanford. \$4.

A few years ago the author of this book wrote an article entitled *Great Expectations* in the Philippines in which, using the Dickens analogy, she considered favorably the economic potential of the new Philippine republic but made

The Stationary Mr. Attlee

AS IT HAPPENED. By Clement R. Attlee. Viking. \$5.

An unpretentious autobiography of the man who for nearly two decades has led the British Labor Party. In this thin volume the reader will find neither Churchill's magnificent prose and sense of history nor the disclosures of the Hopkins papers. In fact, Mr. Attlee seems determined to tell as little as possible—about state affairs as about intra-party events, about the past as about the present. He attacks Ramsay MacDonald for "the greatest betrayal in British political history," but has little to say about the background of this "betrayal." Though he was Deputy Premier during World War II, he devotes only 10,000 uninspired and unrevealing words to the war. One, finally, seeks in vain for a discussion of the struggle now straining the seams of the Labor Party. And yet the volume is very interesting, if only for the questions it provokes. How did a member of the upper middle class, who learned his social facts as a gentleman-adviser to a boys' club, come to dominate the British Socialist movement? Are Mr. Attlee's very grayness, so reassuring to the

reservations as to the possibility of its immediate realization. Her viewpoint has not changed in the meantime. This book presents a full account of the 1946 trade and rehabilitation legislation which the United States offered the Philippines but which as a compromise program did little to help establish an independent economy to parallel independence in the political sphere. Mrs. Jenkins not only discusses the many different lobbies that were active on this side of the Pacific but indicates the conflicting Philippine attitudes toward these arrangements.

The American contribution to the Joint Finance Commission and its report of 1947 and the Bell mission of 1950 receive more adequate treatment than do economic events in the period between these two reports or in that following 1950. Perhaps this is explained by an apparent necessity of relying upon materials available in the United States. None the less, it was in these years that the trade-control program was instituted and the first effects of industrialization began to be felt. Both these developments were important as means of achieving a partial diversification of the economy and decreasing dependence on the United States.

Mrs. Jenkins and also Claude Buss in his introduction to the book have performed a useful service in pointing out that the American responsibility to help the Filipinos meet their problems is not yet fulfilled. Specifically this is to be seen in the recent request of the Philippine government for a revision of the existing trade relations with the United States. It is vitally necessary for Americans to realize that in their own interest they must take steps to insure a democratic and healthy Philippine economy.

Coal and Politics

GOLDSBOROUGH. By Stefan Heym. Blue Heron Press. \$2 (paper).

Goldsborough is a fictitious Pennsylvania mining town whose name has clearly been suggested to the novelist by that of a late federal judge who wrote a series of decisions against the United Mine Workers. The book discursively covers the period of a coal strike which begins spontaneously in protest against the displacing of two miners by machines. It ends with strong emphasis on

the first half of the axiom "No strike is ever won; no strike is ever lost."

For the miners, in winning, have possibly lost more than they have gained. Their leaders have been framed, and one of them has been driven from town. The two who precipitated the strike have not been reinstated. Company stooges are firmly in the saddle; suspicion and dissension have replaced the strike's solidarity.

So much for the framework on which Mr. Heym has hung his tract.

We do wish he would not blandly equate unionism with communism, or all reaction and anti-labor bias with anti-communism. We could dispense with statements that the miners now own the mines in Poland—technically you and I own the White House, and the mint, and the U. S. S. Missouri—and that there was "... a fellow named Marx and another named Engels and a man

named Lenin, who started a big revolution and founded a new country where everybody, black and white and brown and yellow, was equal and where there were no bosses to tell where you can't go and where you can't sit and where you can't work." No bosses? It reminds one of Martin Chuzzlewit's retort brought up to date: No bosses, only commissars.

Yet none of these childish pipings obscure the fact that toward the end of the novel Mr. Heym has discovered a very potent propaganda weapon. The leaders of the strikers are framed, crude forgeries of Communist leaflets are planted where they will be damning, and the efforts of the strikers are discredited as the mob howls, "Commie! Go back to Russia."

That truth or justice or improved conditions can be injured by simply hollering "Communist"; that a man can be destroyed, politically, economically, and

FRIENDLY CHALLENGE TO THE CHURCHES

(Beyond selling space for publication of the accompanying material, *The Nation* is not to be held responsible for statements contained in the material)

The men who produced the new Revised Version of 1952 do not believe that the miracle-based Pentateuch is a trustworthy introduction to Hebrew history; and in this respect they represent the position of modern progressive Biblical scholarship. They agree with the late Dr. George A. Gordon, minister of the Old South Church, Boston, who said, "Slowly miracles have ceased to serve me in the evolution of my belief, in the moral campaign of my spirit" (*Religion and Miracle*, Preface).

"Miracle or evolution," therefore, is the antithesis, or dilemma, which organized religion is more and more compelled to face, whether it will or no. If the rise of Israel's mass-belief in one true God is not to be accounted for by supernatural transactions upon a flaming mountain in the desert of Arabia, we are necessarily thrown back upon a process of historical development in order to explain the religion.

Our young people, who are more or less familiar with the methods and results of science in astronomy, geology, chemistry, physics and general history, are graduated without any solid instruction in the cultural beginnings that underlie our conceptions of God and morality. They find, in the curricula of high school and college, much information about ancient and modern peoples; but they scarcely realize that there is a deadly academic ban against Hebrew history in the current scheme of general education.

When young people are exhorted to be religious, they resent the patronizing condescension of those who tell them what to do, but who are unable or afraid to face the dilemma involved in scientific progress that has at length led us into the heart of the atom. The always honest and sincere leaders in our churches must prepare to face the changed conditions that rule the intellectual and spiritual perspective of today. The situation is, of course, appalling, and cannot be dealt with easily or quickly. Suggestions about meeting the difficulty will be found in a circular that you can obtain free by sending a three-cent stamp to L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York. (One free copy only.)

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socially by pinning the party label on him—falsely or not—is a revolting fact, and no one can blame the author for making the most of it. Dies and Velde and Thomas and McCarthy forged and tempered and sharpened this weapon; it is their gift to communism. It is not surprising if Communists accept the gift from their natural allies.

The Romans in Switzerland

ROMAN WALL. By Bryher. Pantheon. \$2.75.

It seems almost unfair to refer to "Roman Wall," a quiet and finely wrought book by the Englishwoman who calls herself Bryher, as a historical novel. Although the book is set in the Roman provinces of Helvetia (Switzerland) during the third century of the Christian era, there are few trappings of modern historical fiction. Bryher uses delicate colors rather than turgid contrasts, without straining for "epic" effects. The result is a neat series of pictures capturing a significant moment in history.

While there is no lack of violence in "Roman Wall," as the barbaric Alemanni tribes sweep over the imperial

cities of Aventicum and Orba, violence undergoes a characteristic transformation under Bryher's pen. Everything is curiously filtered through a fragile prose, until terror itself becomes poignant. Bryher gives us the story of an era and civilization ending under flame, but presents it so softly, and in so simple and enameled a vehicle, that it hardly involves us at all.

The people in "Roman Wall" have an equally remote attraction—the attraction of two-dimensional figures in a series of tableaux. Valerius, the Roman officer; Julia, his sister; Demetrius, the Greek trader; Felix the convert to Christianity—who unusually enough plays a minor role—among others, resemble figures in the half-ruined Roman murals that still exist in some parts of Switzerland. They are lifelike but long since dead; their fates are softened by the mists of time.

Granted the lack of mobility and the thinness of Bryher's novel, there remains a pastel charm in her account of these last Romans who determined to remain "till the snows or the summers of Alemanni topple us under the thistles and grasses."

Music

B. H. Haggin

IN HIS letter to David Sarnoff Toscanini recalled the invitation in 1937 "to become the musical director of an orchestra to be created especially for me for the purpose of broadcasting symphonic music throughout the United States," and wrote that "the sad time has come when I must reluctantly lay aside my baton and say good-bye to my orchestra." For NBC, apparently, certain consequences followed from his statements: that the orchestra created especially for him, allegedly as a contribution to good music in this country, should be discontinued now that he laid down his baton, and the money it cost need be spent no longer. For me these consequences don't follow at all.

In the first place the group of players assembled for Toscanini in 1937 is today one of the world's finest orchestral instruments, with a claim to continued

existence even without him. Anyone who cares about music would no more destroy this instrument than he would a Stradivarius violin (to disregard for the moment the human aspect of the matter). And a broadcasting company which created the orchestra as a contribution to good music in 1937 would continue it today—with Cantelli, with other gifted younger conductors like Solti and van Otterloo, with some of the older men. This of course would cost money—more money than the fee for broadcasting the Boston Symphony next year; and so I come to the second point.

Actually NBC did not in 1937 create an additional new orchestra especially for Toscanini or give him any orchestra for his exclusive use. NBC's Red and Blue Networks already had staff orchestras of, I believe, sixty-five men each

who were used in various "services"; from these the required number of men were assembled whose weekly "services" now included the rehearsals and performance for Toscanini's broadcast; and he complained bitterly and legitimately about having to work with players spoiled each week by what they did in their other "services"—players who sometimes came to his rehearsal straight from a two-hour rehearsal of dance music. What *was* done for Toscanini was to replace a number of men in the staff orchestras with higher-caliber players who were paid—but only the first years—higher salaries. And when NBC had to give up one network it had to engage extra players to bring its remaining staff orchestra up to symphony size for the twenty-odd weeks of the Toscanini broadcasts.

Certainly this cost money; certainly Toscanini and the other conductors cost additional money: in the seventeen years it all cost millions. But the suitable comment on that was made by NBC itself repeatedly in the fall of 1946, when it kept informing listeners to the NBC Symphony broadcasts that their cost that year was being borne by the network itself out of revenue from sponsored programs, and that they were thus part of "a balanced service of the world's finest programs" which, "sponsored directly or not," were "all dependent on the sound American plan of financing radio by advertising revenue." Which is to say that in 1946 NBC rightly considered its expenditure on the symphony broadcasts a fulfillment of its part of the bargain of the American system of broadcasting—the bargain that in return for the use of part of the public domain to make money the broadcaster undertakes to spend part of the money for programs of public service. That was NBC's position also in the early years of the NBC Symphony broadcasts, when, if I remember correctly, it considered them unsuitable for commercial sponsorship. And that should be its position today, when it discontinues the orchestra because it cannot get a sponsor without Toscanini.

Actually the original decision to spend the money for Toscanini and the NBC Symphony wasn't made entirely for the public's benefit: it also acquired for NBC the prestige of Toscanini's name, which NBC profited by in its

sale of time and programs to advertisers (as CBS profited by the prestige of the New York Philharmonic). It was therefore an investment that brought a financial return; and in addition to this indirect return even when the broadcasts were unsponsored, there was the direct return later when they were sponsored. And lest anyone think I point this out in disapproval, let me say explicitly that I strongly approve of a broadcasting company, under the American commercial system, investing in a symphony orchestra and getting a return on its investment. But I contend further that even when there is no financial return on the investment, the company under the American system has the obligation NBC acknowledged in 1946.

Concerning those statements in 1946 about the "world's finest programs . . . dependent on the sound American plan of financing radio by advertising revenue" one could say then that the British plan of financing radio by license fees from owners of sets had proved equally sound and had given the British public even finer musical programs: the BBC, solely out of regard for music, had set up its BBC Symphony ten years before NBC, with one eye on the commercial value of Toscanini's name, set up the NBC Symphony (to say nothing of the difference between the American networks' broadcasting chiefly of the big-name orchestras and soloists and the Metropolitan Opera, and the BBC's systematic presentation of the entire musical literature). Today one can point out that the orchestra which the BBC created solely out of regard for music and paid for with license revenue still exists, whereas the orchestra which NBC created partly out of regard for the commercial value of Toscanini's name and paid for with the advertising revenue his name helped to bring in has, with his departure, been discontinued.

This, finally, was something the members of the orchestra had seen coming a long time and were prepared for. What they had not foreseen, what shocked and hurt them, was that nobody—from Mr. Sarnoff in his answer to Toscanini, all the way down to the man who dictated the formal notice of discontinuance on the bulletin board—thought of saying, in public or in private, one word of appreciation of the orchestra's distinguished achievements.

Letters •

(Continued from inside front cover)

anti-Communist mystique to the literary section where he may rediscover his roots in congenial company.

South Gate, Calif.

DANA PLATT

Dear Sirs: I read with interest the commentary by Mr. Frank in which he unfortunately falls prey to the very thing that a man of his repute presumably detests, the half-truth. In all fairness to him (and I recognize this as a valuable tool, necessary at times) if the writer did so in an attempt to gain emphasis then perhaps there is some justification. Note his sweeping generalization: "High thinking became a deterrent to trade. We still felt it sinful to live contrary to God's laws, so we changed the laws. It became 'God's will' that Americans live wealthy, comfortable, and with power and that these be the fruit of our virtue. . . . And all our power does not succeed in making two billion East Europeans, Asians, and Latin Americans behave as we do!"

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ACROSS

- 1 See 21 down.
- 2 Free --- yet some charge to do it. (7)
- 3 Generation of vipers, or at least the family. (7)
- 4 No case for the gentleman of 1 across to be on! (6)
- 5 Gets near, but not quite to divert from use. (8)
- 6 One who takes a trip, perhaps, on foot? (7)
- 7 This ruler is certainly the head of a state! (5)
- 8 See 21 down.
- 9 Rushed away with a bag of it! (7)
- 10 See 21 down.
- 11 Here thousands are dressed to the highest degree. (6)
- 12 Father to Proteus. (7)
- 13 Take liberty, for example. (7)
- 14 Sometimes called living the consequence of simultaneous speech. (5, 3, 6)

DOWN

- 1 Few would emulate him in "Be Kind to Animals" week. (9)
- 2 and 8. Naturally slowed down if it loses its bearings; indoors it's likely to be tired. (6, 5)
- 3 A story about a hotel being built up in a number of years. (9)

- 4 Good listeners are all this. (4)
- 5 See 13 down.
- 6 It flowed ethereally from the choir. (5)
- 7 Spoken about noise in general. (7)
- 8 See 2 down.
- 9 and 5. Perform surgery with a ligature? (7, 2, 1, 10)
- 10 The low register of a clarinet. (9)
- 11 Fig-leaves? (5, 4)
- 12 He uses his 4 with good account, or checks it. (7)
- 13 Citrus fruit. (7)
- 14 17 across, 21 across, 1 across. Pounded when salt becomes high? (4, 5, 2, 2, 4, 1, 7, 6)
- 15 Stick with a girl, it seems. (5)
- 16 Used for digging up the most common vegetable? (4)

— ★ —

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DOWN:—1 and 2 RENT CONTROL; 3 NOTES; 4 EXPATRIATE; 5 and 30 RIFLE BARRELS; 7 ACHAEAN; 8 MUSSETTE BAG; 9 BISCUITS; 14 PLACED KICKS; 16 SALESMAN; 18 PROPAGANDY; 22 UPSPRING; 24 CHEER; 25 TACHE; 26 HEAT.

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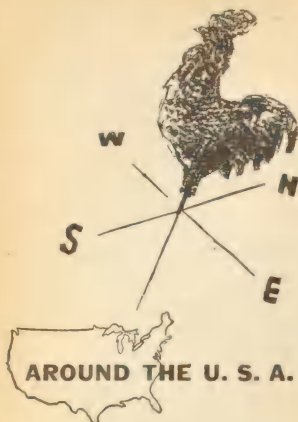
Labor and McCarthy

Bernard Nossiter

Right All Along

Thomas J. Hamilton

A Review of Bowers's "My Mission to Spain"



Velde Saves the Northwest

Seattle, Washington

WHEN Representative Velde first planned to expose Communist subversion of the Pacific Northwest, he thought the job could be done in a three-day session conducted by a two-man subcommittee of his House Un-American Activities Committee. This estimate was revised when Mrs. Barbara Hartle, who in 1953 had been sentenced to a five-year term in federal prison for violation of the Smith Act, went to the F. B. I. to recant and report. Mrs. Hartle promised to supply the committee with "more than three hundred names" of local Communists, and the brief routine hearing was therefore extended to a week-long performance before the full committee.

The show opened on June 14 in Seattle's County-City Building. Mrs. Hartle took the witness chair. With the ubiquitous television cameras focused on her face and at times superimposing her image on that of various committee members, she read from her notes a list of former and present members of the Communist Party, naming almost every person with whom she had been associated for the past twenty years, including her two former husbands.

Forty-six witnesses were called. Thirty-five refused to testify concerning past or present Communist activity. Almost all invoked the Fifth Amendment. Some called upon the First, the Fourth,

the Sixth, the Ninth, the Tenth, the Thirteenth, the Fourteenth, and the Fifteenth. Many expressed their legal objections to the questions and kept silent. These were politely excused and told to sign their witness vouchers before leaving the room. George Starkovich, a thirty-two-year-old lumber worker, engaged Chairman Velde in a spirited exchange:

Velde: "Do you have contempt in your heart for this committee?"

Witness: "I do and I want it in the record."

Velde: "Would you fight for your nation in Indo-China?"

Witness: "If I were drafted, I would carry out my duty as an American; but at the same time I'll speak out every time I can—let's stay out of Indo-China!"

Velde: "Were you a Communist while in the service?"

Witness: "That's a phony question from a phony Congressman."

The committee recommended to Congress a contempt citation for this witness.

One of the few witnesses called to testify in the afternoon who had not been named in the morning was Dr. Abraham Keller, a teacher at the University of Washington. The committee spent an hour trying to get Keller to identify Joseph Weinberg as a member of the Communist Party. Weinberg had previously been named by the committee as the notorious "Scientist X," allegedly the head of a nation-wide ring of Communist spies, and had been cleared of the charge in the courts. Keller parried the committee's attempts by asking his questioners to establish some criterion for party membership. Representative Gordon Scherer, Ohio Republican, said to Keller: "You're a college professor. You should be able to answer a simple question as to whether a man was a member of the Communist Party." Keller could not.

When Mrs. Hartle named John Caughlan as a member of the Communist Party, she set the stage for the most eagerly awaited scenes of the hearings. In 1948 Caughlan had been acquitted of perjuring himself at an Immigration Board hearing when he had testified he had never been a Communist. He spoke for one hour, meeting the substantive problem of civil liberties head-on.

He invoked the Fifth Amendment. He said that the committee's questions

were depriving him of his chief asset, his reputation as an attorney. "This constitutes," he said, "depriving me of my property by defamation." He invoked the Sixth Amendment, stating that he was entitled to a trial by jury to protect his "property." He invoked the Fourth Amendment in defense of his right of privacy, and cited the Ninth and Tenth. "Because the Communist Party may oppose this committee, and I and others do likewise," he said, "we are accused of following the Communist Party line and are tarred with the Communist brush."

A bright spot in the hearings was the action of the Seattle Bar Association. Advised that many of those subpoenaed could not obtain counsel, the association appointed its own president and one of its vice-presidents to represent several witnesses, each of whom, incidentally, invoked the Fifth Amendment after consulting counsel.

MRS. HARTLE kept her promise and named more than three hundred persons. Representative Jackson was beside himself with gratitude. On behalf of the committee he presented a bouquet of flowers to his star witness. "Nobody," he said, "went to jail with more well-wishers. . . . Good luck and Godspeed!"

This investigation even had its own commercials. At least five times each session the proceedings were interrupted while testimonials to the committee were read by Velde or Jackson. Telegrams of congratulation and praise came from the American Gold Star Mothers, the Ballard Elks Lodge, the Everett P. T. A., the Hi-Line Professional Business Women's Club, the Everett Lodge of the Sons of Italy, the Independent Order of Foresters, the Navy Mothers' Club, the Fleet Reserve Association, the Bellingham Central Labor Council, the American Legion, the V. F. W.

In his closing statement Representative Jackson, looking directly into the television cameras, reminded his vast audience of the committee's devotion to fair play, honesty, and patriotism: "Whenever anyone hears ranting or raving by Communists, fellow-sympathizers, and left-wingers generally, they should remember these hearings."

JAY G. SYKES

[Jay G. Sykes is a Seattle attorney and free-lance writer.]

The Shape of Things

Loyal Plumbers

For two months now the U. N. has been trying, without much success, to hire sixteen plumbers, upholsterers, carpenters, bricklayers, pipe coverers, and masons as staff employees. Most of the organization's maintenance workers are employed by contractors, but these men are needed to make the day-to-day emergency repairs—fix leaking pipes, patch the paint, recoil the springs in the furniture, and the like. But while the pipes leak and the paint peels, the loyalty and security clearances required of all American citizens employed as staff members have not been forthcoming. "It's much harder to check a plumber or a carpenter," explains an American security officer, "than a college professor." If the clearances are withheld much longer, the U. N. will be forced to recruit maintenance personnel in Canada, where the loyalty of plumbers is more or less taken for granted. Can it be that the isolationists who have had their eyes on the U. N. headquarters for a long time as a likely piece of real estate, advancing various proposals for its conversion into either an office building or an apartment hotel, have conspired to reduce the asking price by making it impossible for the Secretary General to keep it in repair? The building, gentlemen, is not yet for sale.

Rule of Law

While Dag Hammarskjöld struggles manfully with the problem of finding American plumbers of certifiable loyalty, the International Court of Justice, in a nine-to-three ruling, has held that the General Assembly should appropriate the \$179,420 requested by the Secretary General to cover the awards to eleven American staff members who were dismissed for having refused to answer questions about possible Communist ties before a Senate committee. The dissent of the American representative was concurred in by a Chilean and a Brazilian, but even Nationalist China's representative joined in the majority opinion. Outraged, Senator Herman Welker has predicted that the decision will have "a terrific impact on the American people's feeling" toward the United Nations. We doubt it. Senator Welker, like Senator Knowland, may feel that it does not violate the American tradition of good sportsmanship and fair

play to threaten to walk out of the game when the umpire rules against the home team, but even Senator Ferguson, who did much to stimulate the witch hunt at the U. N., concedes that the ruling of the International Court should be accepted with good grace. The decision should do something to restore the sagging morale of the international secretariat; so should the refusal of the Swiss government to grant the six-man International Organizations Loyalty Board the extra-territorial privilege of conducting a witch hunt on Swiss soil. Rebukes of this sort ought to shame us into adopting somewhat better international manners, but the Washington bully boys are as invulnerable to shame as strip-tease dancers. Like unruly adolescents, they become more sullen and raucous with every attempt to improve their ways.

Tempest in Miami

In an early issue we hope to describe in some detail the ugly witch hunt, with unmistakable overtones of anti-Semitism, that is currently holding the spotlight in Miami. Under the firm impression, apparently, that the Soviets are likely to seize the Naval Air Station of Opa-locka almost any weekend, the *Miami Daily News* has been featuring a series of articles by Damon Runyon, Jr., about local "red" activities, based on the "revelations" of one Al Spears, who is billed as "an undercover man for the F. B. I." The Dale County grand jury has been summoning witnesses as fast as they are named by the talkative Mr. Spears. The district attorney, possibly with an eye on some lofty future eminence, takes the position that since the Florida statute of limitations is two years witnesses are not entitled to invoke the protection of the Fifth Amendment when questioned about matters that happened two years and one day ago. Two witnesses have been found in contempt and given jail sentences, one of a year, the other of ninety days. Both cases are on appeal but bail has been denied.

All this would appear to be another manifestation of a vigilante spirit which must surely delight every enemy of democratic institutions here and abroad. Is the F. B. I. responsible for this outbreak of village fascism? If not, why is it so tardy in disclaiming the informer upon whose revelations it is based? In a recent interview with the Rev. Joseph Barth of the First Unitarian Church in Miami, spokesman for the F. B. I. expressed some uneasiness about the matter. But the

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public is entitled to know if the bureau has directly or indirectly sanctioned this local name-calling with its disgraceful overtones of group conflict and religious bias. It is also entitled to know whether, under cover of a state statute or proceeding, any citizens are being denied the equal protection of the laws.

New Falangist Line

A MADRID correspondent writes: Now the Falangist radio has another motif in its attacks on France—the Jewish origin of the new Premier. M. Mendès-France is regularly referred to as "that Jew who is ready to sell Indo-China to Ho Chi-minh and Mao."

Of course all the attacks on France, like the earlier attacks on Britain on account of Gibraltar, are little more than attempts to create a political diversion. Anxiety and discontent are rapidly increasing as the people begin to suspect that in case of war the American bases would mean, not protection but the destruction of Spain. The other day in a much frequented Madrid café somebody was passing around an issue of *Life* containing pictures of the hideous effects of the H-bomb explosion. The result was a spontaneous explosion in the coffee house. Many people shouted: "That miserable Franco has sold out Spain to America. One day we shall all be bombed!"—and other such comments. It was an incredible performance—quite open and violent. I only hope that some American tourists were there to witness it.

Black Lists and Gray

In a recent issue of the magazine *Frontier*, Elizabeth Poe pens a devastating analysis of the black lists and gray lists to which Hollywood's hiring policies are geared.

Prospective employees as well as suspected employees are now called into the office of the studios' "dossier men," and asked to sign letters disavowing past connections. . . . If they sign, they continue to work. Where these dossiers come from is a mystery, aside from the obvious public sources such as the reports of the House committee. People whose names have never appeared publicly in any official report have found themselves confronted with lists of organizations of which they were members years ago. Nobody other than studio executives knows whether these private investigators are investigating everybody on the studio pay rolls or only those employees on whom the studios receive some information from one of the volunteer organizations such as the Legion, other unidentifiable groups, or perhaps some person with a personal grudge.

Casualties of the "dossier men" so far include more than 200 writers, actors, and so forth, on the official hiring black list and scores more—against whom no public charges have been made—on a gray list which is equally effective in banning employment. One writer

who lost his job was charged with having attended a war-time meeting of the Writers' Congress—to which, incidentally, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie had sent greetings. Dismissed employees are given no opportunity to face their unknown accusers, are permitted no trial, and are granted no right of appeal.

Such is McCarthyism at work in a citadel of a great nation's culture. So crushing and well-documented is *Frontier's* exposé that a smart movie mogul could turn it into handsome profits for his studio. All he would have to do would be to change the locale to Moscow, turn the "dossier men" into "political commissars," dress the investigators in the long coats and padded shoulders of the secret state police, and he would have a sure-fire hit.

Back in Business

THE junior Senator from Wisconsin is back in business, brash as ever, selling the same old bilious "Indian Charlie" patent medicine at the same old stand in the old familiar style. A little off form when he returned to Washington from a seventeen-day vacation "south of the Rio Grande,"—nervous, his hands shaking—he dismissed reporters without giving them a headline and hurried from the airport. But his nerves were doubtless quieted by the unanimous decision of the twelve-man Republican Policy Committee to support Senator Knowland's proposal to table Senator Ralph Flanders's motion to remove McCarthy as chairman of the Senate Investigations Committee. With typical boldness he has now resumed the chairmanship of the committee, outmaneuvered the Democrats by refusing to recognize Senator McClellan's proxy, and delayed, perhaps until after the Arkansas primary on July 27, any effort to "clean up" the committee's staff. The meeting at which Joe picked up the gavel was a long two-hour closed session described as "stormy." However stormy Senators Symington and Jackson may have been on the staff issue, they once again demonstrated their inability to oppose McCarthy effectively, first, by voting contempt citations against two Harvard professors who had refused to tattle on former associates, and, second, by failing to block further hearings until the staff question is resolved.

At this writing Senator Flanders, receding from his attempt to remove McCarthy from the chairmanship, is attempting to force a roll-call vote on a motion of censure. As one top spokesman put it to us, the Democrats are "wrestling with themselves on this issue." The leadership insists that McCarthy is the Republicans' problem. Yet it should be obvious that if McCarthy were removed as chairman or otherwise censured it would undercut the effectiveness of any campaigning he may do this fall. Indeed Senator Flanders's proposal to censure the Wisconsin Senator gave the Democrats a fine opportunity

—the last good pre-election opportunity they will have—to make an issue of McCarthyism. But the old aversion to facing up to the "soft-on-communism" blackmail will not down. Then there are the Dixiecrats who contend that it would weaken the "two-party system" if the majority party's right to organize the Senate were upset by a coalition of Republicans and Democrats. This is strange doctrine from Dixiecrats who are experts in coalition politics and haven't believed in the two-party system since the days of John C. Calhoun. No one questions the majority's right to organize the Senate. The real issue is whether the Senate, as a matter of self-respect, can afford to ignore McCarthy's contemptuous behavior. The immediate danger is that the Senate will decide not to clean house by rebuking McCarthy but once again to evade its responsibilities by "cleaning up" the committee's staff. This will fool no one and it will keep McCarthy in business. Senator Flanders's maneuver may have been poorly planned and not well thought-out but it should be supported all the same.

Guatemala Bulletin

HAVING courageously rescued the Western Hemisphere from the imminent threat of destruction at the hands of several Communists holding influential jobs in the Republic of Guatemala, the Eisenhower Administration last week completed its victory by recognizing the right-wing junta which it had set up in office. Do not imagine this was a mere matter of form. On the contrary, the State Department took its time and before putting the seal of official American approval on its hand-picked *caudillo* made sure, as the *New York Times* reported, that the Castillo Armas regime had the "true anti-Communist flavor."

But now comes the pay-off, for the flavor of anti-communism, however delightful, is not potent enough by itself to run a country. Mr. Dulles has volunteered that the United States would "continue [sic] to support the just aspirations of the Guatemalan people." He has also offered to help "alleviate conditions in Guatemala and elsewhere which might afford communism an opportunity to spread its tentacles throughout the hemisphere." And Colonel Castillo has outlined a plan of reform to take the place of the actual reforms initiated by his predecessors. But his first acts have been strictly in the tradition of Latin American dictators serving their own and their masters' interests. As reported here last week, he has disfranchised all who cannot read and write—in other words about three-fourths of the people. Since then, according to an A. P. dispatch, he has decreed the dissolution of all political parties that had backed the left-wing government of ousted President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman. Considering that the pro-Arbenz parties held 95 per cent of the seats in the national Parliament, it

seems odd that the story of their dissolution was told in just over five lines of type and buried deep in the back pages of the papers.

But odder still is the notion that with only a quarter of the population allowed to vote and only one party—

extremely small and extremely reactionary—left above ground, the just aspirations of the Guatemalan people will somehow be ascertained and fulfilled by Mr. Dulles and his certified anti-Communist junta. We are waiting eagerly to see how it is done.

END OF A CRUSADE?

Our Hesitant Allies . . . by J. Alvarez del Vayo

Washington

EVEN after his departure, Secretary Dulles's brief visit to Paris continues to play an important role in the last phase of the Geneva conference. By going to Paris to meet Premier Mendès-France, he adroitly found his way out of an almost impossible situation. Considering what both he and the President had been saying, and in view of the extreme position taken by Knowland and the know-nothing wing of the Republican Party, it was impossible for him to go to Geneva without precipitating a first-class party row. At the same time it was impossible for him to ignore entirely the entreaties from Paris and London and permit a cease-fire agreement, inevitable in any case, to be signed in an atmosphere of complete collapse of Western unity. The Paris trip was an intelligent compromise suggested by Mendès-France. In extending the invitation the French Premier did a service not only to Mr. Dulles but to himself, for he stilled—at least for the moment—the Laniel-Bidault opposition which had been accusing him of having "isolated France from America."

Mr. Dulles's difficulties are not over, of course. He wants simultaneously to dissociate the United States from the truce and to influence its terms. Nor are some of the American ideas on an Indo-China settlement easy to defend. Mr. Dulles energetically backs French opposition to early free elections in Vietnam, where the Communists might win, even as he demands them in Korea and Germany, where the Communists are sure to lose. One could of course argue correctly that the Communists are being equally inconsistent. But it is from the West, not from the Communists, that

the world expects strict adherence to the forms of classical democracy. The insistence on trying to save Laos and Cambodia not only for their own sake but to protect the periphery of the prospective Southeast Asian alliance intensified Communist suspicions and was one of the most intractable issues of the final days.

Mr. Dulles's mission to Paris may serve to open the eyes of the American people to certain facts which have hitherto been obscured, mostly by wishful thinking. Despite the forthright comments of such solid experts as James Reston, Howard K. Smith, the Alsops, Walter Millis, Walter Lippmann, and others, most Americans do not yet realize the extent of the defeat suffered by Washington diplomacy in the last few months. Optimistic by nature, they are perhaps too ready to derive comfort from headlines which tell them that Mr. Churchill has retreated on the question of the admission of China to the United Nations. The retreat, though real, is only temporary, and sooner or later the American people will have to face the fact that the British Commonwealth will be practically united in demanding a seat for Peking in the world organization. The American press, seeking to satisfy its readers' unquenchable thirst for cheerful news, is inclined to convey the impression that forty-eight hours of discussion among Messrs. Dulles, Eden, and Mendès-France have been sufficient to repair all rents in the Western coalition.

It can be argued that Mr. Dulles's famous address before the Overseas Press Club sounded the knell of the Truman-Acheson foreign policy and the inauguration of the new aggressive

anti-Communist policy of the Eisenhower regime. On many aspects of the long series of events which followed the Dulles speech there is room for legitimate differences of opinion, but I think that all realistic observers will agree on three fundamental facts. First, it has been definitively established that the other powers of the Atlantic coalition will refuse to accompany the United States on any kind of anti-Communist crusade that might end in a world war. No World War III except one resulting from overt aggression by Russia or China could be started with any assurance that NATO, including Great Britain and France, would be fighting on the American side. And it can be taken as axiomatic that neither of the two great Communist powers—unless they lose their heads—would endanger the enormous diplomatic gains they have made in recent months by launching any such military adventure.

Second, Washington is steadily losing "reliable" allies who can be counted on to support a foreign policy based on "liberation" or "roll-back." In Asia the roster will one day be limited to South Korea, Formosa, Thailand, and perhaps one or two other minor military powers. In Europe the prospect is even bleaker. One day West Germany, whether armed under E. D. C. or by the United States directly, will take its destiny in its own hands and ultimately either strike for the restoration of its lost territories or link its future with the East.

Third, on the basis of the foregoing premises, it would appear that there will be war only if the United States chooses to go it alone—unless you call Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek company. Most European diplomats to

whom I have spoken agree that such an eventuality is very unlikely so long as a soldier like Eisenhower, who has a realistic appreciation of the military difficulties of such a course, remains in the White House. There is another factor working against the powerful go-it-alone clique in Washington. The Republican hierarchy is undoubtedly convinced that military intervention in Indo-China would prove catastrophic for the November elections: there is no political profit in getting out of one war only to become involved in another. Yet the go-it-aloners are strong enough, and the cold-war tensions so incalculable, that one must always reckon with the improbable.

AS this week began, with the fateful deadline set by Pierre Mendès-France only forty-eight hours off, the negotiators at Geneva were engaged in the

toughest trading of the whole conference. When still in the opposition, Mendès-France consistently warned that the refusal of successive French governments to negotiate with Ho Chi-minh while there were still good cards in their hands would lead to a fatal deterioration of the situation, with no alternative but surrender. Once head of the government, he could not accept surrender. In fact, during the last few days he took a stiffer stand than his predecessors, promising a continuation of the war if the talks failed, with French conscripts sent as reinforcements and an appeal to America for more help. He was there to obtain the maximum that could be had: the port of Haiphong (since Hanoi was already beyond saving), a line along the sixteenth parallel instead of the fourteenth as demanded by the Communists, and as distant a date as possible for elections in Vietnam.

The Communists, in their turn, were evidently standing pat until the last minute to see how much the hard-pressed French premier would yield, but a Sunday dispatch from the Chinese side revealed an awareness of the advantages that might be gained from moderation and the disadvantage of pressing for the full price that Ho's military position would otherwise justify. A truce now would greatly increase the already enhanced prestige of Chou En-lai. And the Geneva conference, which the United States so firmly declined to regard as the "Big Five" conference, would end by establishing the Peking government on the topmost level of the international community. An agreement reached at Geneva would also multiply the difficulties faced by Washington in attempting to bar Communist China from representation in the United Nations.

ANOTHER INDO-CHINA?

North African Headache . . by *Claude Bourdet*

AFTER the murder of Tunisia's great labor leader, Ferhat Hached, in December, 1952, his widow sought a French lawyer who was honest, courageous, and had enough political influence in France to counter the attempts of the colonial administration to hush up the crime. The Pâris representative of the Tunisian Neo-Destourian Party—the colony's biggest nationalist party, of which Hached was one of the top leaders—asked Pierre Mendès-France to accept the job. He did.

Up to then Mendès-France had shown little interest in colonial affairs as such. His fight against the war in Indo-China had been mainly against what he termed a crazy involvement in a problem too big for too small a nation; his position had nothing to do with anti-colonialism. Nor had he any particular interest in the Arab world; his wife comes from a French Jewish family long established

in Cairo, and I would imagine that he himself, like many French Jews, has been under the influence of the Third Republic's policy towards the Jews of North Africa, tending to use them as allies of the colonial administration against the Moslems. So the Neo-Destourians' choice of counsel was in a way a gamble: it is a credit to their political ingenuity that they chose to take the risk.

Mendès-France came back from Tunis, I think, sick with disgust. He realized that he had not imagined possible: that the French colonial police was a Gestapo in French uniform. Not only had he heard everywhere tales of torture; he had himself helped to set free men accused of terrorist attacks who had been tortured and had "confessed" even though they had been in prison on other charges at the time the alleged crimes took place. He also learned what everybody in the Tunisian administration and in official and newspaper circles in Paris already knew, but what had

been for the most part carefully hidden from the French public: Ferhat Hached had been murdered by a gang of police thugs organized by fascist settlers and by part of the French police.

On the whole Mendès-France learned a lot about colonialism from his Tunisian visit. But this meant little at the time, for France's policy in the Moghreb was then dominated by a coalition representing M. Bidault's sectarian anti-Moslem imperialism and the more practical ambitions of the settlers' lobby. When Closterman, the Gaullist deputy and wartime R.A.F. ace, one of the more moderate leaders of French business in Morocco, beseeched Bidault in May, 1953, to stop supporting the colonial administration's drive against the Sultan, Bidault answered with a shrug, "I will never let the Crescent defeat the Cross." A few weeks later Bidault's subordinates encouraged a rebellion of southern Berbers against the Sultan, who was deposed "to prevent trouble." Morocco has been afire ever since.

CLAUDE BOURDET, editor of *L'Observateur de Paris*, is a frequent contributor to *The Nation*.

Bidault's Christian Democratic Party, the M.R.P., apart from a few of its leaders like Bidault himself and Maurice Schumann, former Under Secretary of State, favors a more liberal policy toward Tunisia and Morocco. But the M.R.P., as are all Vatican-dominated parties in Europe, is committed to the European Defense Community as a means of building the small Catholic-controlled Europe of the Holy See's dreams. E.D.C. is distasteful to most Frenchmen, whether left, center, or right, except for this Catholic group, a minority of extreme Burnhamian "roll-backers," and some idealists who do not seem to have studied the Bonn and Paris treaties. So the more anti-colonialist M.R.P.'s have had to accept a kind of horse trade with the pro-colonialists of their own party: "You accept E.D.C. and we accept police-state methods in North Africa."

This deal largely accounts for the fact that when the colonial administration slaughtered more than a thousand Moroccans in Casablanca in December, 1952, Robert Schuman, then Foreign Minister, could do no more than complain plaintively in the respectable review *La Nef* that he did not have much power, after all, regarding the North African parts of his administration.

The results of a policy which combines weakness, crooked bargaining, and ruthless support of colonial interests are now apparent. In Morocco, a country which had known little if any political violence in earlier days, a variety of assaults, shootings, bombings, arson, and sabotage have become daily occurrences. The Arab terrorists first

struck against the "collaborators" among their own people; now they strike against the colonialist leaders. The murder of the Tunisian publisher Eyraud, one of the most violently reactionary of the French settlers in Morocco, sent a wave of anxiety through the whole French population. The police under General Guillaume have answered with equal ruthlessness, deporting such nationalist leaders as still remained in the country, torturing prisoners, and offering premiums for the capture of terrorists. But as in Indo-China, the population is clearly on the side of the rebels. A man can shoot his chosen victim in the street; nobody will bear witness. Moreover, the elimination of the traditional nationalist leaders (nearly all are in concentration camps, some are abroad, a few in hiding) has resulted in changing the character of the movement's leadership. In the place of the peace-loving if highly vocal bourgeois chieftains of the Moroccan Istiqlal Party, a new group of much "harder" people, most of them of labor or peasant origin, has taken charge. They would not hesitate at outright war if they could get sufficient arms smuggled across the border of Spanish Morocco. As a result of Franco's pro-Arab policy—and also of his desire not to repeat French mistakes—the nationalists in Spanish Morocco are having a quieter time and somewhat more freedom. It is not one of the least ludicrous contradictions of the present situation that the Moroccan leaders should be obliged to look toward fascist Spain for some tolerance and support.

In Tunisia things are just as bad. Practically all the Destourian leaders are

in prison; the personally charming, politically moderate Habib Bourguiba has been deported to an island off the coast of Brittany; the Tunisians look upon him as their Joan of Arc. As in Morocco, violence flares daily. The proximity of the Libyan frontier makes it easy to smuggle arms from the Arab countries, and the conflict is gradually taking on the form of an armed rebellion. A year ago it was customary to describe the *jellagas* operating in southern Tunisia as "bandits"; today no French military authority would deny that they constitute a small but well-organized army.

ALL this is gradually becoming known to the French public despite the veil of silence put up by the big French daily and weekly press, the publishers of which are often closely identified with colonial big-business interests. Yet curiously some of these same business interests are now beginning to urge a reappraisal of colonial policy. In Morocco a group of wealthy settlers, some of whom are in contact with Catholic business circles, have issued a strong plea for a more liberal policy as the only means of putting a stop to the growing violence. The same thing has happened in Tunisia, where a part of the administration as well as many important business men are clearly trying to separate themselves from the fascist circles which engineered Hached's murder. But so far these voices have been pleading in the wilderness. The appointment of M. Voizard as the new High Commissioner in Tunisia last year and of M. Lacoste in Morocco this year gave hope that policy would change in both areas. But as long as the Bidault-Martinaud crowd were in power in Paris, hope continued to be dashed. Voizard's "reforms" in Tunisia, Lacoste's attitude when he arrived in Morocco, proved to be nothing more than another attempt to camouflage the traditional colonial policies which led to such splendid results in Indo-China.

Now, at last, with Mendès-France in power, things can change. Does it mean that they *will*? All one can say is that there is a chance. The settlers' lobby and the paranoiacs are out of government. Francois Mitterand, the only minister who resigned from Laniel's government in protest against the deposition of the Sultan, is back in service. Other of Mendès-France's ministers are



"Where the devil are the voters?"
"In prison, Mr. Resident General."

known for their liberal views regarding North Africa. I have already spoken of his own feelings toward Tunisia. There is not the slightest doubt that his inclination would be to bring Bourguiba back and negotiate with the real representatives of the Tunisian people. But the present government in Paris is supported by a right-wing coalition, and Mendès-France's power is yet too new and his regime too shaky to allow him to strike out on an independent line.

Mendès-France knows that something

must be done; he has said as much. But to suppress the French police state in North Africa he will need popular strength so great that he can defy his right-wing supporters. The success of his Indo-China plan could bring him that. For the next couple of months, however, it is conceivable that the situation in North Africa will continue to deteriorate. The fact that Mendès-France has not yet been able to do anything has already been a terrible disappointment to the nationalists, who

were expecting much from him.

There is a fundamental condition for any sane approach to the Franco-North African problem, which is that Mendès-France remain in power. And there is a permanent and growing threat against him—the Anglo-American pressure for German rearmament which is capable of breaking up his majority. It may be that the first result of the State Department's German policy will be to ruin all chances for a North African settlement so long desired by Washington.

H-BOMB CONTROL

Safeguarding the World . . by David R. Inglis

BEFORE the U. N. Assembly last December, President Eisenhower spoke eloquently of our desire to seek "more than a mere reduction or elimination of atomic materials available for military purposes" and made his famous atom-pool proposal for adapting these materials to the "arts of peace" on an international basis. The proposal met Soviet rejection at the time and failed to reduce East-West tension, but its failure does not mean that a carefully devised, practical, and mutually advantageous arms-limitation proposal, if made now, would meet a similar fate.

Addressing the Supreme Soviet early this year, Malenkov expressed the realization that both sides, not just the "capitalist" powers, stood to lose an atomic war. This was the first indication that the magnitude of the threat of mutual annihilation had penetrated the consciousness of the Soviet Leaders. Preliminary reports of the recent secret meeting in London of a U. N. subcommittee on disarmament unfortunately suggest that no unusual effort was made to exploit the new awareness, and these meetings seem to have followed the frustrating

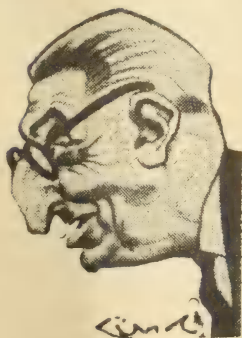
pattern of earlier, more widely publicized negotiations.

The last of those earlier negotiations took place in the U. N. Disarmament Commission in the spring and summer of 1952. By then the West's proposals had changed only a little from their original 1946 form, the "Baruch plan." They were still based on that plan, although it was already obsolete in that it paid too much attention to avoiding the new production of atomic weapons and too little to accounting for past production. The new feature proposed by the United States in 1952 was an "arms count," a plan for the progressive (in five stages) disclosure and verification of the extent and nature of atomic

and conventional armaments by both sides. This was based on the idea that one cannot talk about armament reduction without knowing what armaments exist, but it was unrealistic because it demanded great sacrifices without providing any incentive except the hope of further agreement.

The Soviets' position had also changed but little from their earliest proposals. They still demanded starting off with a blanket prohibition of atomic weapons, though they had relaxed on the question of the veto in the routine conduct of atomic control and admitted that inspection, in some ill-defined way, must be continuous. They opposed the idea of proceeding by stages in order to build up mutual confidence. Each side seemed to consider its proposals perfectly safe in the sense that they stood no chance of being accepted by the other side or of stopping the arms race, which was politically expedient and did not yet threaten catastrophe.

This was the situation when the French delegate, Jules Moch, made his valiant attempt to reconcile the opposing sides with a proposal similar to that which he outlined recently in these pages (Banning the H-Bomb—a Feasible Program, by Jules Moch, *The Nation* May 15, 1954). Instead of five stages as proposed by one side or a single-step introduction of prohibition and controls as proposed by the other,



Jules Moch

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July 24, 1954



Stuttgarter Nachrichten

Last Hydrogen Bomb Test: "Sorry, we miscalculated a little."

Moch advocated a three-stage plan in which the "arms count" feature was dovetailed with steps of actual disarmament.

As he presented it in *The Nation*, the French scheme suggested, along with limitation of conventional armaments, that atomic production be stopped while international inspectors got acquainted with the production plants. In the last stage production would be resumed and all the nations would trustfully beat atomic swords into plowshares. This seems like the right spirit in which to go about disarming, and a good logical order in which to do it among friends, but it also shows how superficially the statesmen most concerned have considered the problem of designing a mutually advantageous disarmament plan capable of functioning in a distrustful world.

Besides outlining the French proposal, M. Moch in his article made the personal suggestion that it might be relatively easy to get an agreement to ban H-bombs and control A-bombs. But he based this view on two serious misconceptions. "It is not unlikely," he said, "that before long nobody will dare to continue experiments with the H-bomb." In reality, neither of the principal contenders in the armament race will dare not to so long as no agreement is reached. He then suggested that it would be practicable to "prohibit the use" of H-bombs because the detonation of an H-bomb can be detected thousands of miles away. In reality, although the ease of distant detection does make practicable a ban on the testing of H-bombs, it provides no check at all on whether they are being stockpiled.

M. Moch was at an obvious disadvantage, as is any statesman not represent-

ing one of the two chief antagonists, in not having access to all the atomic facts of life on which a practicable proposal must be based. Still, it is a pity that some statesman not directly involved in the atomic-armaments race has not pushed more detailed proposals, since the representatives of the "atomic colossi," to use Eisenhower's words, have apparently been too preoccupied with "malevolently eyeing each other." In particular, American and other Western statesmen are preoccupied with preventing further expansion of the Soviet orbit as a necessary precondition to confronting the Kremlin with a choice between reasonable agreement and mutual atomic annihilation. They do not seem to be thinking much about possible types of agreement or to be trying to hasten an over-all settlement by coupling it with an attractive disarmament proposal including atomic weapons.

SINCE the technical problem of designing a possible agreement with adequate guaranties is becoming rapidly more difficult with the accumulation of atomic stockpiles, it is dangerous at this crucial time to have a virtual moratorium on creative thought about possible agreements. Our country should have a high-level group of imaginative thinkers, perhaps a successor to the State Department Panel on Disarmament of 1952, at work on the problem of devising and evaluating possible reasonable agreements in all details. Our diplomats have waited too long for the other side to change its mind spontaneously and agree about the general approach before worrying about the details. It is high time to see if a complete agreement cannot be devised so mutually advantageous as to make the Soviet

leaders change their minds. An adequate plan may not be still possible, but the stakes are high enough to make the gamble worth while. Since the United States seems to be letting the problem go by default, other countries might well take a try at it. They might do better than we could in devising something acceptable to both sides. At the very least it would be interesting to have M. Moch fill in some of the details of the French proposal and see how it shapes up.

SUPPOSE both sides are convinced that to continue the arms race is to march blindly over the brink of disaster. Suppose they are convinced so thoroughly that they are willing to abandon the traditional idea of seeking "security" in unlimited development of national armaments, provided an agreement can be reached which will really limit both sides proportionately and prevent foul play. What are the requirements of such an agreement?

The first is that it provide each nation with assurances that as arms reduction is carried out, the other side will not at any stage gain a temporary advantage that might tempt it to commit aggression. This means balancing the concessions as they are required. The second requirement is that it offer the certainty that no arms cache of dangerous proportions has been secreted. The compact nature of atomic armaments makes this a very tough problem. Once carefully hidden, they cannot be found with certainty by any practicable search of a country. Of course, the plants in which atomic materials are made are conspicuous, and it is hoped that the amounts they produced before the control agreement came into effect can be ascertained with some exactness. This would limit the possible hidden stockpiles to a size considerably smaller than the present actual stockpiles. It is very important to lessen the uncertainty as much as possible in order to foster mutual confidence in the working of the agreement. The technical means for inspecting the production plants to this end, extracting and interpreting radioactive tracer elements, and other such procedures should be carefully considered and written into the agreement.

There is also the problem of preventing the diversion of atomic materials

from future industrial production into a secret arms cache, but this will be a minor problem compared with accounting for the stockpiles. It could probably be solved through careful international inspection, without such international ownership of production plants as the Baruch proposal called for. But actually production of atomic materials for industrial use would be unnecessary for a long time if an arms-reduction agreement went into effect, for it would be a long time before power reactors could consume the reserve atomic fuel retired from military service. It is true that some power-producing reactors create more fissionable material than they consume, but this type is more expensive to construct and less able to compete in cost with coal.

The danger of a hidden stockpile of A-bombs is of course increased by the possibility that they might be converted into H-bombs. How much it is increased is veiled in secrecy, for we do not know how many A-bombs, or their equivalent in atomic materials, it takes to make an H-bomb. This is one of the reasons why a very thorough study is needed at high level to determine whether a disarmament agreement is technically possible—that is, whether technical guarantees of a politically reasonable degree of compliance can be provided. It seems likely that at best an agreement will have to operate in spite of suspicions by each side that the other may possibly have a small hidden stockpile, perhaps big enough to destroy several cities but not to make an overwhelming attack on all the cities of a country. The agreement might have to provide that each side be allowed to retain, at least for a considerable time, some limited power of atomic retaliation. Perhaps more important, the control agreement should provide for control or elimination of long-range vehicles that might be used to deliver H-bombs and for retention by both sides of a high degree of purely defensive preparedness, such as radar screens and short-range interceptor missiles.

Not only should a prospective disarmament agreement contain these technical provisions, but the various political and military concessions necessary for its achievement should be carefully balanced so as to make it as attractive as possible to both. The Soviets rely

more on submarines and we on surface ships; they more on the numerical superiority of the Red Army and we on our larger atomic stockpile. These facts must be taken into account in balancing concessions at the various stages. (It is at this point that the Western powers' proposals at the recent London meetings most clearly fell short of constituting a tempting offer, for they wished to carry out steps of conventional disarmament before stopping production of atomic weapons. The intent may have been to leave room for negotiation. The Soviets merely reiterated their former contentions.) Along with the requirements mentioned, in planning the different stages it would be best to stop atomic production in the very first stage, with inspectors posted outside declared plants to check power input even before they were allowed to enter plants or to search the country to be sure all plants had been declared.

This recital merely begins to open a vista showing how intricate a matter it is to write an adequate arms-limitation or disarmament proposal.

It seems likely that if the arms race can be stopped at all, it will be by an agreement on some imperfect degree of arms limitation, a vigilant truce in the

arms contest, so to speak, rather than a plan for complete and universal disarmament. More would be preferable, but this would be better than continuing the unlimited arms race. It would end the dizzy spiral and the continual temptation to be the first to strike. It would keep the number of atomic powers from growing indefinitely. It would prevent the technical difficulties of control from getting continually worse and thus preserve the possibility of a more far-reaching agreement.

THERE remains for consideration one much less ambitious arms-limitation proposal that would be fair and advantageous to both sides because it would gradually reduce the dangerous preponderance of offense over defense. This is the proposal to ban further testing of H-bombs by agreement among the powers, and to set up an international monitoring agency. Access to the territories of the countries principally concerned would not be necessary in view of the far-reaching meteorological effect of H-bomb tests. The test ban was suggested by India, without mention of monitoring arrangements, in the hope that it might serve as a "standstill agreement" pending further disarmament,

Greatest Debate in History . . . by C. F. Powell

London

At the present time neither of the two greatest powers appears to have an appreciable technical advantage over the other, either in [atomic] weapons or in the power of delivering them. But such considerations without a settlement can do nothing to prevent an arms race of overwhelming magnitude; they may indeed tend to promote it.

In this situation there is no escape from the present dilemma apart from the international control of atomic energy. In approaching this subject we are contributing to a great debate, the greatest in history, of which the outcome must be either an accommodation between the great powers or their mutual destruction. It is our duty repeatedly to emphasize that international control is technically feasible, that all nations are agreed on its necessity, that both the United States and the

U. S. S. R. have accepted the principle of permanent inspection and of a system of control not subject to veto whereby suspected violations may be investigated—in short, that no fundamental issue now stands in the way of reaching an agreement.

We believe that Britain, with its special interest in the matter, should take the initiative in bringing together leading American, Soviet, and British statesmen to secure the elimination of these weapons of mass destruction as part of a general settlement and the establishment of an effective system of international control and inspection. Without such international control the whole world will continue to live in the shadow of a frightful catastrophe.

[C. F. Powell, a Fellow of the Royal Society of London, won the Nobel prize for physics in 1950.]

but it would make an important contribution to world stability even if no further agreement should follow. It would seriously hamper the development of more easily delivered weapons

of offensive power while permitting the development of defensive power to go on unchecked. And it would do this equally for both sides. If the statesmen of the world are too discouraged to

initiate a serious search for an agreement on even partial disarmament, they should at least pay some attention to this positive possibility of slowing down the approaching doom.

LABOR AND MCCARTHY

A Showdown Must Come . . by Bernard Nossiter

ALMOST every trade-union leader has announced from some rostrum his abhorrence of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and his works. Since McCarthy's tangle with the army, labor's impeachments have stepped up in tempo and volume. But only a handful of the major unions have dealt directly with the threat McCarthy and McCarthyism pose to organized labor itself. On the other hand, the unions expelled from the C. I. O. for Communist domination, being more directly in the line of fire, have been sounding the alarm for some time and of necessity have adopted vigorous counter-techniques.

At most union conventions resolutions deploring McCarthy's methods are nearly as routine as the invocations. Richard Gray, head of the A. F. of L. building-trades department, stands in lone Republican splendor to acclaim Joe's "impressive" job. But many of the anti-McCarthy statements have a feeble ring. They either take a lofty moral tone or picture McCarthy as impeding the holy war against communism. An example of the first type is the C. I. O. resolution adopted at last November's convention which urged Congress to guard against espionage and sabotage "without subjecting individuals to persecution on the basis of speech, advocacy, or belief alone." It also demanded "a code of fair practices" to compel investigating committees "to respect individual rights." President Walter Reuther summed up this position last February when he called McCarthyism "evil, immoral, and un-American."

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David Dubinsky's Ladies Garment Workers voiced the second type of protest at their May convention, declaring that McCarthyism was "a serious threat to American democracy, the national welfare, and the effective struggle against communism."

For a long time union newspapers, speeches, and resolutions were almost barren of any hint that McCarthyism was a danger not simply to civil rights but to the bread and butter of workingmen. Now a few organizations are beginning to see this point. A recent issue of the *United Mine Workers' Journal* says "the bandicoot from Wisconsin" has set up a sideshow to divert attention from the "Big Show." The Big Show is "the one that features our economic problems and taxes and unemployment." The A. F. of L.'s weekly *News-Reporter* charges that McCarthy has laid down "a smoke screen of treason" to hide the real issue and calls "the record of the McCarthyites in the G. O. P. barren of accomplishment for the good of the masses of the American people."

More striking is the failure to recognize that McCarthy is the instrument of a drive to destroy unions. He and his tribe create a climate in which union wrecking is sanctioned by fear of Reds. The Eisenhower Administration gave away the game with Attorney General Herbert Brownell's proposals to legalize the firing of "potentially subversive" workers and permit the government to disband any organization it considers Communist-infected. It was no coincidence that the author of the leading bill to outlaw unions on a complaint of Communist taint was Senator John Butler, a McCarthy creation. All unions, of

course, oppose these proposals and they were turned down last week by the Senate Judiciary Committee, but few unions are directly linking McCarthyism with union-busting. One exception is the huge International Association of Machinists, which in its March *Monthly Journal* reported: "Senator Baldhatch states that the Communists are taking the country over. We must have more restrictive laws for the unions."

("At this stage, McCarthy would not be identified in the rank-and-file mind with an anti-labor position," a shrewd C. I. O. official said. "So far, he's ignored us. Those Albany hearings on U. E. workers were a sideshow.")

Power of the Vote

Cloaked in Senatorial immunity and wielding the vast power of a Senate investigating committee, McCarthy has, with lies, distortion, slander, and blackmail, cynically tried to make Americans suspicious of their leaders, their institutions, their fundamental freedoms, and their friends and neighbors. . . .

Dwight D. Eisenhower's failure to act is in a large measure responsible for the fact that McCarthy today occupies a position of power from which he can challenge the President of the United States. . . .

We herewith reaffirm our determination to drive out of public life, with an avalanche of votes, all who would betray freedom and liberty.—From a civil-liberties resolution approved at the 1954 national convention of the *Amalgamated Clothing Workers*.

Even after adopting anti-McCarthy resolutions, few unions have followed through with action. Labor might at least have stiffened the spines of Democrats afraid to tangle with McCarthy. Congressmen listen to voters even from unions beyond the pale. In February a U. E. delegation got pledges for votes against the Butler bill from some of the 150 legislators they buttonholed in Washington, but when Harry Bridges's longshoremen staged a strike to protest against the San Francisco run of the Velde committee last December, labor as a whole looked the other way.

Unions have occasionally given support to victims of the heresy hunt. The United Automobile Workers helped Lieutenant Radulovich keep his commission. The C. I. O. Oil Workers have furnished money, publicity, and platforms to Harvey O'Connor, their historian, who was indicted after standing on the First Amendment before McCarthy. Cases like these enlist the aid of unionists.

Perhaps labor's greatest mistake has been its failure to launch a broad educational program aimed at arousing the membership to McCarthyism as an economic threat. A notable exception was the U. A. W.'s recent education conference, which provided a forum for a Catholic bishop to attack McCarthy's phony anti-communism. The C. I. O.'s Political Action Committee distributes thousands of newspaper and magazine reprints, but these deal mostly with McCarthy's shady past, his oil friends, and his attacks on government employees. The A. F. of L.'s Labor's League for Political Education sends out monthly releases to member internationals, but only the February, 1954, report comes close to the central issue. It warns: "If the opposition can get us looking for alleged Communists under every bed, they know we won't vote for those who will give us fair labor laws and a strong, booming economy." Some unions have overlooked McCarthy's existence entirely. From January, 1953, through March, 1954, *Steel Labor*, the United Steelworkers' monthly, made only one indirect reference to him. Three lines of President David J. McDonald's Labor Day message noted that "non-Communist enemies of freedom" are destroying the groups best fighting communism.

The left unions have naturally taken

a different tack. A steady stream of pamphlets and leaflets on McCarthyism has poured out of U. E., for example. All of them make clear the worker's stake in the struggle. Such programs are in marked contrast to the timidity of the Wisconsin state C. I. O. and A. F. of L., which recently declined on legalistic grounds to support petitions for McCarthy's recall.

("To some extent, our leadership has grown apathetic," the C. I. O. official said. "But in any case we don't want to get too far ahead of the rank and file. That inevitably breeds disaster. Remember, the Communists took us so far down the road indorsing resolutions of all kinds that there is a tendency by both leaders and the rank and file to suspect anything that lies outside the immediate economic province.")

The longer labor delays a full-scale war with McCarthyism or Brownellism, its respectable twin, the stronger that movement gets, and the more difficult it becomes to enlist rank-and-file support. As late as January a Gallup poll showed that 58 per cent of union members approved of Eisenhower's Presidential performance against 33 per cent

disapproving. Union wives were even more enthusiastic, dividing 68 per cent to 23 per cent. Another January Gallup poll recorded 50 per cent of manual workers "favorable" to McCarthy, the same percentage that obtained for the whole sample, against 23 per cent "unfavorable." Although today these figures have been altered by the increasing anti-McCarthy barrage, they give an index to the unions' weakness. A major factor inhibiting the unions is their own bitter quarrel with the Communists. Today the C. I. O. is throwing men and money into "holy-war" raids on the expelled unions. The Steelworkers, for example, referred to a hoped-for victory over Mine Mill as a vote "to return to the American labor movement."

This approach at best breeds the kind of confusion that marked the testimony of Joseph A. Beirne, president of the Communication Workers of America (C. I. O.), before a Senate subcommittee. He opposed the Butler bill but wondered why Congress did not move "directly against the Communists" in trade unions. At worst, it leads to union officials doing McCarthy's dirty work. Hubert Warner, Negro vice-president of



Drawing by W. E. Preston

"You take the high road."

the National Maritime Union, told his National Council in February that Hoyt Haddock, executive secretary of the C. I. O.'s Maritime Committee, had been sent to him by the F. B. I., army, navy, and Coast Guard intelligence to find out whether Warner was leading a movement of Negroes and Puerto Ricans to seize the N. M. U.

Reviewing their own failure to aid local union officials attacked by investigating committees, the C. I. O. Packinghouse Workers said, "We in the labor movement who have no sympathy for the principles of communism have allowed the dictatorship of fear to browbeat us out of defending Americanism. . . . We who have yielded to these pressures of fear must share with McCarthyism the onus of attempting to destroy true Americanism."

From time to time the unions' anti-Communist barrage lets up long enough to permit some perspective. The preamble to C. I. O.'s 1953 resolution said flatly, "The Communist movement in this country poses no threat to subvert

the government." Calling it a recruiting ground for spies and saboteurs, the C. I. O. declared, "It is what these people do, not what they say or think, that matters." The Senator's war with the army has produced a flood of hostile articles in the labor press. One widely reprinted cartoon from the *Garment Workers' Justice* compares McCarthy and Eisenhower to Hitler and Hindenburg. But, significantly, the accompanying editorial fails to record that Hitler early destroyed trade unions.

("McCarthy is doing a good job of alerting the rank and file," said the C. I. O. official. "Right now his threat to our economic welfare isn't obvious enough.")

If the trade unions wait until McCarthy moves openly against them, they will probably wait too long. McCarthy has carefully avoided attacking the unions so far; his record shows he will leave this task to his fellows. With the single exception of his spirited stand against public housing seven years ago, McCarthy has scrupulously adhered to

synthetic issues; trade unions pose real issues. McCarthy moves in a fantastic world. If he succeeds in imposing his vision on this country, the unions will find themselves beaten before they begin to fight.

Asks Impeachment

THEREFORE, be it resolved, that the Minneapolis Central Labor Union . . . call upon the United States Senate to take an action to reconsider the action of allowing \$214,000 tax money to be squandered by this bull in a political china shop from Wisconsin. . . . AND be it further resolved, that our Labor's League for Political Education sit down with Senator Humphrey to devise ways and means of starting impeachment proceedings against the Wisconsin Senator.—*From a resolution submitted to the Executive Board of Labor's League For Political Action (A. F. of L.).*

460% ON YOUR MONEY

New U. S. Imperialism . . by Basil Davidson

London
"IN twenty-five years," we read lately in *Business Week*, "America will take the Western Hemisphere, the Middle East, Africa, and Australia as its prime market. . . . One [American] college graduate in four will find his job in Rio de Janeiro, Dakar, Beirut." A shining prospect and one which argues, reassuringly for these "650,000,000 foreign customers," that the bombs we have all been fearing may not, after all, be dropped. This picture of a world—or even a hemisphere—united peacefully in trade is an acceptable one to Europeans, who are now trying to retie peaceful relations with the Soviet Union

and China by means of trade. From a business man's standpoint, if the United States would "leave the East" to Europe, Europe might perhaps be able to "leave the West" to the United States. But is the prospect likely to materialize? Do the colonial peoples to be included in this new American market desire it?

Every advance in economic organization tends to be a liberating force. Engels pointed that out long ago, when he showed in relation to British industrialism that the infinitely greater efficiency of the late nineteenth century had overcome many of the appalling abuses of the earlier part of the century. Unlike their grandfathers and their fathers, the manufacturers of 1890 employed no children, exacted only ten hours' work a day, admitted the existence of trade unions, and saw less than bloody revolution in a strike. American

capitalism also, in demanding more efficient labor, assures better treatment for labor.

American overseas investment can have a similar effect. Far down on the west coast of Africa is the Portuguese colony of Angola, which is worked mainly by forced labor—slave labor in all but name. According to official estimates shown me by the government in Luanda, the capital, at least one-third of all "fit adult males" in Angola work as periodical slaves. Itself pre-industrial in habit, Portugal has allowed this colony to slumber in bitter poverty for all the hundreds of years of its ownership. Angola's economy is dominated today, for example, by a single bank which enjoys a monopoly of all banking transactions but pays no interest on deposits, makes no loans in the ordinary way of business, and charges high fees

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for almost any financial service it may render.

American investors, both public and private, have lately become interested in Angola. When I was there recently I was told that this American interest might shortly break the monopoly of the Bank of Angola and allow business to obtain the banking services it needs if it is to expand. Increased investment could stimulate the growth of manufacturing or processing industries which would require not slaves but semi-skilled workers. In Angola, beyond a doubt, the growth of capitalism would be exceedingly good for millions of Africans.

THE trouble is that more investment in colonial areas along existing lines will not bring the enormous expansion in purchasing power presupposed by *Business Week's* forecast. The United Nations "Experts' Report" of 1950 showed that the average rate of return on American foreign investments in 1948 was 17 per cent, compared with about 14 per cent on domestic investments. The people who have to pay this higher rate of interest are those whom *Business Week* foresees as increasingly promising customers.

Underdeveloped countries might feel they should suffer this fleecing if it led to the development of their own industry. But does it? Nearly all American overseas investment in the past twenty years has gone into the production of oil, minerals, and other primary products not consumed in the countries of origin. Colonies and underdeveloped countries which were originally conquered and "protected" by one of the European powers have lately found themselves paying tribute to a new master who seems to be no less exacting than the old. He may often appear more tolerant and humane, but that is because he can usually rely on the old masters to wield the big stick for him and maintain the "law and order" that are indispensable to "safe" overseas investment.

The actual rate of profit from colonial investments has probably never been greater than in these years since the end of the war—the years in which American capital has become important in the colonies of European powers. The Stock Exchange lists provide evidence of this. South of Angola is another

African territory that is poorer still, the former German colony of Southwest Africa, which the Union of South Africa has lately annexed. Here there is copper. The O'okiep Copper Company, registered at 14 Wall Street, New York, has raised its dividend rate on an issued capital of about \$1,500,000 from a paltry 10 per cent in 1946 to 290 per cent in 1951 and 460 per cent in 1952. A much bigger copper company in Northern Rhodesia, the Rhodesian Selection Trust, whose vice-chairman is Chester Beatty, paid 50 per cent in 1949 on an issued capital of \$15,000,000, 50 per cent in 1950, 55 per cent in 1951 plus a share bonus of 100 per cent (thanks to the Korean war!), and 40 per cent in 1952.

But *Business Week* is not satisfied. "All the encouragement for investments abroad can't be left to the United States," it warns us. "The underdeveloped countries must help themselves to attract American capital—first, by providing a stable economic and political climate and, second, by plowing their own capital back into productive use, not into extravagances."

Extravagances? What extravagances would that tragically underdeveloped area of Southwest Africa like to have? A few schools, a hospital or so, a string of clinics. In Northern Rhodesia, out of which the Selection Trust is taking so much money (after paying small local taxes), not a single African doctor is practicing. Only 1,179 native children are in secondary schools out of an African population of nearly two million. The terrible poverty of the African people is mocked by the astronomical dividends which foreign investors—European first, and now American as well—are extracting from the country through their labor.

Such dividends depend upon the continuance of colonial conditions. Since they require what *Business Week* calls "a stable economic and political climate," they erect a barrier against change. And when a backward country summons up its courage and expropriates the big foreign investor, Uncle Sam forgets his role of benefactor and moves heaven and earth to reestablish the status quo.

No petty sums voted to an idealistic "Point Four" can mean anything in the face of this. Like the E. C. A. before it,

the Mutual Security Agency has invested money in Angola, and may soon invest more. But to what end? It has built a whacking great airstrip, six thousand feet long, at the lost little inland town of Villa Luso, opened a new trunk road into Northern Rhodesia, improved the permanent right of way of the Benguela Railway, which carries out the copper from the Belgian Congo. Shortly it may help to improve the port of Lobito, which now employs six hundred forced workers and will then employ more. This type of investment is futile in terms of contemporary industrial development.

THERE is also a larger point. Out of the Second World War the great European colonial empires emerged with failing strength. Their grip was weakened. Here and there it was thrown off. Everywhere it was sharply questioned by colonial peoples. This situation was exploited by the United States to increase its own influence—an influence exerted not to end colonialism but to prolong it in a new form. Just when all Africa was entering on a hopeful period of nationalism, when liberation from past subjection seemed near, there appeared on the scene a new imperialism, eager, energetic, immensely powerful. And this new imperialism said: You must provide the same conditions that the old empires enjoyed; you must pay us our dividends and not think of "extravagances."

The very country which has stood for the freedom of colonial peoples, which has belabored the greed and cruelty of European investors, turns out to be no different from the rest. If in Morocco, Persia, or elsewhere the United States undermines the old empires, it is only, it seems, to substitute its own. The new imperialism may often be less stupid than the old, but it is evidently no less grasping, no less ready to use force if fair words will not avail. It is still a monstrous barrier to the freedom of opportunity which these peoples, if they are ever to stand equal with the rest of the world and realize their own capacities, must have and are determined to have. Too long these peoples have been Europe's "customers": are they now to be content to serve as America's? Wherever their leaders have been able to speak out, they have answered no.

BOOKS

He Was Right All Along

MY MISSION TO SPAIN. Watching the Rehearsal of World War II. By Claude G. Bowers. Simon and Schuster, \$6.

By Thomas J. Hamilton

SO MUCH has happened since 1939 that the Spanish civil war seems almost as remote as our own war with Spain forty years before. The gallant struggle of the Spanish Republic against fascism has been almost forgotten, and Franco is now an American ally. The Pentagon is having considerable trouble building its Spanish bases and has as yet no agreement entitling it to use them in the event of war, but that does not seem to disturb the makers of American policy. Anyhow, the American alliance has provided Franco not only with a cloak of respectability but with badly wanted dollars, and the question is no longer how to get Franco out but what kind of government Spain will have after Franco dies.

It is to be feared that Franco's very adroitness in balancing off the rival conservative forces in Spain, without even attempting to set up a coherent government, foreshadows serious disturbances after his death, perhaps another civil war. History, therefore, may repeat itself: once again the Spanish conservatives may accuse their foes—liberals, anarchists, or what not—of being Communists. This smear campaign had a considerable success from the outbreak of the civil war in 1936 to Franco's victory three years later. In the present atmosphere, when the Soviet Union, not Nazi Germany, is the foe of everything that the United States stands for, the American public may misjudge the Spanish situation even more completely unless it is reminded of the real issues.

Mr. Bowers, who was our ambassador to Spain from 1933 to 1939, prefaces his account of his mission with the

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statement: "I prefer to think that we shall not return to the shoddy days just before the [Second World] war, when it was popular in high circles to believe that to oppose communism one must follow the fascist line." As he says, "the two segments of totalitarianism are equally bent on the extermination of democracy and the freedoms."

Mr. Bowers has delayed publication of these memoirs until now because he felt that if they were published during the great war his "caustic treatment" of Neville Chamberlain might be interpreted as an attack on the English people. Also, he served as ambassador to Chile until the advent of the Eisenhower Administration, and he did not think he should publish them until after he had left government service.

The outbreak of the Franco rebellion found Mr. Bowers at the summer embassy at San Sebastian. On the insistence of the State Department he then set up his headquarters across the French border at St. Jean de Luz. He participated in the evacuation of Americans from the Basque country and Galicia in the early weeks of the war but after that did not observe it at first hand. On the French side of the frontier he was in contact with the colony of British, American, and French sympathizers with Franco, in both public and private life, who so aroused his indignation.

However, this in no way diminishes the value of his narrative. Like the good newspaperman he is, Mr. Bowers made it his job before the war to acquaint himself with the leading figures of Spanish political and intellectual life, and from these diverse sources he learned to understand the basic issues in Spain. He was in an excellent position, moreover, to study at close range the operations of that sinister farce the London Non-Intervention Committee, which managed to conceal until it was too late the presence of an Italian expeditionary force and a Nazi air squadron and other phases of Axis intervention.

Those who know Mr. Bowers do not

expect him to remain in an ivory tower, and his contempt for Chamberlain, in particular, stands out. He is a partisan of the Spanish Republic, and he explains the atrocities committed on the Republican side in the early days of the war with the statement that the "anarchistic fringe" were primarily responsible. On the other hand, as he points out, the atrocities on the Franco side were committed in cold blood; he gives the names and the dates of their death of fifteen Basque priests executed by the Nationalists.

Mr. Bowers has kind words for practically all the Republican leaders, including the two outstanding Socialists, Indalecio Prieto and Juan Negrín, despite their fundamental differences on how to fight the war and when to end it. He says that he will leave it to history to judge between Prieto and Negrín, but I wish that he had done it himself; no other American is so well qualified.

I for one would have liked to find in Mr. Bowers's book a realistic chapter on the internal weaknesses of the Spanish Republic, such weaknesses as were revealed so clearly in Arturo Barea's account of the sabotage of the Republican war effort by the Communists. For the Republic, despite Axis intervention and the blindness of Chamberlain, still had a majority of Spaniards supporting it. Was not its defeat, like that of the Confederacy, as much the result of its own mistakes as of the superior strength of its enemies? Mr. Bowers's answer would be most valuable not only for past history but for the guidance of Americans in surveying the next chapter in Spain's history.

It is particularly useful to have Mr. Bowers's impressions of American policy during the Spanish war, and to read his first-hand account of Roosevelt's acknowledgment: "We have made a mistake; you have been right all along." But this was after the war had been lost and Mr. Bowers had been called back to Washington in anticipation of our recognition of Franco. Roosevelt's blindness to the issues in Spain until it was too late is indeed the most puzzling aspect of his entire foreign policy. For Spain, as the Spanish fascists themselves said later, was the first campaign in the Second World War. It is not too fanciful to think that if the

Western powers had put down Axis aggression there, the greater war might have been avoided.

Space does not permit lengthy mention of Mr. Bowers' account of his life in Spain before Franco raised the standard of rebellion. The Ambassador knew

everybody and went everywhere, and his account of the progress being made to create a decent and modern state is grim reading when one thinks of the totalitarian stamp that has been pressed on one of the most attractive peoples in the world.

off from work and visit her and that he would find even a telephone call too exciting. At last, apparently replying to a practical suggestion made by Milena, he told her three times: "We shall never live together, in the same apartment, body to body, at the same table, never, not even in the same town."

Most of the correspondence displays a steady intensity of feeling. Kafka is to Milena, who is thirteen years younger than he, as a child to its mother; he is as unwelcome as a mouse, as humble as a grocer. He burrows a tunnel to her out of his dark hole. He invents parables or narrates dreams all of which have just one point—the painfulness and inevitability of their separation. In a dream he kills a relative for insulting Milena and threatens to kill his father. In a parable he expresses his regret at her appearance in a magazine by picturing himself outside a coffee-house while she is within consorting with everyone else. In another dream she promises but never grants an audience of twenty minutes; in another he detects a "rejecting attitude" in her face.

Kafka interprets always and everywhere the fear that dominates him. His fear is his "best part," he is married to it, he loves it: "If it ceases I also cease, it's my way of participating in life." He believes that his is a Jewish fearfulness; he tells himself, "After all, you're a Jew, and know what fear is." His references to the Jews are generally apologetic and sometimes almost hostile, but his castigation of the Jews is simply a part of his castigation of himself. His painful raptures left Kafka little room for perception of his masochism, but he was once in a while capable of such an insight as this: "Nor is it perhaps really love when I say that for me you are the most beloved; love is to me that you are the knife which I turn within myself."

Kafka's Romance-by-Correspondence

LETTERS TO MILENA. By Franz Kafka. Translated from the German by Tania and James Stern. Schocken Books. Distributed by Noonday Press. \$3.75.

THE CASTLE. By Franz Kafka. Translated from the German by Willa and Edwin Muir, with additional Materials Translated by Ethne Wilkins and Ernst Kaiser. Alfred A. Knopf. \$4.50.

• By Henry Popkin

WE ARE fortunate in the simultaneous publication of Kafka's "Letters to Milena" and the definitive text of "The Castle" (longer by a third than the previous edition). A year ago Max Brod's preface to Gustav Janouch's "Conversations with Kafka" pointed to a link between these two volumes, Brod, having interpreted "The Castle" first as a religious allegory (in his Epilogue to the original edition) and then as a parable of the Jew's plight in the modern world (in his biography of Kafka), has now added a third reading suggesting that "The Castle" provides a distorted account of Kafka's love affair with Milena, a literary lady with whom the novelist conducted an ardent correspondence for two years. The first interpretation has been frequently under attack—most recently and perhaps most reasonably in Erich Heller's "The Disinherited Mind"—the second is self-evident, and the third has not yet been subjected to close scrutiny. What is disturbing about these different readings is Brod's failure to unfold any relationship among them, in particular, to tell us how the same forces can symbolize both the "godhead" and anti-Semitism. Still, whether or not we accept Brod's account

of the connection between the novel and the letters, it is clear that they were written at the same time and that the letters document the somber mood of "The Castle." (The added sections continue the previously established pattern of the novel; they make K's attitude toward Frieda more calculating and some minor characters more intelligible.)

In his letters Kafka goes out to seek the indignities and embarrassments that are forced upon K in "The Castle." He abandons his self-respect in a manner peculiar to a romance-by-correspondence. Milena was a safe distance away, across the Austrian frontier. She was married, she was Gentile; Kafka himself was engaged. This was a fortunate situation for a man who feared marriage and who broke three engagements. He freely indulged all of his latent capacity for affection. He humbled himself before her, staked his life upon each letter, proclaimed that her existence alone saved him and that only her letters got him through the day.

Whatever Milena's remarkable qualities may have been, Kafka's conception of her became finally a work of the imagination. Sporadically regaining contact with reality, Kafka made "the great admission: Milena too is a human being." Of course such a love could thrive best on separation; at times Kafka seems almost afraid to see Milena, insisting that he will not lie to get

Temperament vs. Conscience

A SPY IN THE HOUSE OF LOVE.

By Anais Nin. British Book Center. \$3.

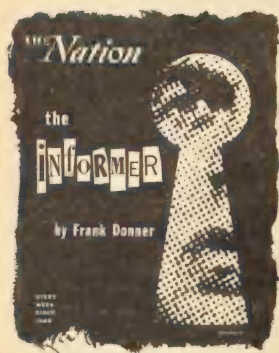
By Maxwell Geismar

ANAIIS NIN is as well known to literary circles here and abroad as she has been little known to the general reading public. Her unpublished diary

is something of a legend, and the present book is the best of her series of novels published in this country. The craft moves directly toward the area of psychological realism; the prose is a pleasure to read. This is, in short, a sensitive and discerning fable of a woman's love life, which manages to compress within a very brief compass

HENRY POPKIN, instructor in English at Brandeis University, contributes frequently to the Kenyon Review, the Sewanee Review, and Commentary.

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some of the rewards and almost too many of the anguishes of passion for its own sake.

It is almost a terrifying book—saved by the humor with which Miss Nin endows her theme, which raises it finally to the level of an artistic tragedy-comedy. The story concerns the amorous exploits of the heroine, Sabina, a veteran of these battles, pursued by her own guilt and fear, caught between her temperament and her conscience. In the symbolism of the narrative she is pursued by the "lie-detector," a sort of F. B. I. of the heart. (This figure is an amusing mixture of psychoanalytic techniques and conventional morality.) The heroine evades him, and we begin to realize that Miss Nin is one of the few women writers in our literary tradition to affirm the centrality of the biological impulses for her own sex, and on the same terms as for men.

The point is also that she is prepared to describe these emotions from the feminine point of view with the same ruthless honesty that marked a D. H. Lawrence or a Dreiser. And what a price is paid by the protagonist—or the victim—of the present story for her moments

of ecstasy and conquest! She must move on a superficial level of lies, tricks, evasions in each new case of love; the tactics of feminine deceit are all exposed here in a manual of love's subterfuges. On a deeper level of genuine affection she must still prepare to wound before she is wounded, to betray so that she may not be betrayed, to make her escape before the lover makes his. The price of impulse is eternal anxiety, Miss Nin implies. This spy, like all spies, must be prepared for treason, for flight, for ignoble death.

This theme is dramatized in a series of separate episodes with rather shadowy masculine figures who operate mainly to project the various roles a woman also plays in love—or is forced to play. In the end Miss Nin's heroine turns for comfort and wisdom to another woman, Djuna, who has figured in the previous novels in the series. Friendship is the solace for passion perhaps, as art is the crystallization of imperfect human desire.

MAXWELL GEISMAR, well-known literary critic, is a contributing editor of *The Nation*.

New Books in Brief

Something Like a Poem

GOETHE'S FAUST. An Abridged Version. Translated by Louis MacNeice. Oxford. \$1.75.

Louis MacNeice's version of Faust was commissioned by the British Broadcasting Corporation and was originally produced as a series of six programs. To fit the demands of radio, MacNeice eliminated four thousand of the twelve thousand lines of the original, some of them in large chunks. Some quarrel with these cuts seems inevitable on the part of teachers and experts, but MacNeice has certainly achieved a fast-paced and readable introduction. This is not the last word in Faust translation, but MacNeice seems to have found the most convincing word to date. His version sounds authentic and English. Here, for example, is a standard passage rendered into Translatorese (Scene I, Faust has just opened the Book of Nostradamus):

Up, up. Away to the champaign free!
And this mysterious volume writ
By Nostradamus' self, is it

Not guide and counsel enough for thee?
Then wilt thou learn by what control
The stars within their orbits roll,
And if thou wilt let boon Nature be
The guide and monitress to thee,
Thy soul shall expand with tenfold force,
As spirit with spirit holds discourse.

Here is MacNeice's version:

Away! There is a world outside!
And this one book of mystic art
Which Nostradamus wrote himself,
Is this not adequate guard and guide?
By this you can tell the course of the stars,
By this, once Nature gives the word,
The soul begins to stir and dawn,
A spirit by a spirit heard.

One may quarrel with a detail here and there, but MacNeice has managed something like a poem, and he has managed it in English that is always adequate, sometimes brilliant, and intelligently faithful throughout. One still hopes that someone will undertake the whole thing with enough notes to revive a more minute sense of the original, but until that happens MacNeice's version remains the best in sight.

The Meaning of Civilization

PAUL VALÉRY AND THE CIVILIZED MIND. By Norman Suckling. Oxford. \$4.

Between wars the name of Paul Valéry came to be accorded an almost magical significance when used to evoke the idea of perfect taste, ultimate subtlety of intellect, and sublime detachment from all human illusions. The author of this study accepts him as the perfected type of what he calls "the civilized mind" and attempts to systematize his thought in a 275-page essay on the meaning of civilization as Valéry and his interpreter understand it. A first chapter on The Biological Irrelevance of Spiritual Values states the fundamental premise, and the rest of the study logically draws the conclusions: man and nature are antithetical; man is not explicable in terms of "the life force" but only as a creature who has been able to reject it; he achieves fully human status only when he has escaped from too great a love of life and can therefore concern himself chiefly with those spiritual values of which biological vitality is the enemy. In its somewhat different way this philosophy is obviously as radically unworldly as the most extreme form of Christian aestheticism, and it has its value as a protest against that surrender to the so-called "laws of nature" which the over-simple nineteenth-century evolutionism encouraged. But that "nature" and "man"—even civilized man—are as antithetical as the argument suggests or that survival and civilization are as nearly incompatible as they are made to seem is not really self-evident. Mr. Suckling, a lecturer in French at the University of Durham, writes with admirable force and clarity if also with something like well-bred fanaticism.

Men in Battle

AN ACT OF LOVE. A Completely Retold Version of the Novel. By Ira Wolfert. Simon and Schuster. \$4.

Mr. Wolfert is a serious and gifted novelist who has had a Dreiserian tendency to become ponderous both in the structure of his narratives and in the writing. His second look at his second novel has cut through most of the excessive amount of detail in the original

version. More important, he has clothed his early sermons with the flesh and blood of human behavior. The result is a superb narrative of the war in the Pacific near the Solomon Islands—perhaps the best book yet to come out of World War II. The hero is a navy flier; after the sinking of the cruiser Minot the action moves into a tropical island with both primitive and decadent levels of society; on the return trip to Japan the army takes over the central place in the story. Mr. Wolfert covers the whole range of the three military services which operate together here. He includes a remarkable gallery of men in war; he has something of the same obsession with the events of the battlefield, the horror, the irony, and the comedy, which marks the work of Stephen Crane. But to this he has added a vein of moral, social, and philosophical speculation that is less familiar in our literature and that raises this beautiful story to the level of primary literature.

Success Story

THE CONQUEST OF DON PEDRO. By Harvey Fergusson. Morrow. \$3.50.

To the small settlement of Don Pedro in New Mexico came Leo Mendes, the Jewish peddler, in the late sixties. Leo wishes to open a store, though he knows such a venture will meet the opposition of the aristocratic *ricos* who keep the peons in subjection through debt. But Leo, who hates violence and strife, is a persistent man; little by little he adds to his wealth until the *ricos* themselves are his debtors, the priest is his close friend, and he is established as the dominant power in Don Pedro.

All of this is material for a serious novel. It would be wrong to say that Mr. Fergusson has treated it frivolously, or even with excessive romanticism, but the too popular touch is ever present. Leo's three successive women are all tremendously erotic and eager; the crudities of the frontier are softened; the pieces fall

FRIENDLY CHALLENGE TO THE CHURCHES

(Beyond selling space for publication of the accompanying material, *The Nation* is not to be held responsible for statements contained in the material)

In a time of renesant orthodoxy, rampant fundamentalism, and reactionary evangelism, our progressive theological seminaries are performing a cultural service not yet clearly understood by the churches or by the general public. These forward-looking divinity schools are in the tradition of scientific Biblical scholarship, stressing, among other highly important points, (1) a new, evolutionary view of Hebrew history, in which the great Hebrew prophets emphasize God as demanding not only personal righteousness but social justice; (2) the struggle against Baalism as the symbol of unjust, heathen social institutions ("The name Baal became the very signature of heathenism"—G. F. Moore, of Harvard Divinity, in *Commentary on Judges*, 195); (3) the final triumph of One God over "other gods" the first great victory on behalf of social justice in the history of the world.

Indispensable to normal, healthy church growth is a more satisfactory relationship with youth. But young people are not getting from the churches accurate instruction in Hebrew history, including the development of belief in God as requiring social justice. Thus, church teaching seems to go contrary to the general trend of what is learned in high school and college.

To meet this condition, two kinds of action are necessary, both of which will be difficult: (1) There should be classes for adults and the more mature young people, based upon Biblical interpretation prevailing in the seminaries that furnish pastors for so many denominational pulpits. (2) The cultural service rendered by our liberal divinity schools should be publicly acknowledged by means of conservatively-worded resolutions. No church today can go on into future spiritual victory while attempting to live on the non-social, individualistic half of the gospel. The churches in connection with progressive seminaries must be the first to align themselves publicly with the social phase of the Bible (which has nothing to do with socialism or communism). A bulletin dealing with the situation will be sent to you upon receipt of a three-cent stamp to cover postage.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, N. Y. (One free copy only.)

too neatly and too constantly into place.

Nor are Leo's final defeat and abdication artistically inevitable. One wants to jog Leo's, or Leo's wife's, or Mr. Fergusson's elbow and say, "You don't have to act this way, you know. You're carrying on like people in a novel!"

Industrial Miracle

FORD: THE TIMES, THE MAN, THE COMPANY. By Allan Nevins with the Collaboration of Frank Ernest Hill. Scribner's. \$6.75.

This massive tome is the product of an arrangement between the Ford Motor Company, which opened its archives to the authors, and Columbia University, which appointed an advisory committee of distinguished scholars to oversee the work and provided a staff of researchers. Considering these auspices and the intrinsic fascination of the subject, this account of Henry Ford and his flivver might well have been a broth of a book. But apparently there were too many cooks working in too much haste, and we are served a lumpy, tasteless stew. Dr. Nevins, who has written many distinguished historical works, takes full responsibility for "all the faults and shortcomings," but it is hard to believe that much of the actual writing is his. And nobody seems to have bothered about pruning and polishing the book.

It must be said, however, that it has been written with a much greater degree of objectivity than is usual in business histories, and for this both the Ford Company and the authors must be commended. Due attention is paid to Henry Ford's many shortcomings as well as to his great achievements, and there is no glossing over the fact that his industrial miracle was also "an industrial despotism." Moreover, the work dispels the myth of the one-man show by giving credit to Ford's colleagues and particularly to James Couzens, whose administrative talents were the essential complement of Ford's mechanical and productive genius.

The book concludes with the breaking of that partnership in 1915. A sequel, dealing with the long years of Henry Ford's absolute control, with his struggle against unionization, his political eccentricities, and his relations with his son, Edsel, is obviously required.

Promising Younger Poet

AN ARMADA OF THIRTY WHALES. By Daniel G. Hoffman. Yale. \$2.50.

Daniel G. Hoffman's first book is Number 51 in the Yale Series of Younger Poets, a long list of first books which have been followed, with a very few bright exceptions, by no books at all. Like the Pulitzer Prize, the Yale Series selection has more often gone to the fusty than to the vital. Perhaps it was with this in mind that Yale selected Auden as the new arbiter of the series; under him certainly the list has begun

to seem considerably more promising.

Hoffman's poetry is uneven. Too many attitudes afloat in the general air of the passing style seem to have tangled into the poems without real organic relation to them. And the flow of their cadences, deliberately off-beat in most poems, is often more a puzzle than a rhythm. The breaking off of lines simply for rhyme purposes—"their amber/eyes"—is a device the poet might well reexamine.

Nevertheless, Hoffman has energy, passion, and a way with words. These gifts lead him to enough successes to reward anyone's reading.

Records

B. H. Haggin

LONDON'S second group of Oiseau-Lyre recordings offers Mozart's lovely Clarinet Concerto K. 622 with the refined tone and phrasing of Jacques Lancelot in the solo part and fine playing by the orchestra under Louis de Froment. The reproduced orchestral sound is poor. On the reverse side a Mozart work I care less for, the Sinfonia Concertante K. Anh. 9 for oboe, clarinet, bassoon, and horn, has in addition the similar tone and phrasing of Pierre Pierlot, oboe, and less distinguished playing by Paul Hongne, bassoon, and Gilbert Coursier, horn. Good orchestral sound on this side.

Haydn's charming Harpsichord Concerto in D is played well by Isabelle Nef with the Lamoureux Concerts Chamber Orchestra under Pierre Colombo. On the reverse side are Johann Christian Bach's Symphonies Op. 18 No. 4 and Op. 9 No. 2, which I find uninteresting.

And of the four chamber works of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach on another record I like only the Quartet in G for harpsichord, flute, viola, and cello, which is played well by Irmgard Lechner, Kurt Redel, Georg Schmid, and Martin Bochmann.

The record French Masters of the Harpsichord gave me the agreeable surprise of a number of fine pieces by D'Anglebert, D'Andrieu, Rameau, Daquin ("Les Bergères"), and Louis and François Couperin that I had never heard before—together with pieces by Cham-

bonnières and a Musette et Tambourin of Daquin that I didn't care for. Superb performances by Isabelle Nef.

Also, the sixteenth-century Parisian songs that are sung well by a vocal group under Fernand Lamy on another record turned out to be, most of them, charming, with a few serious ones that are lovely and moving. But François Couperin's Troisième Concert Royal and La Steinquerque, played on two harpsichords by Isabelle Nef and Ruggero Gerlin, I find uninteresting.

Another record offers a few excerpts from Purcell's "The Fairy Queen," including the superb aria *O let me ever, ever weep*, and a few excerpts from his "Masque of Timon of Athens," including the equally fine song *The cares of lovers*. Beautiful singing by the soprano Margaret Ritchie, and good playing by the orchestra under Anthony Lewis. The beginning of the overture of "Timon" comes off the record—or at any rate out of my summer machine—a buzzing confusion.

And finally, on three records, Bach's St. John Passion, in which again I find the superb opening chorus and other choral passages more impressive than most of the pieces for the soloists. The performance, paced and shaped effectively by Kurt Thomas, has an outstanding tenor, Herbert Hess, an excellent soprano, Gunthild Weber, a moderately good contralto, Sibylla Plate, and a good bass, Paul Grümmer; a chorus, the Kan-

toei der Dreikönigskirche in Frankfurt, whose sopranos get to be shrill in loud passages; and the excellent Collegium Musicum Orchestra. The choral climaxes are clouded as though by reverberation.

From Vanguard a record with Dvorak's fine Gypsy Songs Op. 55, of which the best-known "Songs My Old Mother Taught Me" turns out to be surpassed by the others. Also several of Brahms's songs in folk style, and his "Wiegenglied," "Mädchenlied," "Vergebliches Ständchen," and "Dort in den Weiden"—a little sugary at times, but on the whole some of the better Brahms writing that is to be found in his songs. Exquisite singing by the soprano Anny Felbermayer and fine piano-playing by Victor Graef, which come off the record admirably balanced.

Some of Tchaikovsky's characteristically exquisite melodic writing is heard in the so-called second subject of the first movement of his Symphony No. 2—but in a context of sonata-allegro hubbub and manipulation that is uninteresting. The other movements, which make no such symphonic pretensions, are more engaging. Beecham's performance with his Royal Philharmonic on a Columbia record would be good if he didn't indulge in one of his excessively slow tempos that changes the second movement from an Andantino marziale to a funeral march.

Continuing my remarks on the minimum cost of the merely good—as against the best—in reproducing equipment, I would say that the minimum for a speaker is the price of the Altec-Lansing 600-B. I say this on the basis of my present experience with the University Diffusicon 12 of my summer set-up: it is as good a cheap speaker as one can get; but it isn't the true, the natural-sounding speaker that costs at least the price of the Altec-Lansing 600-B. Also, it isn't the speaker to use, as I am doing, with a first-class amplifier: one should, I have now learned, combine components on the same quality-level. One gains nothing from a fine wide-range amplifier if it is used with a cheap speaker; and if it is used with a cheap motor one gains only the rumble that would not be reproduced by a limited-range amplifier.

As for the minimum cost of the good in amplifiers, that is something I would like to postpone.

Letters

Our Public Schools

Dear Sirs: I have just read with great satisfaction Dr. James C. Bay's article, Our Public Schools: Are They Failing? in your June 26 issue. I congratulate you on it.

It may interest you to know that I am preparing an article for educational journals which will include a list of the publications which I think have a place in school libraries. *The Nation* will certainly be on the list.

HARL R. DOUGLAS, Director,
College of Education,
Boulder, Colo. University of Colorado

Dear Sirs: I read Mr. Bay's article with considerable awe, since it is one of the most accomplished pieces of question-begging I have encountered in a rather long career in teaching and editing. Mr. Bay asserts that the fact that public- and private-school students make comparable scores on college-board examinations proves conclusively that they are equally well trained. This, as Mr. Bay must know, is figure-juggling. For one thing, students who take college boards do not represent the total populations of either the public or private schools. For another, they represent a substantially higher proportion of the students in private schools than of those in public schools. It is usually the best students in the public schools who take college-board examinations. Finally, the whole college-board question is irrelevant in states where the state universities are required to accept any graduate of an accredited high school in the state and must therefore attempt to cope with students who write like Mr. Bay's example. The problem this creates Mr. Bay ignores; I, like thousands of other teachers who must cope with it, know how serious it is.

Beyond answering an obvious "no" to the question of whether or not the high schools should graduate a student of the kind Mr. Bay describes, I would like to ask another question. Is a student who writes an illiterate composition to celebrate the importance of his having learned the "English language" competent to make proper discriminations in an age of propaganda? Does he have the intellectual responsibility required to see through the camouflages of McCarthyism? Armed now with a high-school diploma, is he not likely to go on through life making ignorant judgments with no sense that he has the responsibility of knowing that he is right, and falling for anyone smart enough to make the false seem true to him? And do not the schools have the duty of trying to develop this sense of intellectual responsibility, of grounding

the student in the basic disciplines, rather than passing him happily along in the belief that his life needs are being filled, on the undemocratic assumption that he probably couldn't learn anything as difficult as reading, writing, and arithmetic? How do you know unless you try?

There is a fairly general assumption, eagerly supported by the educationists, that anyone who criticizes the public schools is at one with Allen Zoll and Lucille Crain. This is a dangerous fallacy. The questions that Bestor and others have raised are concerned primarily with whether the schools are producing graduates who are equipped to function as citizens in a democracy, or whether they are producing graduates who will be conformists because they have not developed the intellectual equipment necessary to resist the pressures toward conformity. This is a large question, and the whole future of democracy in America depends on it. It is no accident, for example, that in any given college the Department of Classics or English is almost certain to be considerably more liberal than the Department of Education. It is no accident that controversial issues are being thrown out of our school windows every day. Of course teachers and administrators are not responsible for the existing pressures toward conformity, but if they believe in education they have a responsibility to resist them. They cannot do this by catering to "life needs" rather than making intellectual demands. The school cannot legislate away the fact that some people are more able than others. What democracy must have is a means of finding the most able people in every generation, regardless of race, creed, color, or inheritance, and giving them a chance to develop their capabilities to the utmost. The school should be the one agency for doing this. But it will not be that until it makes rigorous demands and requires fulfillment of these demands for certification.

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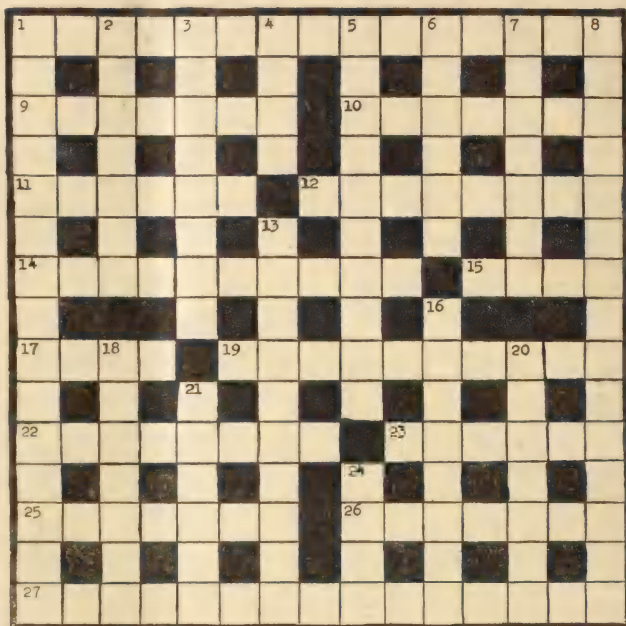
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Crossword Puzzle No. 577

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 If you want an example of its car-
rier, stick down under (unless it's
the tank). (8, 7)
- 9 Old instrument bag, however. (7)
- 10 It might logically wash 13 down.
(7)
- 11 Travel book? (6)
- 12 Cut everything back in the plant.
(8)
- 14 Strains. (10)
- 15 Move slowly part of the foot. (4)
- 17 A small lock. (4)
- 19 Uses a man in the writing profes-
sion. (10)
- 22 You might find us nice, in a way,
about an awful bother. (8)
- 23 Mouths, but not quite to kiss. (6)
- 25 Bad humor with a twisted tail, re-
ferring to a sort of splice. (7)
- 26 What a 19 might have done. (7)
- 27 This consists of Hell, Purgatory,
and Paradise. (8, 6, 6)

DOWN

- 1 Was 10 to back poverty with weight-
lifting? (5, 3, 4, 3)
- 2 Scale to compound food and
medicine? (7)
- 3 These animals should have a stub-
born streak. (8)

- 4 Gains back in 1 down. (4)
- 5 Breaking up weapon evaluation?
(10)
- 6 Does the Tribune have no heart!
(6)
- 7 This might go on in all fatty sub-
stance. (7)
- 8 This work certainly demands
breeding. (6, 9)
- 13 Edible little worms? (10)
- 16 The lodestar of painting? (3, 5)
- 18 Do a spotty painting job? (7)
- 20 Friar Laurence said they do that
run fast. (7)
- 21 A deer, but usually called an elk.
(6)
- 24 Being the same, either way. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 576

ACROSS:—9 DELIVER; 10 OPHIDIA; 11-
OCEANS; 12 ESTRANGE; 14 SLIPPER; 15
CALF; 19 RANSACK; 23 SUMMIT; 25 AN-
TONIO; 26 PRESUME; 27 BREAD AND
BUTTER.

DOWN:—1 ANDROCLES; 2 and 8 ROLLER
SKATE; 3 NOVENAL; 4 BARS; 6 CHOR;
7 ORDINAL; 13 and 6 OPERATE ON A
SHOESTRING; 15 CHALUMEAU; 16 FIRST
GEAR; 18 AUDITOR; 20 KUMQUAT; 21, 17,
21 across, 1 across WHAT SHALL WE DO
WITH A DRUNKEN SAILOR; 22 WANDA;
24 SPUD.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address
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THE TRUCE AND AMERICAN POLICY

THE *Nation*

July 31, 1954

20¢

Has Dewey Had Enough?

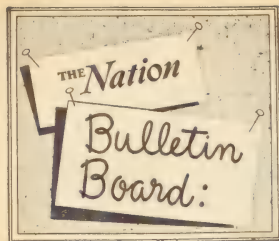
by Warren Moscow

Double Exposure

Woltman on McCarthy

by Carey McWilliams

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865



ONE way of getting into politics seems to be by way of the *New York Times*. Jim Hagerty, an able political reporter, made the move, first as an aid to Governor Dewey and now to President Eisenhower. Warren Moscow, whose article in this issue deals with Governor Dewey and his party, was head of the *Times* Albany bureau and now is aid to New York City's Mayor Wagner. In his more than two decades as a political reporter, Moscow has made a reputation as a man who knows his way through the political jungles.

THE Refregier drawings on pages 87 and 88 were made while the great American muralist was touring Guatemala with a companion. They witnessed the beginning of the hostilities there, and now, back in America, they plan to write a book. It is their feeling that what has taken place is a tragedy for the Guatemalan people—a tragedy to which Bernard Rosen's article furnishes an authentic background.

DR. ALTON OCHSNER, one of the country's leading researchers on the link between smoking and lung cancer, will contribute another article to *The Nation* this summer. His first, which appeared in May, 1953, anticipated much of the material on the subject which has since been published elsewhere. A past president of the American Cancer Society, Dr. Ochsner is now professor of surgery at Tulane. His new book, "Smoking and Cancer," will be published this fall by Julian Messner.

AUGUST will mark the 100th anniversary of "Walden Pond" and devotees of Thoreau's bright, independent spirit will enjoy the sparkling commemorative essay by Lewis Leary, professor of English at Columbia, which will appear in our August 7 issue. In the same issue Carlos Baker will review "A Fable" by William Faulkner.

WHEN we predicted a flood of letters on Waldo Frank's article *The Anti-Communist Peril* (June 19 issue) we could more accurately have called it a tidal wave. Scores of letters have come in, and the percentage runs about two to one in favor of Frank. A number of let-

ters have been published, but unfortunately space prohibits publication of more in extenso. All I can do is to give you the flavor of the unpublished file.

Thomas Broderick of Schenectady, New York, welcomes Frank's exposé of "those execrable creatures, the toadies and pussyfoots among the intellectuals." Fred Clayton of Salinas, California, proposes "an intellectual Olympic Game" as possible help in clarifying the issues between the United States and Russia. W. E. Monaghan, Ridgefield, New Jersey, says that while he "holds to the Sidney Hook brand of liberalism" he nevertheless considers the article to be "one of the decade's great efforts at unraveling the why and wherefore of the actions and motivations of thinking Americans of our time." Nicholas Lentz of South Bend, Indiana, believes Frank showed the need "for an indigenous and authentic American radicalism."

Russell Ames of Hampton, New Jersey, finds that Frank "offers no social program, not even the shadow of Utopia . . . he is against sin." He contends that "the great materialists, such as Bacon, Frank-

lin, and Engels, hold that man must know and obey natural laws so that he can master nature and make it obey humanity. The chief effect of vague idealism and mysticism like that of Waldo Frank is precisely to make man a victim of nature."

A number of readers thought Upton Sinclair's comment on the article, printed July 3, was off base. These included William J. Patton of Edmonton, Canada; Webster Rogers of Lakebay, Washington; Thomas T. Waterman of Oakland, California, and J. M. Wheeler of Chicago, Illinois. Their general feeling was that Sinclair had misread the piece. Philosophy professor Edith Schipper's thoughtful letter, which appeared July 10, drew interesting and pertinent comment from John F. Miller of Highland Park, Michigan; William Palmer Taylor of Hamilton, Ohio, and Robert Douglas Mead of Cos Cob, Connecticut.

In the coming months *The Nation* will publish more essays by outstanding American thinkers dealing with the general area of the problems discussed by Waldo Frank.

MARTIN SLOW

Letters

That Modest Proposal

Dear Sirs: Arthur Miller's modest proposal in your July 3 issue was a gem. I have found it easily the most winning argument for any number of people to whom I have read it aloud. My admiration and respect for Mr. Miller grow when I think that he managed such an effort at a time when he was, at I understand, deeply involved in a new play. He has done us all a most useful service and I am grateful to him and to *The Nation*. I am sure that Swift and others must be passing copies around wherever they may be.

ARNOLD PERL

New York

Dear Sirs: To my mind nothing yet said or written equals Arthur Miller's brilliant, hilarious, and all too accurate satire on our United States in this year of 1954. Perhaps this gifted and good man can reach as many people through humor as he did through the pity and understanding manifested in his "Death of a Salesman."

FRANCES WRIGHT

New York

Contradiction?

Dear Sirs: I find it very hard to understand just what side of the fence *The Nation* is on in regard to United States foreign policy in Guatemala and Indo-China. In the June 26, July 3, and July 10 issues you constantly refer to the

revolution in Guatemala as "unwarranted aggression." But in the July 10 issue, referring to the Vietminh attempt to overthrow the French colonial rule in Vietnam, you say: "Have we a right to treat it as aggression when a people overthrows an existing government in their own land and by their own efforts?" But are not the Vietminh supplied with weapons from Communist Russia and Communist China? Aren't the Communists urging the Vietminh to overthrow the French colonial government?

Incidentally, *The Anti-Communist Peril* by Waldo Frank was a bit of sheer genius.

Long Beach, Calif.

R. ASHCRAFT

Not at All

Regarding Mr. Ashcraft's interesting communication, in our judgment there is a basic difference between the two situations. Indo-China is a colony of France and the site of a protracted struggle by a people to achieve independence. The pro-Vietminh sympathies of the majority of the Vietnam people have been confirmed not only by many disinterested observers but most cogently by the Western powers themselves, which at Geneva fought hard to delay popular elections as long as possible. In contrast, the "revolt" in Guatemala, a sovereign state, was manufactured with the help of outsiders against a regime which had been democratically elected by its people.

(Continued on page 99)

The Truce and American Policy

THE "Big Five" sat together at Geneva but in circumstances that surely were not contemplated in 1945 when there was proud talk of the "American Century." The United States was present at Geneva in the flesh, but its spirit was absent.

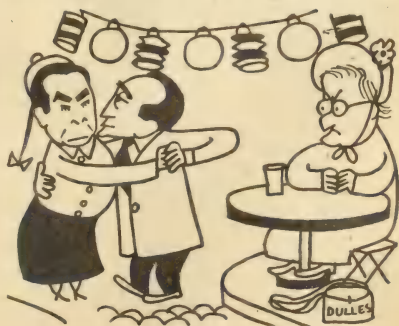
The Geneva agreements embodied triumph and tragedy. There were personal triumphs for four individual leaders—Mendès-France in particular, statesmanlike Anthony Eden, the ubiquitous Molotov, and Chou En-lai. The balance sheet for their nations presented a less happy division. France did not win as its representative did, because it could not; the truce agreement was not so much a new loss for France as the candid acknowledgment of a loss that had already taken place for a colonial power in the political and military arena of Asia. Great Britain itself could hardly have been said to have won or lost except in the long-term sense that it might gain from peace. The position of the Soviet Union was roughly similar to that of the United Kingdom; it probably won but only by a roundabout route—through China. China, however, like Chou En-lai, gained tremendously in prestige in Asia and won new standing in the councils of Europe.

For the Americans there was only tragedy. Except for the Vietnam government, which now hardly counted any more than its sorry monarch sunning himself on a French beach, the United States suffered the greatest loss of all. It was a loss not in terms of legal rights or Indo-Chinese territory—where the United States had no holdings—but in the measure of its position in the North Atlantic Alliance, its prestige in Asia, and its contact with the aspirations of the Asian peoples. America's loss may also prove the greatest over the longer period, and it is not to be repaired with dollars or guns.

In terms of immediate concern other questions arise: What of the truce and of the future under the truce in Indo-China? What of future developments in Southeast Asia? Of these things no one can yet speak with final assurance. Certainly Ho Chi-minh's Communist regime has made more material gains by the truce than it had won previously; and the Vietminh position has been further strengthened by receiving the sanction of a legal international document. The Vietminh can no longer be

denied a place in Southeast Asia. That it will try to achieve domination of all Indo-China in the elections scheduled to take place two years hence goes without saying. That it will win in those elections or resort to drastic measures if the elections should be postponed seems possible. But the balance sheet has credits on the other side too. So long as the war continued, the influence of international communism in Indo-China increased and the situation created by war facilitated violent moves, now no longer possible. The cessation of fighting reduces the likelihood of forcible change in Laos and Cambodia; the threat to Thailand comes more from the so-called Free Thai movement now based on Chinese territory than from a more direct type of revolutionary aggression; and the threat to Burma still comes more from the renegade Chinese Nationalist troops remaining on its territory than from any violation of its frontier. And France is free to return to Europe.

The Communists in Asia will naturally do their best to extend their sphere of influence. But there is nothing to bar the democracies from similarly trying to increase their influence among the Asian peoples. For this it is necessary, to put the matter in its simplest terms, to study the Asian nations—their needs, their troubles, and their desires—with the aim of discovering where and how the democracies, which pride themselves on being so rich and ingenious, can aid those economically backward but proud and independent peoples to progress toward their



Paris Street Dance: "Take a look at Mama!"

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own aspirations. Social revolutions are not created out of thin air or individual ambitions but come only when the condition of human beings makes them ripe for revolution and no other way than violence seems left. A revolutionary situation exists in Asia because of the antipathy of the Asian nations for alien, and particularly Occidental, interference, their desire to mold their own destinies, and their longing for economic betterment. Where communism has succeeded in gaining control of revolutionary processes in Asia it is only by convincing the people that Communist leadership is prepared to solve the problems of national independence and economic change. This unpalatable but hard fact is not to be conjured away by virtuous non-recognition or anti-Communist pronunciamientos. The only course open to those who would affect the mind of contemporary Asia is to view its political and economic problems against that autochthonous background. Once a sympathetic understanding has been achieved, the United Nations provides a framework within which East and West can work together as equals and avoid suspicion of a resurgence of imperialism and colonialism. By this approach the democracies would stand a good chance of influencing the course of revolution in Asia and contributing to an orderly development in that part of the world. The effort would require a ten-fold "Marshall Plan" for Asia—but as a United Nations project with full American participation. It would require a massive mobilization of dollars and techniques, of men and ideas—not of troops and guns. All the nations concerned would have to tackle the problem in a manner unaffected by cold-war concepts of "neutrality" or "loyalty."

FOR there is no slick substitute for a careful, sympathetic approach to the problems of the people; particularly, there is no solving the problem of revolution by force of arms. It is currently reported that Anglo-American discussions at Washington as to the next steps in Southeast Asia have run into obstacles because the United States' draft plan "paid maximum attention to military matters." But it is worth recalling that General Albert C. Wedemeyer, speaking in August, 1947, to the Chinese State Council and the Ministers of the National Government at Nanking, had this to say:

I believe that the Chinese Communist movement cannot be defeated by the employment of force. Today China is being invaded by an idea instead of strong military forces from the outside. The only way in my opinion to combat this idea successfully is to do so with another idea that will have stronger appeal and win the support of the people. This means that politically and economically the central government will have to remove corruption and incompetence from its ranks in order to provide justice and equality and to protect the

personal liberties of the Chinese people, particularly of the peasants.

What happened to Nationalist China after 1947 and the recent history of French colonialism in Indo-China offer striking lessons for those who still cling to the idea that it is only necessary to supply the arms for twenty or thirty or fifty divisions and all problems will be solved. General Wedemeyer explained in simple words why this is so. We believe that the Administration should ponder his words and consider their possible application to other areas of the world.

The Shape of Things

American Sabotage

The House Appropriations Committee has eliminated every penny of the \$17,958,000 requested as the United States share of the U. N. technical-assistance program. It is impossible to overestimate the damage that will be done to our prestige abroad, and to the cause of peace, if this appropriation is not restored. Technical aid is the U. N. equivalent of our own Point Four, which was invented by President Truman as a means of opposing communism's materialistic philosophy with a more generous Western conception. Only a few years ago American delegates were lyrical in praise of technical aid; it is one of the few U. N. programs which some of the bitterest opponents of the world organization were often loath to criticize.

Three weeks ago our foreign editor, J. Alvarez del Vayo, denounced as a flank attack on the U. N. the developing American opposition to the work of the organization's three regional economic commissions—for Europe, Asia and the Far East, and Latin America. Wittingly or no, the House committee now appears to be pushing the offensive against the most practical and constructive part of the U. N.'s current activities. How can we charge that the Communists are sabotaging the world community when we ourselves, playing election politics, spurn our international responsibilities and withdraw from the only major constructive project on which the world can still unite?

Munich?

Nowadays any international agreement that involves a compromise with the Communist powers is by definition "another Munich." The Indo-China truce is the latest. Said the Alsop brothers the day after the terms were announced: "The parallel [with Munich] is exact at almost every point." Munich was also the watchword of numerous Senators and Representatives. Former Foreign Minister Bidault of France used the word—most unwisely—when he faced Mendès-France in the National Assembly before the overwhelming vote in favor of the

truce. It was echoed by General Albert C. Wedemeyer, who solemnly declared in San Francisco that "intelligent people must see the similarity between Chamberlain returning from Munich and acclaiming peace in our time and Eden returning from Geneva with a similar statement as a result of bending the knee before leaders who are noted for their breaches of faith." All this is nonsense, of course—cheap and dangerous nonsense. Those who spread it should know better, particularly General Wedemeyer, whose words quoted on another page of this issue prove that, whatever his policy, he understands the present struggle for Asia.

After several encounters with the Munich calumny it was a relief to read Under Secretary of State Bedell Smith's realistic retort: "Munich is a damned poor term. At Munich things were given away when there was no fighting. This was a war." It was a war in process of being lost. France gave up far less at Geneva than it would have in Vietnam had it fought on. By the hard logic of battle France made a good bargain and the Communists behaved with intelligent restraint.

Differences Go Deeper

But Geneva and Munich were even less comparable in non-military terms. At Munich a free democracy was forced to hand over its keys—and forty-odd good divisions—to a foreign aggressor. At Geneva a European colonial power surrendered control over part of an Asian colony to the leaders of a nationalist rebellion enjoying general popular support. Grant some complicating circumstances: that the French had, under pressure in the course of the eight-year struggle, yielded partial sovereignty to the states composing their Indo-China satrapy; that the top rebel leaders were Communists; that the Vietminh rebellion in its later stages got substantial military aid from China—as the French did from America. Grant all this and you still have no political resemblance to Munich. If further proof is needed it can be found in the determined, and successful, effort of the French to postpone free elections throughout Vietnam and in the desire of the Communists to hold them. Do the Alsops or General Wedemeyer believe that Hitler would have welcomed free elections in Czechoslovakia after Munich? Or that Benes would have insisted that they be put off for at least two years?

Silence in the House

Never, to our knowledge, has a situation prevailed quite like that which exists in Washington today. In the last hours of a weirdly confused session, with crowded calendars, heavy committee schedules, and all-night sittings, an undisguised attempt to make away with the American Bill of Rights is meeting with virtually no opposition. It is as though a congress of sleepwalkers

were either unaware of or quite indifferent to the theft of a priceless heritage of constitutional freedom. One reads with amazement and horror of the House passing, without debate or call for explanation, a bill to strip citizenship from any person, including citizens by birth, who is knowingly a member of the Communist Party. The other day the House approved "with only one dissenting vote" a bill to outlaw the Communist Party—a measure which even Mr. Brownell opposes. "Anti-subversive" measures are pending which have been pushed through committees without hearings, debate, or discussion of any kind.

A more disgraceful abdication of Congressional responsibility has not been witnessed in our time. No dictator ever decreed a package of repressive measures with greater ease and assurance, and less opposition, than Mr. Brownell is "sneaking" anti-subversive measures through this somnambulist Congress. Of all the giveaways which have disgraced this session, the Bill of Rights giveaway is the worst.

Under the circumstances only one course of action seems practical: wire your Senators and Representatives urging them to table all "anti-subversive" measures, including the wire-tapping bill, the bill to grant immunity to witnesses before Congressional committees, the measure subjecting citizenship to political pressures, the "Communist-infiltrated" bill we discussed in last week's issue, and the other items making up this deadly package.

The Senate's Responsibility

Voting contempt citations has become such a routine procedure these days that the press failed to note that unanimous consent was denied Senator McCarthy's request for citations against Corliss Lamont and two other witnesses who had appeared before the Senator's Committee on Government Operations. On July 17 Senator Cooper of Kentucky stated that there appeared to be opposition and suggested that some further explanation was in order. The cases involve important constitutional issues under the First Amendment as well as the right of the committee to inquire into a citizen's political beliefs. If the Senate wants to curb the abuse of the power to inquire, it does not need to adopt uniform rules or new procedures; let it simply refuse to approve contempt citations in cases where the power has been abused. These cases are clearly in that category.

"Containing" the T. V. A.

The shouts of "giveaway!" with which a small but stalwart group of Senators last week fought sections of the proposed amendments to the Atomic Energy Act must have sounded extremely familiar to readers of *The Nation*. A year ago—on May 30 and June 6, 1953—

Leland Olds, former chairman of the Federal Power Commission, wrote two articles for this journal under the title *The Grab for the Atom*. A few weeks ago—July 17 and July 24—he returned to the subject with two more entitled *The Great Atomic Giveaway* in which he warned particularly of the ruthless Administration campaign against the T. V. A. now slowly shaping up.

Last week's Senatorial ruckus, fought in part by tired men who were forced to take catnaps on cloakroom cots, centered largely on a Presidential directive to the Atomic Energy Commission which would force the T. V. A. to buy privately produced power. The directive and its technical implications are enormously complicated and its legality is questionable. But its intent is all too clear. T. V. A. needs more power to serve its customers; for two years it has been asking, and has been denied, the money to construct an additional steam plant. The Administration does not want T. V. A. to expand; instead it is ringing the Authority with private-power "bases" much as the United States is seeking to ring the Soviet Union with military ones. Already T. V. A. is surrounded by a growing network of private-power companies which represent at once a bar to its expansion and a threat to its existing business. The Presidential directive is the Administration's first overt major aggression against T. V. A. in behalf of the private utilities.

At a press conference on the subject last week Mr. Eisenhower, obviously irritated at some of the questions thrown at him, and equally obviously ignorant of the answers to them, hinted that a President can always change his mind. If he needs persuasion, Mr. Olds's articles, and his testimony before the A. E. C., should be able to provide it. But the record would seem to show that the President is not over fond of reading.

Hugo Ernst

Few figures in the American labor movement had more friends and well-wishers in and out of the movement than Hugo Ernst. Mr. Ernst was perhaps liked and respected even more for his remarkable human qualities than for his undoubted talents as a leader. There was about his rather dandified person an Old World charm and grace of manner. But it was not charm alone that drew people to him. He was kindly and thoughtful and considerate. He never denied a hearing to anyone who had a problem or to spokesmen for a good cause. He had also an open-minded and generous attitude toward heretics and dissenters which he shared with George Kidwell and some of the other outstanding San Francisco trade-union leaders of his generation. Several of these men had either a Socialist or an I. W. W. background. Mr. Ernst, for example, ran for Congress on the Socialist ticket in 1922. He was one of a three-man committee formed in San Francisco to defend Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings. It is reported that when Billings

eventually walked out of prison he said that he owed his freedom chiefly to the efforts of one man—Hugo Ernst. Fortunately the story of Mr. Ernst and the union he led—he rose from bus boy to the presidency of the 440,000-member Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders

International Union—is being written by Matthew Josephson, the biographer of Sidney Hillman. It is a pity, however, that Mr. Ernst did not live long enough to read and enjoy a book which will be as much a biography of himself as it is the story of his union.

DOUBLE EXPOSURE

Woltman on McCarthy . . . by Carey McWilliams

FREDDIE WOLTMAN seemed more than a mite surprised when I asked for an interview to discuss his series of five articles, *The McCarthy Balance Sheet*, which appeared in the *New York World-Telegram* and other Scripps-Howard papers on July 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16. But after a few questions he talked freely about the series.

For him, he explained, it was an assignment. Back in October the Scripps-Howard editors had felt the need for a reappraisal of McCarthy's activities, and in January Woltman had been asked to undertake it. He tried to duck it, first, because so much had been written about McCarthy that he did not believe anything new could be said, and then because the task of investigating McCarthy's activities was one of intimidating proportions. The editors kept on asking and he kept on stalling. Then came the blow-up in the feud between McCarthy and the army, and the whole question assumed a new urgency. The editors said that Woltman was not merely "just the man" for the job but the only man for it. His appraisal, they pointed out, couldn't be assailed or impugned. He was not only an anti-Communist—he had won a Pulitzer Prize in 1947 for a series on Communist infiltration—but he was a friend of McCarthy and of his group; hence he could not be fairly accused of malice or of having an ax to grind. The pressure mounted and Woltman finally set to work. It took him three weeks just to run through the clippings. But he put together an eight-page report on McCarthy's activities which made the rounds of the Scripps-Howard editors in late April. The editors liked it and wanted a series based on it—quickly.

Reading the clippings, Woltman came to two conclusions: the series would have to be short, otherwise it ran the risk of being boring, and it should be in the nature of a set of conclusions. Of the various McCarthy investigations, he singled out the Voice of America inquiry for close study. He insists that he didn't tell the whole story or even half of it. "McCarthy's investigation of the Voice of America," he told me, "is a subject for some future Congressional investigation." The "people close to McCarthy" were "sore as hell" about the way McCarthy let down the inside tipsters and informers who had supplied the scuttlebutt on which the investigation was based. Eventually most of these inside informers were fired. McCarthy refused to go to bat for any of them, either because he knew they were an unsavory lot or feared his investigation might be investigated.

IN WORKING on the series Woltman kept his own counsel, not wanting any hint of his project to leak to the press or to McCarthy. The moment the articles were announced, however, they became a subject of intense discussion in the McCarthy camp. Friends of Woltman who are also friends of McCarthy got in touch with him on an off-the-record basis to say that while there was much truth in what he had to say about McCarthy's staff and methods, still Joe was a "symbol" of the fight against communism and for this reason should not be attacked. Some said they would never speak to Woltman again; a few expressed private agreement with his conclusions. Woltman has every reason to believe that the series badly jolted McCarthy and company and that they

have been holding "prayer meetings" to ferret out its meaning and implications.

Woltman thinks—and he is clearly right—that the series was perfectly timed. He wanted it to begin in the wake of the McCarthy-army hearings, when it would not have to compete with them for public attention, but before the committee had prepared its report. Eighteen of nineteen Scripps-Howard newspapers carried the entire series and most of them featured it. In San Francisco, Cleveland, and other cities Scripps-Howard papers played it on page one. *Time* gave it three columns on July 19 and *Life* indorsed it.

Woltman told me that the reaction had been more savage in New York than elsewhere. The first great wave of letters came from the crackpots. Over half of these letters were anonymous—"crackpot Christian Front stuff." The more obscene notes were scrawled on toilet paper. The nature of the communications indicated that the protest had to some extent been organized. On the other hand, many of the writers seemed quite sincere. From the mail Woltman is convinced that there is a kind of "K. K. K. business"—frothy, crazy, and dangerous—abroad in the land. For the first few days the letters were critical of the series in the ratio of three to one. Then the protests leveled off and the comment was fifty-fifty until Pat Scanlon, editor of the Brooklyn *Tablet*, made a bitter attack on Woltman in the issue of Saturday, July 17. Copies of the *Tablet* were distributed at most of the Catholic churches in the Brooklyn diocese that Sunday, and the next week the volume of pro-McCarthy mail increased. Many of McCarthy's fans simply tore out the editorial and mailed it to the

World-Telegram with scabrous marginal notations. Captioned "Woltman Loses His Balance," the editorial denounced Woltman as a "hatchet man," a mud-slinger, "a reckless and ruthless character assassin," and an informer—in having revealed incidents that took place at private dinners "with the Senator at which the latter assumed he was talking to a friend."

I ASKED Woltman about the background of the Scripps-Howard editorial policy toward McCarthy. For example, on March 26, 1953, the Scripps-Howard papers had carried a major editorial criticism of McCarthy under the caption "Guerrilla Government" which had precipitated a flood of correspondence. Was this their first "anti-McCarthy" editorial? "Quite the contrary," Woltman said, "we've always kept our fingers crossed about McCarthy and have never indorsed him. In 1950 when I was in Washington working on the *Amerasia* case—the Tydings investigation was under way—they took the hide off McCarthy, telling him to keep his big mouth shut and predicting that the investigation would blow up because of the circus-like atmosphere he was creating. It was a prophetic editorial. Generally, the papers have adopted an empirical attitude toward McCarthy, striking at him when they thought he needed it, occasionally giving him a pat-on-the-back for something he has done. But they've never said he was a great guy."

I asked Woltman what he thought the effect of the series had been. He professed not to know except to say that it may have sealed the fate of Roy Cohn, and that was important. McCarthy would be completely useless without a first-rate counsel and now he would have "a helluva time" finding anyone of stature who would be willing to take the job. "Cohn," he said, "was 100 per cent the wrong guy for the job," although he did know how to get headlines. Without a first-rate chief counsel, he feels, McCarthy can't do too much between now and November, and if the Democrats win control of Congress he will probably "fade," since the chairmanship of the Senate Investigations Committee is a major source of his power. Woltman thought, too, that the series might stiffen the attitude of Senator Potter. "McCarthy's problem,"

he said, "is that he is a victim of his own headlines. Back in 1950 he told me that the newspapers had given him the greatest forum on earth. But now, regardless of what he does, he can't rewrite those headlines." Still, you can't be sure that McCarthy will "fade." "He's very resilient—a fast operator. He's in and then he's out. He is not at all like his crackpot following. They are fanatics but he isn't. He has no machine—no organized following. Nor is he like Huey Long, for he has no program. He's essentially a destructive critic; nothing more. If Taft had been elected President, McCarthy would be slamming away at him today. He has to be attacking something all the time or he would simply wither on the vine. It's his ability to remain disengaged that makes it possible for him to drop an issue as fast as he picks one up. His main trouble during the hearings was that he was forced to put on a show before the TV cameras and he's really not good at it; he hams it up."

The last time Woltman saw McCarthy was some six months ago. He had been sitting in on a hearing McCarthy was conducting and had left the New York courthouse in the company of McCarthy and Roy Cohn. As they walked out, Cohn pointed to Governor Dewey's car which was parked at the curb. "Oh, gee!" said McCarthy, running around to take a look at the No. 1 license plate and flattening his nose against the rolled-up windows to get a good view of the interior. "He acted like a kid," Woltman was rather surprised to note.

Woltman is convinced that there has been a stiffening of conservative opposition to McCarthy in the last year. He has received confidential laudatory letters about his series from any number of individuals—he mentioned some names to me—that one might expect to find in the pro-McCarthy camp. One was an editor of *Reader's Digest*. He is convinced, too, that the Catholics are more sharply divided—"even discounting Bishop Shiel"—on the issue of McCarthyism than most people imagine. The Pittsburgh *Catholic*, official organ of the Pittsburgh diocese, has praised his series as "the study of the McCarthy case which the country needs and for which it has been waiting." The paper bears the imprimatur of the Right Reverend John F. Dearden, Bishop of

Pittsburgh. Many diocesan papers have taken a stand-off attitude; the National Catholic Welfare Conference has a poor opinion of McCarthy, and the Jesuit publication *America* has been consistently critical.

In Woltman's view, while McCarthy has a good sense of timing and knows how to grab headlines, he has always been dependent on others for ideas and direction. When he started his great anti-Communist crusade in 1950 he had no idea what he was getting into and confessed to Woltman's wife that he had only become interested in communism "about two and a half months ago." As Woltman sees him, he is not a fanatic and not an anti-Semite. "You must have some kind of racist philosophy to be an anti-Semite and he hasn't any philosophy, racist or otherwise." When staff members caught him up for using the word "kike"—"why shouldn't I call Jews 'kikes' when people call me a 'Mick'?" My principal backer is a Jewish department-store owner"—they had to explain that using the word "kike" was "just one of those things you don't do." They had to explain, too, that issues of this sort arouse more feeling on the Eastern seaboard than in Wisconsin. But once he got the point, McCarthy ordered Upton Close out of his office.

TWO interesting aspects of the Woltman series on which Woltman declined to comment should be noted. The New York *Daily News* has tried to create the impression that there is much "a-feudin' and a-fussin'"—its phrase—in the Scripps-Howard chain over the Woltman series. The notion is based on the fact that Mrs. William Loeb, sister of Charles E. Scripps, chairman of the Scripps-Howard board, and wife of the Manchester, New Hampshire, publisher, has denounced the series as "rotten, biased journalism." "Them's harsh words," comments the *Daily News* editorially, "and it pains us no end to see a newspaper family fight explode into the open." But the pain must be negligible, for the "exploding" in this case was done by the *Daily News* itself. There is no evidence of any division in the Scripps-Howard management on the series. Mrs. Loeb has an interest in the Scripps estate but is not, I am told, a stockholder.

More interesting is the possible relation of the Woltman series to some high-level "a-feudin' and a-fussin'" in the ranks of the "anti-Communists." Just as McCarthy has tended to overshadow the other witch-hunters, so George Sokolsky and some of his colleagues on the Hearst papers have tended to monopolize the "contacts" with McCarthy. It was Sokolsky, the king-maker, who secured Cohn's appointment as chief counsel, and it was Sokolsky and Richard Berlin, an executive in the Hearst chain, who tried to work out a formula for settling the McCarthy-army row. The power and prestige that Sokolsky has enjoyed during the last year or so have doubtless irritated many other "anti-Communist" writers.

Whatever the motivation, publication

of the Woltman series is a major development in the breakup of McCarthy's power. For one of the nation's outstanding "anti-Communist" writers to lower the boom on Joe in this massive and brutal fashion cannot but weaken his position. It will shake the confidence of the opportunists who have been flocking to Joe's camp on the assumption that he was invincible. Coming in the wake of the McCarthy-army hearings, the series must have shaken even Joe's confidence in his power. And just as he is trapped, on the one hand, by his own headlines, so, on the other, he is trapped by his own temperament. He can no more reverse his field at this late date than he can appease his critics by piping down.

True, McCarthy is only a symbol; the movement he represents would not

vanish if his power were utterly destroyed. But the "anti-Communists" around McCarthy are right; whatever tarnishes the symbol weakens the movement. Nevertheless, McCarthy is now being attacked from the right in an effort to preserve the movement which he helped bring to maturity. The caption of a recent *Saturday Evening Post* editorial tells the story: Deplore McCarthyism but Keep an Eye on the Reds! But this is a little easier said than done. All the same, it remains a sad commentary on the demoralization of the liberal movement that two of the lustiest of recent blows against McCarthyism should have been struck by a rock-ribbed New England Republican conservative, Senator Flanders, and by Freddie Woltman, the dean of the "anti-Communist" writers.

COUNTER-REVOLUTION

Guatemala's Tragedy . . . by Bernard Rosen

TO THE people of the United States the overthrow of the Arbenz regime was merely another incident in the West's anti-Communist crusade. For Guatemala, however, the event had far different implications, and the issue of communism was involved only because the United States injected it. The real issues antedate the anti-Communist crusade; indeed, they antedate communism.

Throughout the nineteenth century two main forces struggled for supremacy on the Guatemalan scene—the anti-clerical liberals, who were the partisans of the ideas of the French Revolution, and the conservatives, who upheld the status quo and the traditionalism which stemmed from Spanish colonialism. Except for brief interludes the conserva-

tives held the power, and Guatemala remained a backward, semi-feudal country, controlled by landholders and clericals who kept a landless peasantry in a state of abysmal ignorance and poverty. A strong middle class, the necessary base for a flourishing liberal movement anywhere, was virtually nonexistent.

In the 1870's the liberals came to power and under the leadership of the dynamic Justo Rufino Barrios separated

church and state, expropriated church properties, and established a secular public-school system. In order to further the country's economic development they invited American capitalists to supply the necessary funds. Rufino Barrios was particularly interested in the construction of railroads, believing that they would contribute more than any other single factor to the modernization of Guatemala.

The successors of Rufino Barrios

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Girls Learning to Read



Guatemalan Mother

gradually abandoned his liberal ideals, but they continued to extend a warm welcome to foreign capital. Under the dictator Estrada Cabrera, whose iron-fisted rule lasted from 1898 to 1920, the United Fruit Company acquired tremendous power, and the railroads which Rufino Barrios had visualized as a national enterprise became the property of American stockholders, together with the electric-power plants.

In the twentieth century the blending of capitalism intruding from abroad with the semi-feudalism persisting from the past produced the present rigid social structure. At the top are the American enterprises and the great landholders, mainly producers of coffee; below are the middle classes, the workers (brought into existence by the foreign capitalists), and the peasants. The foreign capitalists and the large native landholders have much in common. Both produce for the world market and have little interest in the country's industrial development or in raising the living standards of the masses. Both are against the rise of labor and peasant movements which could threaten their respective economic interests.

The middle, working, and peasant classes are held together by their common discontent and resentments. What kind of market can ambitious Guatemalan small capitalists and merchants find in a population earning from twenty cents to a dollar a day? Why should they oppose the trade-union organization of the workers employed by the foreign enterprises if that will

bring higher wages and thus increase the workers' purchasing power? Why should they oppose agrarian reforms designed to increase the income of the peasants? Why, should not all these classes favor democratic institutions under which they can marshal their forces and agitate for a change?

From 1900 on successive dictatorships kept the masses in their place and guaranteed that the foreign enterprises and the native landholders should enjoy the fruits of their labor. Social pressures however, have a way of building up, and in 1944 a virtually spontaneous popular upheaval overthrew the thirteen-year-old Ubico government.

HISTORICALLY the 1944 revolution belonged to the liberal current which brought Mariano Galvez and Rufino Barrios to power in the nineteenth century. It was a belated bourgeois revolution, not, as its enemies asserted, a "red" revolution. Middle-class intellectuals, supported by the masses, became the new rulers of Guatemala and inaugurated policies calculated to lead the country along the path of bourgeois development.

Under Arévalo, and later Arbenz, Guatemala moved rapidly into a period of bourgeois reform. A new constitution gave the people the civil rights enjoyed in advanced Western nations. Labor and peasant organizations were legalized. Steps were taken to diversify the agriculture of the country and get away from a one-crop coffee economy. A government-sponsored institute was established, headed by an agronomist lent to Guatemala by President Perón of Argentina, to aid capitalists who wished to expand their enterprises or start new ones. Construction of a new highway from Guatemala City to Puerto Tomás on the Atlantic was begun, with the object of breaking the transportation monopoly of the International Railway of Central America, which is controlled by the United Fruit Company. Finally, an agrarian law was adopted, designed to break up the estates and create a class of independent farmers.

None of the reforms of Arévalo and Arbenz can possibly be considered Communist. Even the controversial agrarian law of Arbenz, which the troglodyte opponents of the 1944 revolution revile as "communism," is no more than a

mild middle-class reform. The propaganda against it reminds one of the campaign of slander directed against "bolshhevik" Mexico in the twenties and early thirties. The law itself states that its purpose was to "liquidate feudal property . . . in order to develop . . . capitalist methods of production in agriculture and prepare the road for the industrialization of Guatemala."

Hampered by the non-existence of a strong bourgeoisie and the dearth of capital, Arévalo and Arbenz resorted to the expedient made use of by other bourgeois states in the past—namely, direct state intervention to obtain funds for promoting industrial development. Perón and the recent middle-class governments of Mexico have done the same thing. The new constitution sanctioned such state intervention. Article 88 says that "the state will orient the national economy" and that the "primary function of the state is to promote agriculture and industry in general." Article 90 goes on to say that "the state recognizes the existence of private property



Banana Worker

The drawings on these pages were made by Anton Refregier, distinguished American artist, during a recent visit to Guatemala.

and guarantees it as a feature of society." This Latin American version of Keynesian economics is certainly not communism.

However, the middle class reformers were much weaker than their control of the state apparatus made them appear to be. Hemmed in by the foreign enterprises and native landholders on one side and by the mass of peasants and workers on the other, they could not by themselves reshape Guatemalan society. Hence the political tactics of Arévalo and Arbenz. *The workers and peasants were to be used as a means to an end*—namely, the creation of a bourgeois society. But the labor and peasant movements were run by the Communists, and the bourgeois leaders were too weak to oppose the infiltration of Communists into the government, particularly in the education, propaganda, and agrarian departments. In consequence Marxist and socialist terminology came to be used in the official *Diario de Centro America* and in government propaganda in general.

The Guatemalan middle-class reformers were not the first in Latin America

to resort to "radicalism" to win over the masses. Their Mexican predecessors went even farther. I have in my possession textbooks used in Mexican public schools during the Cárdenas administration which expound primitive communism and celebrate the victory of the Third International. And I also recall that Mexican Cabinet ministers spoke in the name of "dialectic materialism" and the "classless society." The Cárdenas government was not Communist; why try to pin the label on the Arévalo and Arbenz governments?

The shortcomings of those administrations and their game of give and take with the Communists must not blind us to the fact that Arbenz was overthrown by a combination of reactionary forces united around a negative "anti-communism." The middle-class reformers furthered, in a small way, economic and social progress; the reactionary "anti-Communist" combination can only hold it back. The "anti-Communists" are not likely to do away overnight with all the innovations introduced by Arévalo and Arbenz, but a brake will be put on new reforms, and those that

cannot be undone will be kept within bounds.

To say that the only interest of the new government is to block communism in Guatemala and destroy a "Soviet beachhead" in the Americas is nonsense. Its chief target is the reforms mentioned above, particularly the agrarian reform, which was expected to undermine the power of the landholders and the foreign enterprises. Admittedly the Communist infiltration was a factor in the Guatemalan equation and made the United States apprehensive. But the conflict was not primarily caused by the issue of communism.

I have no way of knowing in detail what role the United States played in the recent uprising. But one thing is certain. By harping on the threat of the "Soviet beachhead" and keeping silent about the real meaning of the 1944 revolution, the United States showed itself to be opposed not only to communism in Guatemala but also to the industrial development of the country. Apparently the United States opposes not only "red" but also bourgeois revolutions in backward countries.

END OF A G. O. P. ERA

Has Dewey Had Enough? . . by Warren Moscow

THERE is a feeling in New York that the Republican Party in the state is reaching the end of an era, one that has been the most politically lucrative of modern times. The feeling stems from the fact that more people than ever before are believing Tom Dewey when he says he won't run again for Governor this fall, plus the knowledge of many others that even if the G. O. P. should win with somebody else, things won't be quite the same.

The Republicans were out of power for twenty years before Dewey. Now

they have had twelve years of him. The feeling that a change is in the cards is a bit too widespread to be discounted.

It is rare for the Grand Old Party to control the White House in Washington and the Capitol in Albany at the same time. It happened in the first years of William Howard Taft as President and again at the beginning of the Harding Administration; it has happened in the first two years of Eisenhower. But the previous Republican Governors were different. Charles Evans Hughes broke the corrupt hold of his party's machine on the state before he went to the United States Supreme Court. Nathan L. Miller, in Harding's era, was an upright gentleman before whom no political leader dared discuss a "deal." Tom Dewey has been the most "practi-

cal" as well as the most successful standard-bearer the party ever had. Neither Hughes nor Miller in their time inspired affection among the professionals, nor has Dewey in his. But Dewey has always understood their problems.

To comprehend Dewey's relations with his party, and what may happen when and if he leaves Albany, one has to go back to the Harding-Coolidge era, when Tom was a beardless and possibly mustacheless youth in Owosso, Michigan. The Republican Party in the twenties was run in New York, as in many other places, by the millionaires themselves, not by their delegates. Charles D. Hilles, Ogden L. Mills, Ruth Baker Pratt, Bill Ward of Westchester, Phil Elting of Ulster were the interests, not

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working for the interests. When they lost prestige and authority as a result of the Hoover débâcle and the great depression, the control of the party landed in the hands of the Young Turks, a group of county leaders that included J. Russel Sprague of Nassau, Bill Bleakley of Westchester, Kenneth Simpson of New York, Johnny Crews of Brooklyn, Warren Ashmead of Queens, Ed Jaekle of Erie, Tom Broderrick of Monroe, and a few others.

They ran the party, but they controlled nothing worth while but the legislature. Lehman was Governor; Roosevelt was President. Then came Dewey, a political prospect of the first water on the basis of his rackets investigation in New York County and his subsequent election as district attorney. He was a country boy with city appeal. They latched on to him, ran him for Governor in 1938, and even when he lost, they stuck with him, all save Simpson, with whom Dewey split over the question of who was to be boss.

The loyalty of the others was based on practical politics. Dewey looked like an eventual winner, and the others did not like Simpson either. In addition, Dewey gave the rest blunt assurances that he would be organization-minded,

known what they were doing all the time—it must be presumed from the "dossier" system he installed when he first went to Albany—but he has interfered, ex post facto, only when some particular activity has brought criticism on himself or his administration.

This has been terrifically important to the county leaders, the now much older survivors of the original Young Turks, as well as their successors. It has been important because, unlike the Hilles, Mills, Pratt, Ward, and Elting group, they are not the interests but only brokers for the interests. Their ability to survive, make money, and fill campaign chests has depended on their ability to deliver the goods in government's relationship to business. And that in turn has depended on the goodwill of the Executive Department.

If Dewey goes out, even if the Republicans should keep control of the Capitol, there is no Republican successor in sight who has all the Dewey ability, all the Dewey assets, all the Dewey brass, needed to keep this kind of show on the road.

First of all, Dewey went into office with white and shining armor, with a reputation as a racket-buster, a foe of corruption. This served him well as a buffer against critics. To point the importance of this, Charles Poletti, a Democrat, pardoned a labor arsonist at the request of labor leaders—and went into political obscurity. Tom Dewey pardoned Lucky Luciano, who went right back into the dope business as international overlord, and Dewey got away with the excuse that Luciano helped us win the war. The difference was that Dewey had originally sent Lucky to jail. Nobody raised the question of pressures that might have influenced Dewey's action, as they did in Poletti's case.

Dewey has, and always has had, personal relations with newspaper publishers that have led the organs of public opinion to accept his version. His relations with the business community, with bankers, have been equally pleasant. Each successive campaign made by Dewey has been the best-publicized and best-financed in the history of the state. He has also a twelve-year record of administrative accomplishments which sound a lot better than they really are. Obviously, no other Republican candi-

date can toot his own horn so loud. No one else looks like the same kind of paid-up life insurance to his party.

ABOUT the only one on the list of possible Dewey successors who really fits the Dewey pattern is United States Attorney General Herbert Brownell. If Mr. Dewey can choose his successor—and there is reason to think he doesn't give a Michigan damn who succeeds him—Brownell should be it. Brownell has the same Wall Street contacts; he has the same thinking; many regard him as the same kind of cold fish, with the same devotion to the premise that the end always justifies the means. But Brownell has never run for public office higher than the state Assembly. He has been the manipulator of Dewey campaigns. And he would not win a popularity poll among the leaders.

Brownell is practically the only possibility who has been in the forefront on one side or the other of the McCarthy issue. He has been on both sides. First he outdistanced McCarthy with his performance in the Harry Dexter White case; then he denounced McCarthy for irresponsible damage to American ideals. This probably would hurt him as a gubernatorial nominee, since the McCarthyites can be counted on to remember the latter and the anti-McCarthyites the former. McCarthyism in New York, as in many other places, is like a submerged reef. It shows on the charts, but nobody goes monkeying around to see how dangerous it is.

Senator Irving M. Ives is a different story. The leaders like him, and he has shown vote-getting ability on a statewide basis to the point of piling up a plurality in 1952 which topped Dewey's best by half a million. If Dewey is sincere in wanting to quit, he has an "out" in Ives, to whose vote-getting record he can point. He can say to his party, "You don't need me, Irv can win."

However, Ives for Senator could be one thing with the great New York City population and Ives for Governor could be another. In addition, Ives is happy in the Senate. Nobody ever quits the United States Senate of his own volition. He is either rejected by his constituents or carried out to an honored grave. Ives genuinely doesn't want to run, or even to be Governor. His background is legislative, not executive,



Fitzpatrick in the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*
1954 Handicap

or "practical," if you will, when elected. He was elected Governor, he was practical, and they and their successors have been loyal to him ever since.

It is a tribute to Dewey's intelligence that he has never run out on a political commitment once made, no matter how difficult delivery was. The leaders have furnished for him the votes he wanted in the legislature and at successive state and national political conventions. He in turn has given them unprecedented leeway in local political action. He has

and Washington is now in his blood.

But even if Ives should run, not because Tom Dewey asked him to but because his party did, and even if Ives should win, would Albany be the same? Would the party be the same? Probably not. Where Dewey is a boss, Ives strives to be a conciliator. Where Dewey rules by fiat, Ives would rule by caucus. Both are practical politicians, but Ives's conscience is much more active. Ives's principal weak point, frequently attacked, has been that he has avoided possibly damaging issues.

When Ives first went to Washington as Senator seven years ago, many in the Washington press corps thought he would be there as Mr. Dewey's Senator instead of the junior Senator from New York. Others knew better, knew that there had never been any love lost between them. Dewey vetoed Ives for the Senate nomination in 1944 and took him in 1946 only to stave off the politically undesirable—to him—candidacy of General William J. Donovan.

Ives wanted to be his own Senator, and it served Dewey's purpose to have him operate as such, since any votes cast by Ives in 1947 and 1948 might have been construed as Dewey votes, committing Dewey on issues in the 1948 Presidential campaign, in which he hoped to be, and was, again the Republican nominee. But whereas Dewey did not want to run in 1948 on Ives's record, or for that matter on any record, Ives in 1954 would have to run for Governor on the Dewey record.

WHAT of Dewey himself? How strong is he? Why doesn't he want to run again? First off, Dewey is strong. But his strength can be overestimated. Let's look at his running record. He ran for District Attorney of New York County in 1937 against Harold Hastings, and won. He ran for Governor in 1942 against John J. Bennett and Dean Alfange, and won. He ran against James M. Mead in 1946, and won. He ran against Walter A. Lynch in 1950, and won. But when he ran for Governor against Herbert H. Lehman in 1938, he lost. When he ran for President against Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1944, he lost the state by 315,000. When he lost the Presidency to Harry Truman in 1948, only the 509,000 votes cast in New York for Henry A. Wallace enabled Dewey to



squeak through there by 61,000 or about 1 per cent of the votes cast.

What it seems to add up to is that Dewey has consistently beaten men who were either without a substantial following or the nominees of a divided party, and that he has consistently lost to Democrats of outstanding reputation. Or, putting it another way, the public has put aside its distrust of Dewey's techniques, motivation, and personality and voted for him only when it didn't like the caliber of his opposition.

It is a political truism that men who have once had the Presidential bug never lose it. Dewey has had it bad. And if there were a possibility of his nomination for President in 1956, he would not be talking now of getting out of politics. But there is no real possibility of his getting the nomination. And if he did it wouldn't be worth anything. The bitterness of the 1952 convention was directed at him, not at Eisenhower, and it would exist with greater force if he tried to take the mantle in 1956, or if Eisenhower tried to step aside. Dewey is practical enough to know this, and also that Eisenhower will be drafted by his party, must be drafted, if a semblance of unity and hope is to be preserved. He can be further interested in the Governorship only as the stepping-stone to the Presidency, and he's already had his turn. Twice.

Another reason why he may step aside is that in the campaign coming up

this fall, he would be carrying a heavier burden than ever before. It is the burden of scandal in his administration, and he doesn't like that. To be fair, no politician does. He was able to weather it in 1950 when he was confronted with the implications of the Hanley letter. But that scandal broke during the campaign itself, and the issue got as confused as the Mr. X issue in the recent mayoralty campaign in New York. Now Dewey is in the position of having paid off his obligation to Hanley, at state expense, for the past four years, confirming the implications in Hanley's letter of why he stepped aside as Dewey's rival. In the coming campaign there would be the harness track scandal, the Joey Fay scandal, the nine years spent building the Thruway, the mystery of Luciano's pardon, the often rumored shenanigans in the liquor-licensing procedure. To Mr. Dewey's declaration that he has set up a code of ethics for public officials the Democrats have already retorted that up to his time the state never felt the need for such a code.

In New York City he no longer has an administration that, willy-nilly, is a whipping boy, as it was under O'Dwyer and Impellitteri. This past spring the city stood up and fought, and Mr. Dewey's own polls are reported to have shown that he lost ground substantially on the issue of the city-state fiscal relationship alone.

IF I were a mind reader, I might sum up Dewey's thinking this way: Dewey is tired of campaigning. He has campaigned either for public office or for the Presidential nomination eight times in the last seventeen years. He feels he has had enough, that he has done enough for his party in bringing it into power in the state and keeping it there longer than any predecessor. He is annoyed with the chore of public office holding. He believes, and has considerable support for that belief, that he can make a lot of money practicing law. And if the party can't win with somebody else, that's too — bad.

Of course, being Governor of New York is a comfortable life. The salary has been \$25,000 up to now with \$50,000 slated for the next incumbent. That's what you pay taxes on. In addition, the state spends nearly \$175,000 more a year on your upkeep,

including cars, chauffeurs, food, refreshments, transportation, and things so varied as bodyguards on trips to the Orient, lawn seed, and gardeners' aprons. It is as high a standard of living as you could buy on an income of a million a year, before income taxes.

But people call you up, come to see you, and you have to see them. There is

another budget to prepare, and the fat has already been used up. There are problems in the morning and baby-kissing to be done in the afternoon. There are always campaigns in the offing. There are ungrateful politicians who get your administration into trouble, even after you've told them to be careful. You can't lay up cash for your old age; you

can't get cut in on a stock deal and make the profit in capital gain.

So maybe you'll pull out, and when you're not practicing law, go up to the farm and watch your tenant milk the cows. And maybe the pressure to stay in office won't be so great this time, because the boys know you've had enough. Maybe they're getting older, too.

PEGLER PEGGED

Blow to the Hate-Mongers . . . by Albert J. Zack

AT 1 a.m. on June 29, in a stuffy little courtroom nine floors above the deserted streets of lower Manhattan, a big, rumpled-looking man with a wide grin saw his faith in American institutions justified. Quentin Reynolds, war correspondent, author, TV and radio personality, is a man well accustomed to thrills, but he had probably never had a greater one. He had proved that the American system of justice was able to meet and beat that phenomenon of present-day journalism, the hate columnist; and at the same time he had won one of the largest single awards for damages ever handed down in a libel suit. His antagonist was missing when the curtain fell. When the jurors retired to consider the more than four thousand pages of testimony and the hundreds of exhibits, Westbrook Pegler took his bulging brown briefcase, his scowl, and the first elevator away from what had been his public whipping post.

There will certainly be more whippings. Others whom Pegler has grossly insulted and slandered will now go to court. Drew Pearson has already filed an \$850,000 suit which may come to trial next fall.

As the first suit ever pushed by a Pegler victim and the first major defeat suffered by the smear and hate writers, Reynolds's suit was highly newsworthy; yet a self-imposed newspaper censorship hid the facts from the general public.

ALBERT J. ZACK, labor journalist, covered the trial of the Reynolds suit for the C. I. O. News.

Only the New York Post, Editor and Publisher, and the C. I. O. News gave the trial complete coverage. A. P. and U. P. courthouse reporters filed thousands of words which wound up in city-room wastebaskets or on publishers' desks. Few of them got into type except in England, where Reynolds is still a hero of the blitz. It was not because the trial lacked the ingredients which gladden the hearts of tabloid editors and gossip columnists. Both sides engaged in name-dropping, and stories of nude swimming, war-time scandals, and charges of pro-communism were tossed around. But the defendant's name was Pegler. Only after the judge, in a masterful charge to the jury, found him guilty of outright libel and the jurors fixed the penalty at \$175,001 were the facts printed. The public never saw the naked picture of hate, the persecution by the press of a man whose sole crime was that he incurred the dislike of a Hearst columnist. That was the real story of the Reynolds-Pegler case.

IT ALL began in the fall of 1949 when the New York Herald Tribune Book Review asked Quentin Reynolds to review Dale Kramer's new biography of Heywood Broun, the noted liberal columnist of the thirties, whom Pegler had always hated. Reynolds had been a close friend of Broun and wrote a sympathetic review, mentioning Kramer's comments on the role Pegler had played in Broun's last hours. Nine days later Pegler devoted an entire column to Reynolds, the column that Federal Judge

Edward Weinfeld was to declare, nearly five years later, "as a matter of law . . . libelous and defamatory."

Reynolds, Pegler wrote, was a coward with an "artificial reputation" for bravery who had a "yellow streak" in his "mangy hide." He engaged in public displays of nudism and aped Broun's manner, dress, and political views, which Pegler insinuated were "pro-Communist." Reynolds was such a low character, Pegler added, that he had proposed to Broun's widow en route to Broun's burial place and had later "snubbed her publicly." Pegler also slapped at the *Herald Tribune*, which he called "leftist" in its choice of books for review and of reviewers.

Reynolds promptly retained the New York attorney Louis Nizer and filed a \$500,000 libel and slander suit. Co-defendants with Pegler were the Hearst Corporation, which syndicates his column to 186 newspapers with a total (1949) circulation of twelve million, and the corporation's New York affiliate, which publishes the *Journal-American*. For the first time Pegler had to defend his most prized possession—a more than twenty-year-long record of never being sued for libel. Before the tedious task of picking a jury was completed, the defendants had exhausted their challenges, knocking off prospective jurors with Jewish-sounding names and those who were active trade unionists.

Reynolds was his own first witness. Testifying in the deep, resonant voice familiar to radio and TV fans, he traced

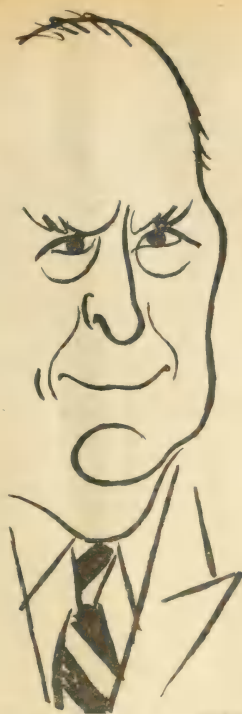
his career as a war correspondent, identified hundreds of articles and books he had written, and quickly demonstrated the losses he had suffered as a result of Pegler's attack. For more than seventeen years he had been a *Collier's* staff writer, selling that magazine 311 articles for about \$350,000. After Pegler's column appeared *Collier's* did not buy a single line written by Reynolds.

Nizer skilfully led Reynolds through a description of the battles he had covered for *Collier's*. He had been on the Dieppe raid, was with the French forces when the Maginot line was flanked, left Paris just before the city fell, was in London during the worst of the blitz. In all he spent thirty months in combat areas. Many of his fellow-correspondents, testifying in person or by deposition, swore that Reynolds's reputation for "accuracy, integrity, courage, objectivity, and loyalty" was "of the very highest."

HUNDREDS of Reynolds's pieces were admitted as evidence before Pegler's attorney, Charles Henry, chief Hearst trial lawyer, made his first serious objection. When Nizer introduced a post-war book which clearly displayed Reynolds's anti-Communist views, Henry argued that the defendant was not obligated to be familiar with everything Reynolds had written. The judge overruled him.

In his cross-examination of Reynolds, Henry in a hard, drumming voice shot hundreds of questions across the courtroom, all implying that the military and political strategy of those years had been wrong. Nearly every dispute of the Hearst papers with Franklin Roosevelt, other New Deal leaders, or war-time generals was recalled, with the insinuation that Reynolds was the villain of the piece. Time after time Judge Weinfeld stopped Henry. "No correspondent is responsible for war programs or planning," he noted in one long lecture. The issue, he said, was whether or not Reynolds had been libeled by Pegler.

Various Reynolds witnesses, including Mrs. Connie Broun, widow of the columnist, completely denied the statements Pegler had made. Reynolds never proposed to her, she said, or snubbed her. He was just a good friend, then and now. Reynolds and no one else practiced nudism at the Broun home, she sharply told the jurors. Colonel Jack



Berger

Westbrook Pegler

Lawrence, General Eisenhower's press aide during the war and at NATO, testified that only a handful of correspondents had combat records approaching Reynolds's. Ed Murrow, John Gunther, and Captain Harry Butcher, Eisenhower's naval aide and post-war biographer, all testified that Reynolds was not a coward and was an accurate, honest writer.

WHEN Nizer began his cross-examination of Pegler, the defendant was angry and sneering, but in less than three minutes he was squirming and on the defensive. Nizer forced him into open contradiction of testimony he had given the previous day.

A stack of photostats which had been admitted after Pegler testified he had "relied upon them" in preparing the 1949 column set the trap. Nizer showed him two photostats and asked if he had "relied" on them. "No," snapped Pegler. Then Nizer revealed they were exact duplicates of two introduced the day before. Repeatedly Nizer demon-

strated that the Hearst columnist had given contradictory testimony in court and during sworn pre-trial examination. Pegler complained he had been "trapped" by misleading questions. He admitted having gone personally to organizations which had booked Reynolds as a banquet speaker and given them "derogatory information."

Just before Pegler stepped down from the witness stand, Nizer read him this quotation: "Communism is the reaction to poverty, oppression, and the exploitation of the masses by the few, and represents the demands of the masses for a strong central authority to curb their enemy." What did he think about that? Nizer asked. "Utter nonsense—pro-Communist propaganda . . . very familiar in the Communist line . . . it is false," Pegler answered promptly, forgetting that he had written that very sentence in 1937.

It took the jury ten and a half hours and seven trips back to the courtroom for legal guidance to reach its verdict—\$1 in compensatory damages and \$175,000 in punitive damages, levied against the three defendants. Reynolds had won a clear victory.

There were legal battles yet to be fought: appeals would be taken and higher courts would make decisions. But a judge and jury had found the leading hate journalist guilty of libel and had set the verdict high "to punish the defendant, to set an example to him, to deter him from repetition, and to warn others." A court of law had proved an adequate weapon against such as Pegler.

However, and this is a big qualifier, it is an adequate weapon only for those who, like Reynolds, have the financial resources to carry on a long legal battle. In his brilliant summation Judge Weinfeld said: "Civilized society has always recognized a man's reputation as a precious thing." It is no less precious to a man without Reynolds's prestige and resources. Have we made justice too costly for him?

Pegler attacked in the open. Because he did, Reynolds could bring him before the bar of justice. But what of the McCarthys, who hide behind the cloak of Congressional immunity? And what of the free press, which reports countless court cases of far less significance but ignored this case because the defendant was Pegler?

BOOKS

Pulse of Three Cultures

THE ETERNAL SMILE AND OTHER STORIES. By Pär Lagerkvist. Random House. \$4.50.

MODERN ITALIAN SHORT STORIES. Edited by Marc Slonim. Simon and Schuster. \$5.

FRENCH STORIES AND TALES. Edited by Stanley Geist. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.95.

By Stanley Cooperman

SHORT stories are immensely popular in America, but only occasionally find their way between the covers of a book. Our major writers, even when working with the short story, are rather offhand about it—as though marking time before beginning their next novel. For the most part crammed into the slums of pulp fiction or placed neatly in those fashionable suburbs of literature, the slick magazines, the American short story has found only a tenuous home among art forms.

As part of the European tradition, however, the short story is far from a footnote to literature. Much of the Continent's finest work has been done in this form. Short tales or novellas often form part of a series; just as often they are the total of an author's production, transmuting significant experience into art with admirable economy. The European short story is proof indeed that literature need not be rated—as so often appears to be done—by *avoidsipos*.

Three new collections of European stories—"The Eternal Smile," by the Swedish Pär Lagerkvist; "Modern Italian Short Stories," edited by Marc Slonim; and "French Stories and Tales," edited by Stanley Geist—are fascinating for their enormous range of technique, subject, and attitude and their manner of recreating the pulse of their respective cultures. The Northern chiaroscuro, mysticism, and massiveness of Lagerkvist's prose are in effective contrast to

the vivid life and bold naturalism of the Italian writers. And the French stories are Gallic counterpoint—perhaps sligher than the other tales but neater examples of structured fiction.

Pär Lagerkvist, author of "Barrabas" and winner of the Nobel Prize, is a brooding, prolific writer of enormous variety. In "The Eternal Smile," short stories written over a period of thirty years, he pursues the ultimate questions of human existence. His fiction is, quite literally, a matter of life and death. But while Lagerkvist's basic orientation may be ponderous, his prose is not; and he possesses a fabulous range. From interior monologue to allegory, he weaves and reweaves an unorthodox number of methods, and his language varies from the heavily portentous to the wildly surrealist, from childhood simplicity to a Walpurgisnacht of adult violence.

Through all changes of subject and technique, however, Lagerkvist is never completely free from blackness of mood and blackness of vision. The child in Quest of Reality broods upon death and decay; the man and woman in Masquerade of Souls, after a love idyl worthy of Tristan and Isolde and hardly less romantic, have their lives turned to stupidity and ashes with a single, savage line. This bitterness and lack of illusion shows Lagerkvist as unmistakably modern despite his use of folk materials. The Hangman, for example, is a surrealist nightmare, complete with time-lapse, symbolism, and great density of language. Even in his less experimental stories Lagerkvist does not merely narrate experience; he forces the heart and mind into the very moment of perception, when "one's whole existence . . . is chopped up into seconds," and each second is infinity.

The Eternal Smile, Lagerkvist's title piece, sums up his major themes and perhaps some of his shortcomings. Here are irony, power, and cosmic fantasy ending in an affirmation of life as an end in itself, the one supreme value. However, once Lagerkvist insists on the

value of life, his primary solution of its problems seems that of resignation. In The Eternal Smile all the dead of the ages go in search of God, and find only a little old man chopping wood, repeating "I have done the best I could." This will strike many readers as inadequate. There is, no matter what the metaphysics involved, a singular poverty in picturing the Creative Force as a senile woodchopper.

Lagerkvist's work may not always be fiction as the technician would have it, morality as the moralist would have it, or theology as the theologian would have it. But it is a grand and towering landscape of the human soul, challenging as thought and memorable as art.

IN CONTRAST to the icy peaks and black moods of Lagerkvist's tales Marc Slonim's collection of Italian stories is warm with blood and life. Seldom has a single volume captured so successfully the rapidly flowing currents of Italian literature. The book is not simply a collection; it is an introduction to an important area of world fiction.

"Modern Italian Short Stories" is divided into four sections: The Precursors, From Futurism to Fascism, Literature Under Mussolini, and The New Era. Each section is prefaced with an introduction by Slonim, who gives historical and critical perspective with remarkable clarity. While few readers will find all the stories equally successful either as art or entertainment, Slonim's own comments, as well as the representative works he has chosen, form an unsurpassed portrait of a rich culture and people.

Here are power, subtlety, paganism, and paradox; naturalism and nationalism; the psychological and the provincial; the formalistic retreat under Fascism and the eruption of neo-realism in post-war Italy. Some of these narratives flash like rapiers, deadly but delightful; others make their way slowly but irresistibly, products of a red and sun-drenched soil. Yet the very presence of such variety requires a word of caution. Readers would do well to approach gradually this banquet of literature, since not all courses will be equally digestible.

While Slonim's volume and Lagerkvist's stories are serious contributions rather than casual collections, Stanley

STANLEY COOPERMAN is a freelance writer specializing in criticism of modern fiction.

Geist, editor of "French Stories and Tales," makes it clear that he has chosen works with no object "but to make a fresh and lively volume of more than routine interest." Mr. Geist succeeds in his object; his book is fresh and lively, containing stories, anecdotes, and longer pieces from such French masters as Stendhal, Balzac, Baudelaire, Flaubert, Zola, and Gide. Most of his selections are ironic and involved—neat packages of prose tied with the ribbon of craft.

Whatever happens to the people in

these stories, however, the cards they receive in playing out their moments are dealt to them from a carefully shuffled deck. There may be great interest in the game, but only with the knowledge that it is, after all, a game. At one point in his introduction Mr. Geist mentions the "French" notion that literature is "first of all an art—more precisely, an artifice." It must also be added that while all art is necessarily artifice, not all artifice is necessarily art.

Flattery for a Despot

SYNGMAN RHEE. By Robert T. Oliver. Dodd, Mead and Company. \$5.

By Mark Gayn

AMONG the eminent Asians, Syngman Rhee holds a place all his own. He does not possess the greatness of a Nehru or Mao Tse-tung, the historic role of a Chiang Kai-shek, or the intellectual gifts of Ho Chi-minh. On the other hand, he has done something no one else ever did. He had spent thirty-five years in exile and was over seventy when he began his career as his country's leader. He quickly showed an amazing aptitude for Korean ward politics, and where his far abler rivals were frightened off or murdered, Rhee sailed on. He fought his rightist competitors, the Communists, and the United States army, which had doubts about him. In the end, his staying power—which included an uninhibited use of terror—won out. As befits an eminent Asian, he acquired a body of devoted champions on Capitol Hill and saw a succession of American diplomats, headed by Secretary Dulles himself, come to him with pleas for moderation that would not wreck the armistice, the American foreign policy, and the coalition of free nations that fought in Korea.

Undeniably, the man is fascinating. Everyone perturbed by the events in Korea should thus be interested in the first full-length biography of Rhee, es-

pecially when the author appears to be so well equipped for his task. Mr. Oliver, who teaches at the Pennsylvania State University, reports that he has had numerous talks with Rhee since their first meeting at a Washington cafeteria in 1942. He has also had access to Rhee's files and diaries, and both Rhee and his wife have supplied any other data needed.

With such aid Mr. Oliver provides some illuminating material, especially on the earlier phases of Rhee's career, as well as on the crucial years of 1946-47. This, however, I regret to report, exhausts the merits of the book. If the writing of a biography presupposes a critical evaluation of the subject, this volume does not qualify. Mr. Oliver considers Rhee "a great man," and adds, in one of his less ebullient passages, that "few men have played so significant a role in the twentieth century." (O shades of Churchill and F. D. R., of Hitler and Mussolini, of Stalin and Trotsky, of Gandhi and Mao Tse-tung!) Blandly Mr. Oliver dismisses most of Rhee's Korean rivals as Reds and hints broadly again and again that the American diplomats and generals who did not think well of Rhee really wished to turn South Korea over to Moscow. All this is buttressed with quotations from numerous letters by Rhee—without any indication of to whom they were addressed or what their purpose was. (Could they, for instance, have been written for the express purpose of influencing opinion in this country?)

As intriguing are the facts Mr. Oliver chooses to omit. Almost invariably these omissions involve extreme rightists who helped Rhee to intrench himself in

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power and whom he then began to suspect of political ambitions. Rhee's long-time Premier, whose Nazi-patterned bands of young hoodlums subjected the countryside to a reign of unimaginable terror in Rhee's behalf, is dismissed with only an irrelevant reference in the appendix. Rhee's long-time Home Minister, whose police helped to eliminate Rhee's rivals, does not even merit a footnote. As it happens, he fell out with

MARK GAYN, author of several books on the Far East, reported on Syngman Rhee in his "Japan Diary" and contributed Profile of a Despot to The Nation of March 13.

his patron when he decided to run for the presidency himself.

The omissions are coupled with disingenuous explanations of such events as Rhee's strong-arm byplay with the unfriendly Korean Assembly—a byplay, incidentally, that compelled American commanders to rush to Rhee's home in Pusan at a critical point in the battle. Their pleas to observe the democratic niceties, one might add, did not move Rhee. With the help of police and mobs he had his way. And all this is combined with lapses forgivable in a tourist but not in a scholar. Harbin, for instance, is not in Siberia. And one really cannot take seriously Mr. Oliver's reverential description of how Mrs. Rhee, an Austrian, criticizes her husband's Chinese calligraphy.

This two-dimensional book, one often feels, is more Rhee's autobiography than anything else. For who but Rhee would claim that "his success in planting the roots of genuine democracy on the continent of Asia may prove the most significant turning-point in the re-

lationship" between Asia and America; or that "his basic connection with America's destiny in the Pacific is that he offered guidance for our Far Eastern policies which, to our cost, we ignored"; or that this "liberal Jeffersonian" has "done much to save the values Americans cherish in the Far East, even at times against our will"? Who, indeed, but, say, an American who, by his publisher's admission, has served as Rhee's agent in this country, managed the Washington office of the (South) Korean Pacific Press, and edited its monthly? What is presented here as a biography is in fact a crude caricature. It may serve the ends of an Asiatic dictator, but it will hardly help Americans to understand what is going on in Korea—such things, for example, as the news reports of how the candidates who hoped to run against this "Jeffersonian" in the May election ended in jail or had their heads bashed in. The subtitle of the book is "The Man Behind the Myth." It probably would have been more correct to call it, "The Myth Before the Man."

details, but it has the defects which have hamstrung so much of Soviet literature, anti-Soviet though it is.

Lost Hope

LOST ISLAND. By Graham McInnes. World, \$3.50.

On its merits one would dismiss Mr. McInnes's romance of the unhappily married meteorologist wrecked on an uncharted island, where he finds an entrancing woman and a spring whose waters give immortality, as strictly for the hammock trade. For pure escapism the story of the survivor of Sir Francis Drake's Golden Hind living with his daughter in an idyllic paradise in 1954 and welcoming the castaway as son-in-law and husband is doubtless well enough, but it hardly seems to call for serious consideration.

And yet the novel's conclusion is curiously disturbing. Rather than return to the twentieth-century world the two immortals blow their lost island out of existence. Suicide is preferable to mid-twentieth-century civilization.

Is it really true that a moral abyss has opened between ourselves and the Renaissance? That the ethical concepts which were prevalent in the days of the first Elizabeth shrink in mortal horror from those which prevail in the days of the second? That the world has sunk to the nadir of evil? That the frigidaire and the automobile, the deep-freeze, TV, helicopter, jet plane, and antibiotic do not really outweigh the bomb and the police state; that sanitation, birth control, geriatrics, and DDT are as nothing in the face of global fear and global preparations for war? Is death really better than life in the second half of our century?

"Lost Island" makes no attempt to answer these questions, but the very fact that they are raised by a novel clearly designed for popular appeal ought to cause considerable—and possibly salutary—disquiet.

Yeats's Religious Beliefs

THE UNICORN. W. B. Yeats's Search for Reality. By Virginia Moore. Macmillan, \$6.50.

To many of his warm admirers Yeats was a great poet who managed somehow to nourish his genius on the moonshine

New Books in Brief

Old Revolutionary vs. New Soviet Man

FALL OF A TITAN. By Igor Gouzenko. Translated from the Russian by Mervyn Black. Norton, \$4.50.

Igor Gouzenko, a *cause célèbre* in Canada a few years ago who recently hit the headlines in this country, has spent four years writing a novel, a huge and bumbling narrative, epic in bulk only. The story of the impact of Soviet power on the individual is valid, even fascinating, material for a novel, but in "Fall of a Titan" Gouzenko has simply failed to transmute his experience into effective fiction. His book is replete with awkward transitions, wooden dialogue, and villains who are dehumanized to the point where, no longer men, they are no longer villains.

Since "Fall of a Titan" is essentially an account of the conflict between an old revolutionary great—obviously Gorky—and a "new Soviet man," comparisons with Koestler's "Darkness at Noon" are inevitable. Where Koestler wielded a fine psychological scalpel, exposing the very nerve-endings of new

power, Gouzenko creates a political "Uncle Tom's Cabin." His characters are described by epithets, the truth of which the reader must already have accepted. Gouzenko simply imbeds these epithets—along with omniscient conclusions—into a lumpy narrative.

"Fall of a Titan" is also marred by a ponderous solemnity, a total lack of either irony or perspective. Many readers will be unable to digest passages like the one in which Soviet teachers put on a play for children branding Cinderella as a traitor to the working class and Father Christmas as a capitalist spy. Compared to this dose of bathos, the story of The Little Match Girl becomes a tale for sophisticates.

In many ways "Fall of a Titan" is a Stalinist novel against Stalinism. Here are the conventional and politically profitable target, teleological realism, lack of humor, poor workmanship, cheer words, hiss words, and other trappings of utilitarian literature. All this is of course understandable, for the strait-jacket of Soviet fiction is in Gouzenko's background. His book derives some value from its accumulation of physical

of Plotinus and the garbage of Madame Blavatsky. W. H. Auden found his religious ideas merely "embarrassing." Others explained them away as mere play-acting or the delusions of a man reacting insanely against the dry rationalism of his powerful father. The author of the present ambitious and in many ways very able book announces her intention to reach an "understanding" of his greatness by seriously examining his beliefs. She traces successively his absorption in Swedenborg, B'ke, Irish mysticism, hermetic magic, Rosicrucian doctrine, spiritualism, and the rest, taking due note of his three-year membership in the "Theosophical Society," followed by his thirty-year membership in "The Order of the Hermetic Students of the Golden Dawn." The conclusion at which she seems to arrive is that one cannot regard all this as either irrelevant or merely silly. Yeats's concern was, she is sure, deep and his poetry something integral with, not separate from, his beliefs. Thoroughly documented and much more readable than one might expect, this book will certainly have to be reckoned with in any attempt to understand Yeats—though for most readers the images are not improved as poetry when they are explained in terms of his preposterous science.

Study of a Gypsum Plant

PATTERNS OF INDUSTRIAL BU-REAUCRACY. By Alvin W. Gouldner. The Free Press. \$4.50.

Professor Gouldner's book is one more example of the tendency of many sociologists to be busily engaged in re-writing one another's works. His book is unique in the sense that it presents a case study of an industrial community that has never been studied before. But beyond this there is little that is new or challenging; the author's hypotheses, formulations, generalizations, and conclusions are familiar enough to anyone who has some knowledge of the bureaucratization theories of Max Weber and Robert K. Merton, among others. Professor Gouldner, who teaches at Antioch, has applied some of these theories to a gypsum plant in the Great Lakes area, and not surprisingly he has found that they work.

In brief, the book establishes the existence of three basic patterns of rule-

making and rule-enforcement in bureaucratic organization. In the first case, the rules are unenforced by management and disobeyed by the workers because the supervisory personnel are lax or because the rules don't make much sense. In the second instance, the rules are sound, the managers efficient, and the workers obedient. The third pattern is characterized by rules which are enforced by management but for a variety of reasons resisted by the workers. In other words, the first pattern is not strictly bureaucratic at all, the second is bureaucratically

oriented toward consent, and the third tends to be punishment-centered. The book also shows that all three patterns, or variations of them, can coexist.

The book suffers from a surfeit of sociological and methodological jargon, and in general Professor Gouldner is not one to make a simple point in a simple fashion. Thus one of his significant conclusions is that "efforts are made to install new bureaucratic rules, or enforce old ones, when people in a given social position [i.e., management or workers] perceive those in the recip-

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rocal position [i.e., workers or management] as failing to perform their role obligations." There may be more here than meets the eye, but one doubts it.

New Look at Yugoslavia

TITO'S PROMISED LAND. By Alex N. Dragnich. Rutgers. \$5.75.

An unfriendly look at Tito's Yugoslavia by a former American cultural attaché in Belgrade. Professor Dragnich paints a dark picture of life in Yugoslavia, of economic stagnation, rural unrest, and a fluctuating policy that seeks primarily to keep Tito in power. The author's feeling is that even the Communists are divided. Some follow Tito to survive; some are pro-Soviet; and some are cognizant of failure, but "with blood on their hands they have nowhere to go." The author believes that if Tito

and his aides decide that building a Marxist society is impossible, they "might let their system degenerate into a type of bastard dictatorship where ideological purity and ultimate economic objectives are considerably less important than maintaining political power." Some of Professor Dragnich's conclusions—and especially those dealing with the ideological problems of a Communist

regime that depends on the capitalist world for its survival—are cogent. Others are debatable. He overdoes the picture of economic disorganization. Many of his monetary figures are meaningless when the dinars are translated into dollars. And no scholar can take seriously the conclusion he reached in 1952 that 90 per cent of the Yugoslavs "do not want communism in any form."

Records

B. H. Haggin

WEBSTER AITKEN'S recording of Schubert's Piano Sonata Op. 78 has been issued by FMS at last. The entire work is marvelously beautiful; and the first movement is Schubert at his greatest. The English critic William Glock, whose perceptive comments accompany the record (a relief after the gabble and fake on most record envelopes), says rightly that "if one had to point to a particular phrase which seemed above all others to contain the quintessence of Schubert, it would be the opening of this G major sonata"; and then goes on to discuss not only the subtleties of the first four phrases that "prove Schubert to be at the height of his power," but the further subtleties of substance, development, and organization in the rest of the movement that are additional proof. And I have more than once pointed out that the movement is an especially remarkable example of the duality of Schubert's music—its manifestation not only of the relaxation that is considered characteristic of him, but of the power he is supposed not to have. It isn't merely that after an exposition which—except for some momentary liveliness and force—is tranquilly and spaciouly meditative to its last measures, the development suddenly erupts with iron-like power; what is remarkable is that the power arises out of, and eventually resolves into, the quiet meditation—which is to say that what erupts suddenly at the beginning of the development is the tranquilly meditative opening statement of the exposition, to which the development returns at the beginning of the recapitulation.

The occasions for my pointing this

out have been performances by Aitken that have realized this duality with impressive effect. And this time too his subtle changes of pace and dynamics within the repetitions of the opening statement, and in the transitions from one repetition to the next, achieve a realization of the opening section that is one of the high points of the performer's art in my experience. But what he has done with this section he continues to do with the next; and what worked so well with those quietly meditative statements doesn't work at all well in these gracefully animated ones, in which his constant stop-and-go creates constraint instead of the relaxed flow they call for. Moreover, as the stop-and-go continues in music to which it is unsuited, one begins to get the impression that Aitken is completely absorbed in his procedure to the point of giving no thought to what sort of music he is applying it to and what treatment this music requires; and the art begins to sound like mere mannerism. For this reason it is unfortunate that he repeats the exposition that would have been better left unrepeatd in any case: even the opening section now sounds studied; and by the time he has got to the end of the exposition the second time one has had one's fill of stop-and-go—despite which one continues to get it in the development, to which it also is damaging, in the recapitulation, and in the subsequent movements.

Of Aitken's treatment of these later movements I used to say that I felt them to be more relaxed than he did, but could enjoy what he made of them in accordance with his own feeling, and

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enjoy also the operation in them of the musical intelligence and the mastery of his instrument that made him for me the most distinguished artist among American pianists. I can still say this of the finale; and the Trio of the Minuet, played with simplicity that lets it move freely, is enchanting; but the continuing stop-and-go spoils the Andante and the Minuet for me. And though I still appreciate the powers that are operating in the performance, I can't enjoy the manner, the objectives, and the results of their operation in much of this sonata.

The same stop-and-go treatment is given the Sonata Op. 53, on another EMS record, with damage to the energetic first movement and to the G major episode of the finale, and with the most disastrous results of all in the wonderfully beautiful Con moto second movement and the lovely Trio of the Scherzo. These are examples of pure Schubertian lyricism, which should be unaffected, flowing, long-breathed, instead of which they are twisted and complicated as hell—as though projecting on Schubert some complicated-as-hell state or process in the performer. When, after a long digression, the opening theme returns with new accompanying figuration, the figuration compels Aitken to play the section in steady tempo; and the way it is played here must be the way Schubert intended it to be played at the beginning.

Brahms's most successful writing was done in his sets of variations; and two of the best—the one on a theme of Handel, and the one on a theme of Paganini, which I like even better—are played on an Epic record by the pianist Abbey Simon with the necessary brilliance and, except for an occasional sugary nuance, with musical skill and taste. The Handel performance is not well reproduced.

A "soundbook" called "Songbirds of America" (Book-Records Inc.) offers a record with the songs of twenty-four birds in a twenty-seven-page booklet containing information about the birds and superb color photographs. A beautiful job, in which I question only the inclusion of so-called "memory phrases"—sequences of words which the songs are alleged to resemble, but which they actually don't resemble, and which there is no need of even if they did.

Letters

(Continued from inside front cover)

Mr. Ashcraft may legitimately deplore the fact that the nationalist movement in Indo-China is led by Communists, but for this situation French imperialism, supported by the United States and Britain, must take its share of the blame. In any case Communist intervention in the Indo-China civil war must be balanced against equally active Western intervention.—EDITORS THE NATION.

A Pragmatic Point

Dear Sirs: I was much interested in the article Our Public Schools in your June 26 issue even though my book, "Let's Talk Sense About Our Schools" took quite a beating at the hands of the writer. Mr. Bay did indeed catch me in a serious factual blunder. I was mistaken in saying that Dewey held a professorship at Teachers College of Columbia when actually his chair was across the street in Columbia University proper. But if Mr. Bay is correct in his statement that few T. C. students ever crossed the street to hear Dewey lecture, this seems

to confirm my stated opinion that most T. C. students worshipped Dewey without trying to understand him.

Mr. Bay seems to think I do not understand Dewey and his instrumental variety of pragmatism, and he may well be right. If so I am in excellent company, for both Russell and Santayana have also been accused of not understanding him. But I wonder if Mr. Bay's understanding is any better. He says that pragmatism is simply the application of the scientific method, and this seems to me to show a most remarkable confusion about both pragmatism and science. Actually a great many of the thinkers who have contributed to the scientific method are not pragmatists at all but philosophical realists—something very different. Pragmatism or instrumentalism is both much more and much less than the scientific method.

On the point that Dewey's pragmatism is very difficult to comprehend I still stand. But isn't it rather dangerous to base the education of thirty million school children on a philosophical system which hardly anyone, certainly not the million of American teachers, understands?

Bellingham, Wash. PAUL WOODRING

CHURCHES IN SERIOUS INTELLECTUAL POSITION

(Beyond selling space for publication of the accompanying material, *The Nation* is not to be held responsible for statements contained in the material)

Everybody knows in a general way that there was a bitter struggle against "polytheism" in ancient Hebrew history: "Thou shalt have no other gods before me". But Biblical scholars in our outstanding universities and progressive theological seminaries know that the struggle against polytheism was not a mere metaphysical campaign against "non-existent gods". They are fully aware that ancient heathen religion was wedded to social injustice, aristocratic tyranny, and personal immorality; and they know that the struggle of the Hebrew prophets against Baal and other gods was primarily a war against these very things.

And yet somehow the agony of the prophets has been diluted and watered down into a respectable and innocuous championship of the "true" God against gods that have no "real existence". Our inherited church-and-Sunday-school belief in God is a kind of popular metaphysics, tintured with emphasis on ethics and morality. And so far as the general religious public is concerned, as of the present moment, this is the net outcome of the great struggle that convulsed ancient Hebrew history. The average church-going religion today is a folk-respectability that obscures the tremendous meaning of Hebrew history and hides from view the real nature of the Bible as a reflection of that history.

Modern Biblical and secular scholarship have left organized religion far behind the swift march of scientific progress. Is it conceivable that the churches will transform themselves into evangels of social justice? Will they align themselves with the Hebrew prophets, who were sanctioned repeatedly by Jesus? Do they know that "the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy"? It is to be hoped that before the shrinkage of numbers and influence has gone much further, the churches will wake up to the serious intellectual position which they now occupy.—Suggestions will be found in a circular that you can obtain by sending a three-cent stamp to L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

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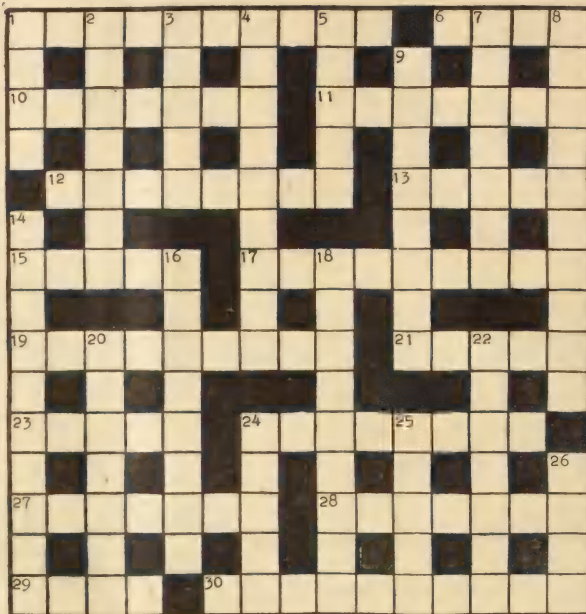
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- 1 Are such as Simon Bolivar high-floater? (10)
- 6 Well-known Red in America. (4)
- 10 Evidently to argue is to offend! (7)
- 11 A marcel should make this sweet thing look different! (7)
- 12 Does McSorley's, rather than hire them? (8)
- 13 You can't have a return of revenue without it, not at any time! (5)
- 15 Trees destroyed, just to plant again. (5)
- 17 A euphemistic name for the Furies. (9)
- 19 "And yet again _____," and after that out of all hooping. AYLL (9)
- 21 You might find a right one in deep. (5)
- 23 Capable of being swung at a melody, when it comes back. (5)
- 24 See 20 down.
- 27 Am I indebted for it? (7)
- 28 Sometimes paid to the first mate. (7)
- 29 In the left side of the animal kingdom. (4)
- 30 Herb isn't too fat, evidently, to be inclined to spring. (4, 6)

DOWN

- 1 and 25. Don't play possum! (4, 5)
- 2 Exhibits a little less than what radium gives out. (7)

- 3 To do this to Venus might be a doubtful improvement. (5)
- 4 and 16. 100 years, as far as Republicans are concerned. (3, 4, 2, 3, 5)
- 5 Strains, but keeps up the pace. (5)
- 7 Go in the red? (7)
- 8 Used as the end of 30, it will never get to shoot. (6, 4)
- 9 Torch novel? (5-3)
- 14 We sometimes do partners, lifted in defense. (10)
- 16 See 4 down.
- 18 Ruin metal by exposure to the air? (4, 5)
- 20 and 24 across. Cattle, but not the fancy show type. (4, 3, 3, 5)
- 22 Difficult. (7)
- 24 Jog. (5)
- 25 See 1 down.
- 26 Less directional and more short than novel in Massachusetts. (4)

— ★ —

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DOWN:—1 WASTE NOT WANT NOT; 2 LACTOSE; 3 ZEBRULES; 4 NETS; 5 MACERATING; 6 TRIUNE; 7 LANOLIN; 8 ANIMAL HUSBANDRY; 13 VERMICELLI; 16 DEL SARTO; 18 STUPID; 20 STUMBLE; 21 WAPITI; 24 ESSE.

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Must Germany Be Armed?

Alternatives to E. D. C.

by J. Alvarez del Vayo

"Sick" Coal and Hungry Men

Reports on an Unreported Depression

TWO LITERARY FEATURES

A Century of "Walden" *An Essay by Lewis Leary*
Cry Enough! *A Review of Faulkner by Carlos Baker*



Echoes of Salem

Wayland, Mass.

WHEN the newspapers came out on the morning of May 14 last, residents of Wayland, a town sixteen miles west of Boston with a population of six thousand, found they had an ex-Communist in their midst. Anne Hale, a forty-six-year-old teacher in the second grade of the Center School, had been called to testify before the Massachusetts Commission on Communism, a legislative agency, and had freely admitted that she had been a member of the party between 1938 and 1950. On the night of May 13 the committee suspended her, pending a hearing on whether she should be dismissed from the job she had held for six years.

News that Miss Hale was an ex-Communist was sensational. Her people had come over on the first boats. She was a graduate of Radcliffe. Parents knew her well as teacher and baby sitter, the kind of baby sitter who would take over for several days or a week while the parents went away. She was a Unitarian, a member of the League of Women Voters, a teacher in a local arts-and-crafts program given for children in summer, a home owner, a member of the community in good standing.

Rumors began to fly about. On the principle that if there was one ex-Communist in town there must be others, gossip quickly named dozens, among them eight or nine persons taking a Great Books course. They had

studied the Communist Manifesto, it was reported to the Massachusetts state police. (The police investigated and found they had also studied Thomas Aquinas, Plato, Aristotle, St. Augustine, and Shakespeare.) Some people who had attended a couple of peace meetings in private homes were named.

A Boston newspaper reported that three Wayland residents besides Miss Hale had been called before the Commission on Communism. Who they were and what they said is still between them and the commission. No public agency has yet charged that any one of the three is or has been a member of the Communist Party.

Detectives appeared at schools. It was said that they were taking down registration numbers of automobiles. When three automobiles stood in a citizen's driveway one night, gossip had it that it was a cell meeting. Some people were frightened because they realized what it could mean to them to be falsely accused. Others were seriously disturbed by the thought that their community was honeycombed with Red treason.

MISS HALE asked the School Committee to hold a public hearing on the charges against her, and it consented. She was charged specifically with having lied to the committee, in a sworn statement made to it on April 23, when she said she could not recall the existence of a state law, passed in 1949, which banned Communists from teaching in the public schools. The committee also maintained that she lacked the judgment and perception to be a teacher, and had adhered to Communist doctrine after leaving the party.

The hearing went to eight sessions, all in the high-school gymnasium. The drama was sedate, in modern dress, with microphones and reporters but with no radio, TV, or flashing camera bulbs. Only registered voters and special guests were admitted.

On the first night the audience numbered nearly seven hundred, including plain-clothes police, just in case of trouble. Miss Hale answered questions about her statement of April 23 but refused to go beyond that. She would not name any of her former party superiors.

After the first night the audience dwindled until not more than 250 were showing up. The vocal members of the

crowd were unfriendly to Miss Hale. They laughed and applauded several times when the prosecution scored a point. Aside from these slight demonstrations, the proceedings were decorous. It was the first public hearing held on a Red teacher in Massachusetts.

A hostile observer, admitted as a guest, wrote in the weekly paper of Sudbury, an adjoining town:

I've been one of those people who had "never seen a Communist." Now I have no doubt that I saw quite a few. . . . And when I wondered why the lovely country town of Wayland should have such a strong Communist cell it occurred to me that it's an ideal center of sabotage, in view of the technical and military installations surrounding it.

A mother of children who had been in Miss Hale's classes said wryly and in private: "She certainly taught my kids to read and write. She was a fine teacher until they found out she was a Communist."

A leader of the sentiment in favor of having Miss Hale fired was the pastor of one of the two Catholic churches in town. Other clergymen in Wayland made no direct reference to the case from their pulpits.

Early in the proceedings the Center School Parent-Teacher Association held a warm meeting. It was moved that the group recommend to the School Committee that Miss Hale be fired. The motion was watered down to a recommendation that no Communist sympathizer be hired as a teacher. This motion passed forty-four to twenty-seven, with a third to a half of those present not voting.

So the hearings came to an end, and after a time the School Committee voted, two to one, to dismiss Miss Hale. The dissenter, a lawyer, said he couldn't see that the specific charges were proved. The majority found most of the charges proved and said that as a practical matter of school administration she should not stay.

Since her suspension Miss Hale has been doing housecleaning to earn money. She wants to take the case to court. She says that on the whole people were very nice to her.

DONALD B. WILLARD

[Donald B. Willard is editor of the *Wayland Town Crier* and an editorial writer for the *Boston Globe*.]

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Speed the Parting Guest

Never has a host separated from his parting guest with greater enthusiasm than the Administration must have felt on waving goodbye to its friend and ally, President Syngman Rhee. In the course of one brief visit the Korean President called on the United States to join him in a war to drive the Communists out of power in China, thought it would be a good thing if Russia came in to show the whole job could be done at once, announced that this country has not the "common guts" to face the problem of communism, and declared the Korean armistice at an end as far as he was concerned. After his second or third outburst even his most devoted Congressional supporters could not think up any more wholehearted descriptions of him than "redoubtable" and "dynamic." These he is. He is also an honest fire-eater who surely believes every word he says, and will have no hesitation about going just as far as he can go without forcing the United States to wash its hands of him altogether. Since this country is committed before itself and the world to the preservation of the Republic of Korea, Mr. Rhee can go pretty far without getting into real trouble. This he knows very well.

The chief reassuring fact is that he cannot start a new war without our help, and that we are not going to help him. Not now, or soon, in any case. But he can make the most of our pusillanimous reluctance to launch World War III and at the same time claim a major role in any defense program we try to get under way in Asia. His tall talk may not win converts in Washington today, but it can embarrass the Administration both at home and abroad. For President Rhee was an American invention, and is an American protégé. He also has the best army in Asia, outside of Communist China. His nuisance value is still great, as his sponsor will have other occasions to discover.

The Flag and the Coffin

What promised to be Mexico's gravest political crisis in years was averted when President Ruiz Cortinas refused to accept former President Lázaro Cárdenas's resignation from his post as director of a hydroelectric and irrigation project in his native state of Michoacan. It was a minor

post, entirely disproportionate to the immense influence Cárdenas still wields in the country, but it was one he loved and believed in. He offered to resign because he did not want to be an element of discord within Mexico's ruling party, the Party of Revolutionary Institutions, or to embarrass the President.

Witch-hunting started this particular conflict as it starts so many these days in the Western Hemisphere. When Frida Kahlo, the wife of Diego Rivera and herself a noted painter, died recently, she left directions that her coffin be covered with the Communist flag. Andres Bello, Mexico's Director of Fine Arts, who presided at the funeral, fulfilled the dead woman's wish; General Cárdenas attended the services. Then the storm broke. Bello was fired and a campaign of vilification began against Cárdenas, who was not helped in this instance by his recent courageous public support of Guatemala's deposed President, Jacob Arbenz.

Dr. Bello is far from being a Communist (after his dismissal he said: "If I had been, or if I were, I would say so"); neither is General Cárdenas a Communist. He could have fought back successfully on the current issue. He chose not to because he believed that the unity of his party was of greater importance than any personal victory. By offering his resignation he in effect achieved both, for his action produced a popular protest of such magnitude that it insured the President's prompt refusal.

After Watches, What?

The President is said to be a sincere believer in the importance of freeing international trade, but the courage of his convictions is open to question. He failed to give strong backing to the report of the Randall committee; he refused to put up a real fight for a three-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act—a fight which Democratic support would have enabled him to win; he acquiesced in the sidetracking of the customs-simplification bill. And now, in the "watch case," he has succumbed to the specious arguments of a handful of watch manufacturers and their Republican allies. Mr. Eisenhower insists that this action is not a "retreat." But having given ground on one occasion, he will find it harder to resist pressure from other directions. His postponement of a decision on the Tariff Commission's recommendation of increases in duties on lead and zinc is ominous. Such increases, which can also

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be justified by a phony defense argument, would add Canada and Mexico to our outraged trade partners.

It may be that the 50 per cent increase in duties on watches and watch movements will prove less damaging to our Swiss friends than they fear. Watch distributors interviewed by the *Wall Street Journal* maintain that the demand for imported watches will not be seriously affected. But irrespective of the actual loss to the Swiss, the moral damage wrought by the President's decision is incalculable. As the Geneva correspondent of the *New York Times* writes, "Europeans simply do not believe that a country willing to risk destroying a flourishing private enterprise, such as the Swiss watch industry, is serious about maintaining the free-enterprise system in other parts of the world."

East-West Trade

Inexorably the pressure in Western Europe for relaxation of the restrictions on East-West trade imposed by this country is making itself felt. From London comes word that a fairly large number of items previously banned as strategic materials may enter the stream of trade with the Communist countries after August 16. About one-third of the items on the embargo list will be removed, those under partial quantitative control will be reduced from ninety to twenty, and about sixty items will be placed on a "watch list." But much remains to be done if East-West trade is to be effectively encouraged. The extent of the problem and some excellent suggestions for its solution may be found in "East-West Trade," a pamphlet recently published by the Citizens' Conference on International Economic Union (copies can be obtained from the organization at 345 East Forty-sixth Street, New York 17), which is sponsoring an all-day Institute on Worldwide Trade and Peace in New York on October 9.

Coal: A "Sick" Industry?

BY CAREY MCWILLIAMS

THE on-the-spot reports in this issue are evidence enough of the acute distress that exists today in three major coal-mining regions. Total unemployment in the industry is probably between 125,000 and 150,000. Underemployment is also extensive: many miners manage to get only two or three days' work a week. Of those laid off, many have long since exhausted their unemployment benefits. The all-too-clear consequences are aggravated by the fact that we seem to have forgotten how to cope with large-scale unemployment. Surplus food commodities shipped to the distressed areas are often shunted back and forth between agencies united in their determination to avoid, if possible, any responsibility for distribution. In one community food may

be distributed by the Salvation Army; in the next by the local justice of the peace. Is the failure to relieve the suffering that exists in these communities a preview of the incompetence and buck-passing to be anticipated should large-scale unemployment develop in other industries? It will be said of course—it has always been said—that coal is a special case, a “sick” industry. Sick or healthy, however, coal is a basic industry, vital to national welfare and defense. And surely the distress of 150,000 American workers and their families cannot be conjured away by chanting the slogan “coal is sick.”

BY WHAT standards do we pronounce an industry “sick”? Judging by its efficiency and productivity, there is nothing “sick” about the American coal industry. Output per man-day increased from slightly less than five tons in 1939 to the present eight tons. While the United Mine Workers have demanded high wages and good working conditions, they have never tried to balk technological advances. On the contrary, it has been the union’s unyielding insistence on high wages and working standards that has forced the American coal industry to become the most highly mechanized in the world.

As a matter of fact, the “overproduction” of the moment is in no small part due to the introduction of new machinery that has nearly doubled output per man in the last decade. Largely as a consequence of increased productivity and mechanization, the industry is today in a transition phase. “The new technology,” as the *London Economist* points out in a recent survey (issue of July 24), “will inevitably force its own pattern on the organization of the industry.” What this pattern will be is a matter of speculation, but certain trends seem fairly clear. To take full advantage of mechanization, production will increasingly be concentrated in the more efficient mines and the old high-cost pits will be closed. At the present time something like 80 per cent of total output is produced by 300 of the largest companies. Closer integration with large consumers—steel mills, utility systems, chemical plants—is another likely development. In the future more industrial plants will probably be constructed near coal mines. The new technology also requires, apparently, a reorganization in mine layout and production pattern. “It is now a question,” observes the *Economist’s* correspondent, “of adopting the mine to the machine rather than the machine to the mine.”

But no one needs to speculate about the consequences of unemployment in the industry at the moment: they are real enough. The necessity for both an extension of the period of coverage and an increase in the amount of unemployment benefits is clear. But much, too, can be done to relieve the pressures on the industry. The Governors’ Fuel Conference, set up on the initiative of the United Mine Workers and consisting of the governors of

the sixteen states where coal is mined, has held two meetings, the first in Washington on April 26, the second at the recent Bolton Landing Governors’ Conference. Along with other proposals the Governors’ Fuel Conference has urged the Administration to place restrictions on the importation of residual (waste) oil, which has cut heavily into the coal market. Unfortunately the conference tabled a resolution calling on the federal government to supply emergency funds to the states for payment of additional unemployment compensation. On June 29 fourteen outstanding industry figures and nine members of Congress from coal-producing states, accompanied by four ranking Administration officials, called on the President and presented a ten-point program for government action to rebuild and maintain the economic strength of the industry. Nothing much came of this mission, but the governors of the coal-producing states will probably convene in Washington this fall to meet with their Senators and Representatives and insist that something be done.

Of all the proposals advanced thus far, the one of perhaps the greatest long-range importance is that the government formulate a national fuel policy for coal, oil, gas, and all other energy sources. The United Mine Workers have been advocating the adoption of such a policy for years. Government policies affecting the various fuel- or energy-producing industries make a crazy-quilt design, inconsistent, overlapping, hit-or-miss. Why should government subsidize the oil industry by an arbitrary and outrageously high depletion allowance? What are the future energy requirements of the nation and how can existing supplies of each source of energy, including the atom, best be allocated and conserved? Why did the federal government sabotage the promising synthetic-fuel research program (see *The Nation*, June 19)? At the time the Louisiana, Missouri, plant was shut down, it was converting soft coal into synthetic liquid fuel at a cost within pennies of the cost of natural crude oil.

Has the Administration the will, energy, and social imagination needed to cope with the challenge implicit in the spreading blight of unemployment in coal? The problems will not be solved overnight, but the distress described in the articles in this issue can be relieved immediately. Here, then, is still another test of the intention and capacity of the Eisenhower Administration.

The Nation lost an old and valued friend by the death of Harry Steinberg, founder and chairman of the board of the Steinberg Press, which has printed this journal for the past fifteen years. We have never had more satisfactory and cooperative relations with any business associate. We extend our deep sympathy to those left in charge of the Press, among whom are several of Mr. Steinberg’s family.

MUST GERMANY BE ARMED?

Alternatives to E.D.C. . . by *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

United Nations

NOW that the Indo-China nightmare is over, the biggest issue facing Mendès-France is E. D. C. Because of the intense feeling aroused by the idea of rearming Germany, he will need all his great authority in order to handle this issue in the National Assembly without wrecking his government in the process. He has undoubtedly strengthened his position by the courage and decision he displayed in coming to grips with two problems for which none of his predecessors had any solution to offer. One is the problem of France's economy. Last week he submitted to the Cabinet a program of reforms which, without being in any sense revolutionary, will require so many sacrifices on the part of industrial and financial interests that a less popular Premier could never have won the agreement of the conservatives now in office. Twenty-four hours later he confronted his colleagues with an even more drastic decision—the grant of internal autonomy to Tunis, torn apart by the nationalist struggle. The Cabinet divided sharply on this issue, but M. Mendès-France finally got his way. Moving with impressive speed he flew to Tunis to make his offer in person to the Bey, appealing for friendship and a common effort but announcing at the same time that if Tunisians did not quit shooting Frenchmen he would use whatever force was necessary to restore public order. The Premier is now in a much better position to grapple with the thorny issue of E. D. C. He promised Washington to bring the issue up for debate before the parliamentary recess at the end of August.

The new Premier is a man of his word. The thing that most impressed Mr. Dulles was his frankness and seriousness. I remember how, at the Berlin conference in January, M. Bidault daily assured Mr. Dulles that there was no reason to worry about French ratification of E. D. C. The secretary of the French Socialist Party, Guy Mollet, did

the same thing in his conversations with members of the Council of Europe at Strasbourg. M. Mollet assumed, with an unfounded optimism similar to that of M. Bidault, that only a few Socialists like Jules Moch, Daniel Mayer, Naegelen, and Verdier, would maintain their opposition to E. D. C. to the bitter end. But in his meeting with Mr. Dulles at Paris, Mendès-France explained just how many Socialist, Radical, Gaullist, and independent deputies would vote against E. D. C. in addition to the Communists. There Mr. Dulles heard the truth for the first time—that E. D. C. in its present form might well be defeated. He returned to Washington angry at the way in which he had been misled by his earlier informants, but at least he now knew where he stood.

Mendès-France is not going to risk the existence of his government and his own political future on the issue of E. D. C. His intimate friends quote him as saying in private: "The ratification of E. D. C. would be a national calamity for France; but its non-ratification might be an international calamity." What he means is that non-ratification might lead to a French break with Washington and to the dissolution of the Atlantic alliance and he does not regard either possibility lightly. His enthusiastic supporters on the left should not forget this, however much they may admire him for his valor, intelligence, and honesty. It is more than probable that when he places the ratification of E. D. C. before the Assembly, he will not make it a "question of confidence" but will permit the deputies to vote in complete freedom.

THIS writer has often insisted that the German problem, with all its difficulties, offers the best chance for reaching an agreement with Russia that might preserve peace for many years. But in the present critical situation the positions for and against E. D. C. and the alternatives available are worth summarizing.

The partisans of E. D. C. maintain that the real choice before the French Assembly is between a German contribution to Europe's defense on the limited scale and under the controls proposed by the treaty, and a national German army, equipped by the United States and tied by treaty to American policy. In their opinion failure of the Assembly to ratify E. D. C. would leave the United States no choice but to arm Germany as its future chief ally—together with Franco Spain. This would mean the collapse of the Western military concept embodied in NATO.

The adversaries of E. D. C. are convinced that no matter how many controls the treaty might provide or how much it might still be improved by the incorporation of the protocols worked out under M. Bidault, nothing would prevent Germany from dominating the European army and, through it, Western policy. To them, everything that is taking place in Germany supports the theory that the German generals, once in the saddle, would find even Dr. Adenauer too moderate and with the help of the extreme nationalists would throw him out after he had ceased to be useful in his rôle of "reasonable European." This would open the way to a regime more dangerous in the long run than Hitler's, because it would have its roots not in adventurism but in the solid tradition of Frederick the Great and Bismarck. They point out further that German contingents in a European army would inevitably be used for the defense of Germany's frontiers and that, as a consequence, the peace of Europe would be at the mercy of troops committed heart and soul to the recovery of their country's lost territories. No matter what might be the official policy of E. D. C., its real policy would be made by armed Germans confronting the armed forces of Russia and its allies on the disputed eastern border.

The French opponents of E. D. C. also deny that Secretary Dulles could,

as he has suggested, readily incorporate a rearmed Germany in NATO should E. D. C. fail of ratification. France, like its allies, has a veto power over new members. They freely admit, however, that Washington could sign a bilateral treaty with Germany like the one signed with Franco. But they point out the unfavorable reactions this would produce in Europe. And some even suggest that France could effectively block the arming of Germany if it were willing to use all the means at its disposal.

IN THE vote on E. D. C. the French Socialists will play a great role. In spite of the disciplinary measures decreed by Guy Mollet the Socialist deputies who oppose E. D. C. have decided to vote against it. They feel themselves in a stronger position in view of the wide support gained by Aneurin Bevan in Britain and the recent statement issued by the German Socialists. Although the Bevanite pamphlet "It Need Not Happen" has been badly received by the Labor Party leadership, this strong blast against the E. D. C., and German rearmament in general has increased considerably Mr. Bevan's backing among the rank and file.

Still more important, because of its source, is the German Social Democrats' pronouncement. The West Berlin Conference of the Social Democratic Party adopted by a staggering majority (360 against 20) a motion supporting the position taken the day before in a speech by the party's chairman, Erich Ollenhauer. It contained two main points: (1) The future can be assured only through the creation of regional security systems within the framework of the United Nations statute; the great powers should therefore negotiate an agreement on Germany and European security. (2) Should these negotiations fail—but only in that case—Germany could "under certain previously stipulated conditions" participate in "common efforts to guarantee peace and to defend freedom even by military means."

It is significant that the German Socialist resolution coincided in time with Moscow's proposal of a conference on collective security in Europe made in the note of July 24 to France, Britain, and the United States. This move showed that in the Kremlin's view

Geneva was not an end in itself but rather a part of a general policy of *détente* and the prelude to a larger diplomatic action. As *Le Monde* of Paris wrote: "Six months after its proposal the Molotov plan for collective security—presented at the Berlin conference—and the reunification of a neutralized Germany has now acquired a new topicality."

This comment is extremely significant. For the problem confronting the opponents of E. D. C. is not only how to defeat it but how to reassure the world that its defeat will not merely open the way to worse dangers. The first essential, of course, is an agreement with Moscow on Germany. The second, perhaps, is an assurance to the German Social Democrats and all the other antimilitarist dissenters from Dr. Adenauer's policy that France is not looking for the subjugation of an unarmed Germany but for its incorporation in a Europe liberated from both the threat of German aggression and the fear of becoming the main battleground in an all-consuming struggle between East and West. This assurance, too, quite obviously depends upon a basic agreement with Moscow.

But as the Berlin conference proved, any settlement negotiated with the Russians must include more area even than Germany. This was plainly hinted in the very important speech by Jules Moch made before the United Nations Disarmament Commission last week. The entire tone of M. Moch's remarks revealed his belief that the vastly complicated but decisive problems of dis-

armament and the atomic and hydrogen bomb should be made part of a negotiation on a grand scale to solve at one and the same time the issue of Germany and of the West's security. He sees in the Geneva agreement an indication that the moment has arrived for an effort to make coexistence something more than a topic for press conferences.

The explanation of why the Communists finally adopted so conciliatory an attitude on Indo-China, he believes lies in the simple fact of Moscow's desire, as a matter of intelligent self-interest, to promote an easing of the world tension. One need not read too much into his speech to conclude that he was in effect telling the West to say to the Russians: "You are legitimately worried about the rearmament of Germany; so are we in France; and so perhaps are a majority in Britain and throughout Europe. But many countries are similarly worried by the size of your armies, whose might has now been increased by your possession not only of the atomic bomb but of the hydrogen bomb and of new and revolutionary weapons of other sorts. Let us therefore enter into a negotiation in which these questions will be examined as parts of an interrelated whole."

In the meantime, until an understanding with Russia is achieved, Germany could be given the satisfaction of having its sovereignty restored in all matters except rearmament through the participation of the United Nations, to which the German Social Democrats made such significant reference. For in-



Courtesy London Daily Mirror

"Here's the first prize, dear. You're well on the way to becoming Miss Universe."

stance, instead of continuing the occupation by the former victors, token forces of the United Nations—of the Western countries in West Germany, of Russia and its allies in East Germany—all of them under U. N. command, might temporarily fill the vacuum created by the rejection of E. D. C. and the postponement of German rearmament. If after a reasonable period of time this effort to reach a general agreement should fail because of Russia's intransigence, then the present adversaries of E. D. C. would reconsider their position on Germany. None of this was said

directly by M. Moch, but anyone who has followed the development of his thought and that of many other French opponents of E. D. C. will readily make the connection between his spoken words and these ideas.

While his case must have sounded convincing to many people, it apparently made little impression on the United States representative on the Disarmament Commission. The following day Mr. Patterson threw a good deal of cold water on M. Moch's proposals, which incidentally received very little space or attention in the big New York papers

—a curious performance in view of the authority of the speaker and the special interest in the policy of France at this particular moment. Mr. Patterson bluntly dismissed M. Moch's assertion that "no fundamental differences" now separated Russia and the West from agreement on atomic control. He said the French representative was seeing "a Moscow mirage." But he himself failed to offer any way out of the present paralysis of American foreign policy, which has brought this powerful country to a situation where it can neither make peace nor make war.

"SICK" COAL—HUNGRY MEN

[Three veteran journalists report—two in Pennsylvania, one in Kentucky—report on the unreported depression in the nation's sick coal industry. See the editorial on page 102 of this issue.]

Ghost Towns

BY GLENN SEASE

Johnstown, Pennsylvania

COAL mines are full of trouble, even when work is good and hopes are high and the miners drink to the tune of rollicking Polish polkas down at the town tavern. In the better days there's the fear of props cracking and buckling, letting the rock roof down on the men. There's the river of yellow sulphur water to be pumped out, the clean, fresh air to be pumped in. There's the mine gas. And when the tipples shake beneath the steady loads, there's the grimy coal dust that sprinkles down across the mine patch like black salt to plague the housewife.

But today there's worse misery in the mine towns that stud Pennsylvania's hillsides. More sinister than the dust cloud that used to hang like a black blanket overhead is the present wholesale shutdown of mines. Thousands of men have been laid off and scores of towns are turning into ghosts. Everyone is asking: Will the mines ever reopen? Sitting idly, helplessly by, miners fear they see the answer as they watch the rails ripped up and the machinery sold.

Competition of other fuels, spiraling costs, and other factors have left the mine owners clutching for a skidding market. Many believe that the industry will never recover and that if a war emergency should arise, there would be no mines running and no men to dig the coal. Pennsylvania's mines are for the most part old, their long haulage adds to the high cost of production, and they are bucking railroad rates which they claim allow other states with lower costs to ship coal right by them at cheaper prices. Unable to meet price cuts on the market ranging from 25 to 40 cents a ton, a host of central Pennsylvania mine owners have called it quits.

Only 69,126 persons were employed in the coal industry in Pennsylvania in 1953 as compared with 105,816 in 1943. Since January 1, 1953, 156 mines have closed in the state and 16,247 men have been thrown out of work. This is the frightening picture that has caused the President to name a council to make a last-minute effort to save the mines.

At St. Michael, Hoot Croyle, who at forty is a veteran of twenty-five years in the mines, was working only one day a week until two weeks ago. Now he is working four days a week and wondering how long it will last. "I wouldn't want any other job," he says. "I like the mines." Younger men have left town, storing their furniture and hitting the road in trailers. The old fellows stay on, hoping for a revival

that will call them back into the mines. To help bolster the budget the government has been shipping in surplus food.

In Jerome, a little town built about a mine, the men had always felt secure, had raised families, bought homes and new cars. This summer announcement of the shutdown hit the town like a bolt of lightning. Three hundred men were let out. They couldn't believe it. "We read about the layoffs and shutdowns at mines in other sections but didn't figure it would hit us," said Frank Negast, president of the local union. "The men don't know where to turn. There isn't another industry in town."

The Cambria Fuel Company, employing 250 men at Shanksville, tried to break its union contract in order to stay in business. It filed notice with the United Mine Workers that it intended to operate as non-union. "We are only seeking self-preservation and the right to operate our mines to the best interests of the company and its employees," it said. On the first morning the mine was scheduled to operate on a non-union basis pickets blocked the roadway. It hasn't worked a day since.

Lewis's \$100-a-month pension starts at age sixty. If a miner is laid off at fifty-nine he cannot qualify for a pension even when he reaches sixty. As for state relief: "You have to plead pauper and open your home to snoopers if you want to get aid from the state," declared Hoot Croyle.

What is the answer? Operators have offered a ten-point plan to Eisenhower to stimulate the coal industry's recovery. It asks for a curb on fuel imports, protection from excessive natural-gas competition, reduction of freight rates on coal, a broad research program, and that the government consider the use of coal in its power-production plans.

[Glenn Sease is a Johnstown, Pennsylvania, newspaperman.]

Kentucky's Plight

BY GERALD GRIFFIN

Lexington, Kentucky
KENTUCKY has two big coal fields separated by the fabulous blue-grass country, which is dotted with park-like thoroughbred and standard-bred horse farms. Owing to recent industrial developments in the western part of the state, including a big atomic plant, plus a favorable geographic situation with reference to markets, lower rail freight rates, and the availability of water transportation, the western field is much better off than the eastern. And it is not so thoroughly unionized.

Eastern Kentucky is a mountainous region half covered with cut-over timber. There are sparse opportunities for agriculture. Industry has shunned the area. Coal is its life blood, and leukemia has set in.

The whole eastern coal field, with the exception of two counties and a few isolated spots, has been organized by the United Mine Workers of America, which rides with a tight rein. The union brooks no deviations from its iron-clad contracts, insisting on strict adherence to its basic wage scale of \$18.25 a day and the 40-cents-a-ton royalty for its Welfare and Retirement Fund. A great majority of the mine owners contend that they cannot operate at a profit under these union demands. The union disagrees, claiming that efficient management and increased mechanization would assure a fair profit. The fact remains that the coal industry of the region is in a sad plight. With a steadily shrinking market, mining companies are going bankrupt and thousands of miners are out of work. The most depressing part of the picture is the few jobs avail-

able for the unemployed miners: there is not enough industry or agriculture to absorb even a small fraction of them.

The one small oasis of comparative prosperity in the area is found in Clay and Leslie counties, which are not unionized. Blood has flowed frequently during the past three years as the union has tried vigorously but unsuccessfully to organize the Clay and Leslie mines. The operators there say that they will close down rather than surrender to the union.

In the rest of the area production has been dwindling since the peak year of 1947; in the first half of this year it was 25 per cent less than in the corresponding period of 1953. Mines that are still producing are operating only two or three days a week.

The "captive" mines of the big steel companies—Inland, United States Steel, and Republic—do not feel the pinch so badly as the independents. The mills' demand for coking coal keeps them operating at a fairly steady level, though their production may fluctuate with the demand for steel. A few of the larger, highly mechanized independents continue to operate, apparently at a profit, but there is keen competition for the market. Some operators are hanging on, losing money month after month they say, in the meager hope that conditions will change.

Many ghost towns are seen in eastern Kentucky these days. Coke ovens are crumbling from long idleness. Buildings have been torn down for the lumber. Most of the people have moved away in search of jobs.

Operators and union officials agree that a big chunk of the coal industry has lost out to the competitive fuels of oil and gas. They agree further in condemning the unrestricted importation of cheap residual fuel oil, which is replacing coal at an alarming rate on the Atlantic seaboard. With the constant increase in production costs, it has been necessary to raise prices at the mines. When it becomes more economical to use oil or gas than to burn coal, industries change over. So do householders.

To reach their markets, eastern Kentucky operators must ship through competitive coal fields at an unfavorable rail-freight-rate differential. The area is burdened further by the absence of



the water transportation facilities which bless some of the competing fields. Water transportation not only provides cheap haulage but forces the railroads along the navigable streams to offer a competitive rate. The strip mining of other regions increases the difficulties of the underground mines here.

Whatever the reason, the coal industry in eastern Kentucky is sick—and there is precious little hope for a cure in the foreseeable future.

[Gerald Griffin is chief of the eastern Kentucky bureau of the Louisville Courier-Journal.]

The Ailing Giant

BY EDWARD J. DONOHOE

Scranton, Pennsylvania
THEY still call it the "black-diamond country," but to the 1,500,000 people who live in northeastern Pennsylvania's anthracite cities and towns the phrase has long since lost its meaning. In 1918 nearly 180,000 miners worked practically every day in the year except Sunday to fill the nation's household coal bins—for anthracite is primarily a home-heating fuel. But the preferences of householders have changed a lot since then. In consequence the underground army of this region has shrunk to less than 31,000, and the days worked have thinned out to last year's average of 164.

There are whipping boys a-plenty—union officials with their strikes, the operators, the railroads, sales companies, home-delivery firms, heating-equipment manufacturers, government tax agencies, and the miners themselves. John L.

Lewis, international president of the United Mine Workers of America, was once the industry's "chief devil," but is no longer. During the years he was leading the miners to unprecedentedly high wages, pensions, increased safety, job security, and other social advances Lewis was repeatedly charged with "pricing hard coal out of the market." Unperturbed, he called on the industry to exercise its real "devils," listing among them the fantastic royalties paid to absentee owners, excessive freight rates, resource-sapping corporate alliances, archaic merchandising policies, and so on. During one memorable wage negotiation years ago Lewis is credited with having told the operators: "Gentlemen, you speak of burdensome wage rates. I tell you this: If you give your product away by the wagonload, for nothing, consumers who can afford more convenient fuels will pay the higher price they command. They will do so because they do not want to shovel coal and haul ashes."

Lewis's warning on consumer preference for home heat that requires only a touch of knob or dial has been borne out. There is little dispute that cost is not the major consideration in home heating. It is convenience.

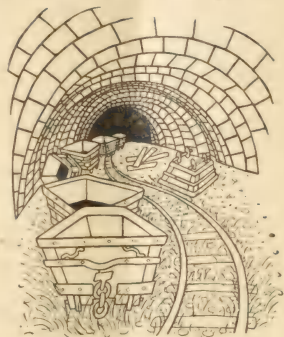
In the eight years that have passed since World War II the nation's fuel requirements have expanded more than 10 per cent, but coal production and consumption have declined more than 35 per cent. Oil heat, with persuasive dealer service, had been an increasing menace for several decades before that, but the worst blows to the coal industry have been struck in recent years. Even in the anthracite area, where coal companies and miners have joined in calling for regional "loyalty" to the basic industry, the oil burners in thousands of homes stand as proof of the desire of consumers for effortless convenience. It makes no difference that hard coal offers more value on a B. T. U. dollar basis than any other fuel.

The lean years began after the last big strike, which ran for six months in 1925-26. The depression of the thirties found the anthracite fields even worse off than the rest of the United States, and by 1939 emergency relief expenditures had reached such a fantastic figure that a special investigation was ordered by Congress. Before its conclusions and

recommendations could be acted upon, the war in Europe revitalized American industry, and anthracite was included.

Some coal-region cities, notably Scranton, moved to meet the time when coal reserves would be exhausted. They were blissfully unaware then that exhaustion of consumers rather than of anthracite would be the headache of the future. As a result, Scranton today is a city of diversified industry, with many enterprises not remotely connected with coal.

The operators today bear no resemblance to the notorious George F. Baer who once declared that the mine owners had a "divine right" to operate the



Brandel

mines as they saw fit, but there is room for improvement in labor-management relations. For example, the Lehigh Navigation Coal Company in the Panther Creek Valley, sixty miles south of Scranton, recently informed its 5,000 employees that unless production was increased the firm would have to go out of business. The idea was that greater tonnage would permit the company to counterbalance the convenience appeal of oil and gas with lower prices. John L. Lewis approved the plan and so did all but one of the local unions. This union defied Lewis and picketed operations where the proposed production-increase plan was to go into effect. Since coal miners don't cross picket lines for any reason, the company had to close its mines.

Just a few days ago W. J. Clements, Pennsylvania's Secretary of Mines, disclosed that during the first six months of this year 18,000 hard-coal miners were thrown out of work. "The year 1954," he said, "may well be one of the most evil that has ever befallen the coal

industry—anthracite or bituminous." Reflecting the current decline, figures of the Bureau of Employment Security show that 36.7 per cent of the hard-coal industry's employees drew jobless compensation during June.

THE question now is, what can be done? The anthracite industry is an ailing giant who can't help himself. Many believe that the malady is beyond the capabilities of the Pennsylvania Commonwealth, which in 1940 created a tripartite agency to end ruinous production practices and gear daily and weekly tonnages to market demands. As a vital natural resource, anthracite can look to the federal government for succor. In fact, the White House is currently trying to do something about it. Some months ago the Northeast Pennsylvania Industrial Development Commission, a local creation, submitted fifteen rehabilitation suggestions to President Eisenhower, who referred them to his economic advisers for examination. Some of the commission's suggestions are make-work proposals something like those advanced nearly fifteen years ago by the Congressional subcommittee that conducted hearings throughout the anthracite counties. One urges that something be done about the problem of mine-water drainage, an operating-cost item that drives mine owners just about crazy.

Experts are agreed that if newly developed automatic home-heating apparatus, eliminating any need for hand firing or hand disposal of ashes, can check the flight of consumers to the effortless fuels, new hard-coal uses can be found in the metallurgical and chemical fields. But research costs money, and every anthracite company in northeastern Pennsylvania, with possibly one exception, is operating in the red.

Just how far federal-government intervention will go depends, many believe, on the outcome of a dispute between Washington agencies. The controversy can be boiled down to the question of the long-term value of the anthracite industry. One school of economic thought holds that the anthracite industry is expendable. These economists seem to have forgotten the frightening experience of World War II when it was necessary to stop the installation of oil-burning equipment because of oil-tanker losses to enemy subma-

lines. The Office of Defense Mobilization says there is no major threat to our future oil supply. The Department of the Interior contends there is not enough petroleum in our economy to insure adequate defense in the event of all-out war. Some day someone is going

to be proved to have been wrong as hell.

Meanwhile there seems to be nothing for the anthracite communities to do but to watch and pray—as indeed thousands did only recently at Scranton at St. Ann's annual novena.

[Edward J. Donghoe, assistant managing editor and city editor of the *Scranton Times*, is the winner of a *Heywood Brown* journalism award, a *Pulitzer* journalism citation, and an award from the government of Holland for a story on the Dutch mining industry.]

FRANCE'S LITTLE PEOPLE

Admire Their New Leader . . by Alexander Werth

Paris
IT SO happened that I watched the great events that led up to the Indo-China settlement of July 20 not from Paris or Geneva but from a small town in the southwestern part of France which I shall call Vignac-sur-Vézère. I am glad I was there. I believe that one had to be in provincial France during these last historic weeks to realize the immense weight of public opinion which, from the very outset, supported Mendès-France's New Deal and, above all, his bid to end the war in Indo-China. Although, in an electoral sense, the area is an extremely mixed one, with Socialists and Radicals predominating, it gave Mendès-France almost unanimous support from the start. Shopkeepers, peasants, farm laborers, teachers, and priests—ex-Resistance or ex-Vichy—all were enormously relieved to know that here at last was something new in France.

Everybody followed Mendès-France's negotiations very closely. There was general alarm over Eisenhower's message to President Coty and over Dulles's visit to Paris, for people felt that the United States wanted France to continue the war in Indo-China at any price. The way Mendès-France checked these alleged attempts to "sabotage Geneva" aroused the greatest admiration. Equally strong was the resentment at Bidault, who was thought to be "plotting against Geneva" with the Americans. One had the clear impression during these weeks, and especially after July 20, that if a

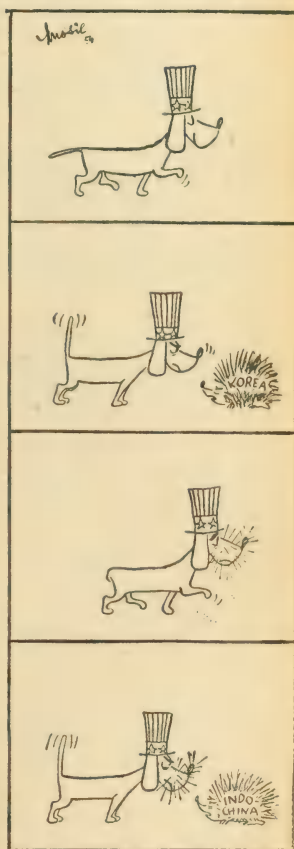
general election were held in the near future, the M. R. P. would be badly smashed.

Even before Mendès-France became Premier, there had been a lot of talk about the terrible losses in Indo-China. And the people's hatred of the war was strengthened by the fear that before long conscript troops would be sent out there. One day the grocer's wife asked me with tears in her eyes whether I thought her son, who was then doing his military service, would be sent to Indo-China. "It's not so bad," she continued, "being officers in Indo-China. They are well paid. However, if my boy got half a million francs a month, I still wouldn't want him to go there." This threat to the youth of the country did much to mobilize opinion behind Mendès-France and arouse anger at Dulles's apparent indifference to how much French blood was shed. With public opinion so worked up, people here thought the M. R. P. would not dare overthrow Mendès-France in Parliament, but they were convinced the United States embassy was plotting against him. I heard no expression of regret for what was surrendered on July 20.

It must be said that the French provincial press sized up the state of opinion in France much quicker than some of the Paris papers, and any reservations about the new Premier soon gave way to almost unanimous approval. I was especially struck by the unqualified enthusiasm of that most influential of French provincial papers, the *Dépêche* of Toulouse.

The prospect of having drafted

troops sent to Indo-China was not the only factor. Wherever I went I could see that people were again beginning



Once Bitten Twice Shy

ALEXANDER WERTH is The Nation's correspondent in France.

August 7, 1954

to feel proud of France. "At last," they said, "we have a man who is no longer under Dulles's thumb, and who can speak firmly in the name of France. The world will now respect us again." Some odd little nuances of opinion deserve mention. At Auch a schoolmaster told me that it was "thanks to the Soviet H-bomb" that "the Yanks could no longer order us about." Several men rejoiced that the war was over because now business might improve. I heard a fellow in a café at Périgueux shout that all foreigners should be kicked out of France and "first of all, those guys from the air bases."

The "Jewish" angle of the Mendès-France phenomenon cannot be regarded as non-existent. Some persons thought it was a "disgrace" that the *real* Frenchmen who had preceded him in office should have been incapable of doing

what he had done ("are Jews so much more intelligent than we?"). In Toulouse I heard a former policeman say that as soon as Mendès-France was in power "everything was settled in advance—by the French, American, and Russian Jews." It was odd, ten years after the war, to find traces of Vichy ideology in southwestern France; however, its importance should not be exaggerated. The dominant feeling was gratitude that "France had at last found a statesman."

At the same time it is recognized that an enormous amount remains to be done. In the train from Bordeaux to Toulouse I shared a compartment with three French non-commissioned officers who talked freely and with real anxiety about North Africa. They hoped that Mendès-France would deal with that situation as well as he had with Indo-

China—"c'est un type très fort, celui-là."

As for E. D. C., nearly everywhere I went I found most people against it. Again there was hope that Mendès-France would "dodge the American maneuvers to drag us into that hornet's nest." "Still," said a café proprietor in the Dordogne, "he ought to go carefully about it; he will have to be smart. We don't want them to get mad at us and cut off all aid overnight. For the present we still need it." The curé at Vignac, though an old Pétainist (and he didn't mind "admitting it"), thought Mendès-France was a "most intelligent man" and would do well to turn down E. D. C. "We have had more than enough of the Germans, you know. We remember the shootings and the deportations and the burned villages. If we don't care much for E. D. C., it's understandable, don't you think?"

RED HUNT IN MIAMI

Who Formed the Posse? . . . by Leslie B. Bain

Miami, Florida

WHILE convicted killers seem to have little trouble getting bail in the greater Miami area, things are different for persons who plead the Fifth Amendment before the local grand jury. Judge George E. Holt of the Dade County Court has denied bail to four persons sentenced to one-year jail terms for contempt of the grand jury and to another person sentenced to ninety days for the same crime. By the time this article appears in print, bail is likely to have been denied to six additional defendants. Nor is this the end. If Miami officials are to be believed and the state Supreme Court does not interfere, at least thirty Miamians who would not confess their politics to the grand jury will find themselves in prison, and some pessimists are guessing that the

number will ultimately reach a hundred or more.

However, there are signs that the witch-hunters may have overreached themselves. Their activities in the last few weeks have taken an unpleasant turn toward anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism, with an occasional hint of incitement to mob violence, and this might well doom the phenomenal growth of the Greater Miami area as a vacation spot. Concern over this latest outburst of McCarthyism is therefore spreading.

The anti-Red excitement was first whipped up by a recent series of articles in the Miami *Daily News* on Red infiltration of the area in 1946-48, written by Al Spears, who claims to have been an undercover agent for the F. B. I., and Damon Runyon, Jr., a self-styled Red expert on the paper's staff. On the conclusion of the series the new State Attorney of Dade County, George A. Brautigam, began to sum-

mon before the grand jury the persons named in the articles for questioning under Florida's so-called little Smith Act. All these persons invoked the protection of the Fifth Amendment as well as Article 12 of the Florida constitution. The State Attorney's position was that according to the terms of the act the statute of limitations applied only to events within the last two years and that the persons summoned must answer all questions about earlier events or be held in contempt. Judge Holt agreed. The Supreme Court of Florida has announced that it will hold hearings on the appeals on September 14 and has meanwhile permitted three of the defendants to be released on bail.

Two early symptoms of the witch-hunting fever were the story in the *Daily News* that the Unitarian Church of Miami had been infiltrated by the Reds and the disbarment proceedings instituted against Leo Sheiner, a Miami lawyer formerly connected with the

LESLIE B. BAIN, a former newspaper columnist and radio news analyst, is the author of "War of Confusion."

Southern Conference of Human Welfare. Sheiner is apparently a pet hate of Runyon, Jr., who dubbed him "the secret czar of the Communists here." The pastor of the Unitarian church, the Reverend Joseph Barth, in a specially prepared sermon, "When Fear Strikes Our Community," rebuked the "spiritual disease" which leads to authoritarianism, and referring to those of his congregation who were named as members of a Red cell, said, "Let no person, however great his sin . . . ever remove himself from membership in this church." Runyon and Spears said they were not attacking the church, only some of its members.

The great majority of the persons named in the articles were Jewish. And with one exception all those sentenced or about to be sentenced for invoking the Fifth Amendment are Jewish. An ironic twist to the anti-Semitic theme is that the disbarment proceedings against Sheiner were filed by a young Jewish lawyer, Ellis S. Rubin, who admitted that he was picked for the job by Colonel Younger, head of Miami's Crime Commission, because he could not be accused of anti-Semitic bias. Significantly, of all the alleged "Reds" named so far by Spear, only those with Jewish or foreign names have been subpoenaed by the State Attorney.

THE simultaneous rise of anti-Catholicism in Miami is part of the political picture in Dade County. Both Sheriff Kelly and State Attorney Brautigam were strongly supported by Catholics. Some priests spoke out in their churches in behalf of both men. Dade County, however, is predominantly Protestant with a fairly large Jewish community and feels considerable resentment at the political activities of the Catholic church and the maneuvers of Brautigam.

The Brautigam-Runyon-Spears shenanigans are beginning to annoy the press too. One of the most respected writers on the Miami *Herald* is being attacked because he dared to belittle the Spears revelations, saying that Spears had peddled his inside information to him and he had declined to use it. Spears denies this, Runyon hints that the writer may be "afraid of something," and Brautigam's office thinks that the *Herald* is "infiltrated." The *News* too is becoming leary of Brauti-

gam, though it stood for the flamboyant Spears-Runyon series.

The "revelations" of Spears and Runyon were in the main a rehash of an earlier series by Paul Crouch (see *The Nation*, April 10). Spears claims to have been an F. B. I. undercover agent in the Communist Party from 1946 to 1948. During this time a Communist Party official who was in the investment and lending business gave him money to buy a bankrupt bus line. The alleged purpose of this was to enable the Transport Workers' Union to take over the bus-drivers' union. But the bus line was thrown into receivership and the bus-drivers' union remained non-Communist. The same mysterious Communist official who gave Spears the money to buy the bus line tried to lease, through Spears, the then idle Opa-locka Naval Air Station. Two versions of this story are told. Spears says that the Communist wanted to establish a "model village," Soviet style. Joseph Mazzei, another "F. B. I. undercover agent," asserts that the Opa-locka property was to be used as an invasion base for the Red army.

When I was investigating these stories, I tried to get official answers to two questions. First, if the national security was so gravely involved between 1946 and 1948, and if, as Spears says, he reported regularly to the F. B. I., why was not action taken at once against the conspirators? Second, who decided that June, 1954, was the proper time to deal with these matters and why?

Special Agent Powers of the F. B. I. declined to comment on the questions, but he did point out that the F. B. I. uses a great many voluntary informers who are not F. B. I. agents. Spears, interviewed in Mr. Brautigam's office, volunteered the information that he had been instructed by the F. B. I. to take his story to the State Attorney, who would know how to use it. He had not done so before because he was pledged to secrecy by the F. B. I. He said he did not know why the F. B. I. decided to present the material to the newly elected Brautigam, but he surmised that Brautigam was "reliable and acceptable." Spears was at great pains to explain that he received no rewards for his exposures, although there is evidence that he is slated to become the well-salaried director of the newly formed Subversion

Commission of Greater Miami, an offshoot of the Miami Crime Commission.

The central legal issue is Brautigam's use of the legal machinery of Dade County, contrary to numerous decisions by American state and federal courts. In several notable cases the United States Supreme Court has held (1) that since testimony before local grand juries can be used by federal authorities against the witness, persons appearing before local grand juries are entitled to protect themselves from state as well as from federal prosecution, (2) that the statute of limitations does not apply where witnesses are asked questions which may forge "a link in the chain of evidence" in case of conspiracy, (3) that witnesses are entitled to refuse to name other persons if they fear those persons may furnish evidence against them.

WHEN I asked those who had been jailed or expected to be jailed why they felt in need of the protection of the Fifth Amendment I found they were dominated by fear that Brautigam was trying to trap them into becoming open to a perjury charge. They reasoned that in the present inflamed atmosphere juries would take the word of a professional witness against them no matter how often or how thoroughly that witness might be discredited. Several of those cited for contempt had never seen or heard of Al Spears—this was admitted by Spears. He had linked them to the "conspiracy" by the simple expedient of saying he had heard them mentioned as Communists by other Communists.

The victims of the witch hunt include professional people, business men, and labor leaders. Charles Smolikoff, a former C. I. O. organizer, and Michael Shantzek, a house painter and World War II veteran, were the first to be jailed. The next three were Philip Feldman, a photographer; Jose Carbonell, a Cuban-born carpenter who has become an American citizen, and Morris Rohinsky, also a painter. The six who are awaiting sentences as this is written are Charles Marks, a filling-station operator, and his son, Walter; Max Schlafrock, a building contractor; Mrs. Leah Adler Benemovsky; Dr. H. D. Prensky, a dentist and a former officer of the American Veterans Committee; and David Lippert, an airplane mechanic

who was an active member of the former Transport Workers' Union (C. I. O.). Schlafrock, holder of an official recommendation for excellence in building construction from the Miami municipality, was the victim of a weird plot: a forged order for an advertisement was sent to the *Daily Worker* to-

gether with a check to which his name was forged. Exposure of the fraud saved neither his freedom nor his business, and he was finally forced to sell out. Still to be called before the grand jury are several housewives, a business woman, and some witnesses from whom the prosecution hopes to obtain corrobora-

tion for Spears's unsupported charges.

Some observers believe that two factors will determine how many prosecutions there will be—the reaction of the community to Brautigam's efforts to advance his political career, and the time that elapses before one of the cases can be taken into a federal court.

LABOR HELPS ITSELF

Amalgamated Welfare Plan . . by Eleanor Astor

[Some of the great American trade unions have evolved from purely collective-bargaining organizations into institutions of much broader social significance. Millions in union funds are being invested annually to meet a wide variety of the worker's needs—his health, education, leisure, sometimes even his banking and retail-shopping requirements. Here is the first of a series of articles dealing with this relatively new development in American labor. A second article, on the United Mine Workers' Welfare and Retirement Fund, will follow shortly.]

THE Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (C. I. O.) celebrated its fortieth anniversary last May. For its 385,000 members the occasion commemorated forty years of progress from the sweatshop to security. Other unions joined in the congratulations, for the whole labor world had benefited from the Amalgamated's pioneering in the field of social welfare.

Founded in 1914 by a small group of insurgent idealists revolting from a dormant union, the Amalgamated had grown into a strong, forward-looking organization. When disease-ridden sweatshops, fire-trap factories, long hours of homework at low pay had been abolished, the union had gone on to new social activities. Under the leadership of its founder, Sidney Hillman, it

had opened its own banks, sponsored cooperative housing, established the first system of unemployment insurance on a large scale, introduced new ways of achieving labor-management peace, and finally worked out employer-financed health-insurance and pension programs. Today, under Jacob S. Potofsky as president, the Amalgamated has a comprehensive system of health, life, accident-disability, hospitalization, maternity, surgical, and old-age benefits throughout the industry.

When other unions were content with bargaining for gains on a day-to-day basis, the Amalgamated held to the belief that a worker should receive something more for his labor than a scanty wage. It refused to admit that a human being was a mere commodity to be sold to the highest bidder and then, when his usefulness was spent, thrown into the street. Sidney Hillman, who played a leading role in bringing about many of the social reforms of the New Deal era, summed up the union's philosophy as follows: "A labor union must consider more than wages and hours. A man who gives his life to an industry should be assured of support when he is too ill or too old to work."

As soon as the Amalgamated was firmly established, it launched the first of its series of social-welfare programs. In 1922 and 1923 it opened savings banks in Chicago and New York and could provide its members with important small loan services, building loans, and home-owner mortgages. Efficiently run and careful in their investments, these were the only union banks that

weathered the depression of the 1930's. They are now successfully doing business, with over \$90,000,000 in deposits.

It was in the twenties also that the Amalgamated became the first union to undertake low-cost cooperative housing projects. Today these provide 2,500 families on New York's lower East Side and in the Bronx with decent air, light, and space for recreation at modest rentals.

During the same period the union launched an unemployment-insurance system in the large clothing center of Chicago and soon extended this to New York, Rochester, and other cities. Contributions by employers and employees were set aside in a fund to provide for the worker and his family in the event of unemployment. As a result, when the depression developed, the men's clothing industry was the only one to have a going system of unemployment insurance on a large scale.

WITH the passage of the federal Social Security Act of 1935 and the absorption by the government of some of the burden of unemployment compensation, the Amalgamated could further its own insurance program. In Chicago the workers' unemployment payments were suspended with the employers' consent, and in 1938 the union used the fund as the basis of a life- and health-insurance program. Instead of dealing with commercial insurance companies, it established its own. The Amalgamated Life Insurance Company of Illinois was formed to administer the social-insurance fund for Chicago members; the Amalgamated

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Life Insurance Company of New York, to handle a nation-wide insurance system. In a few states, owing to special regulations, the Equitable Life Assurance Society handles the business.

By running its companies on a non-profit basis, the union has been able to obtain the largest possible benefits from the employers' contributions. In 1953, for example, the New York company reported that 94.1 cents of every dollar received went either into direct insurance benefits or toward reserves for future benefits. In commercial companies administrative and overhead expenses often run as high as 20 per cent of premiums.

The administrative and actuarial methods employed are subject to state and federal regulation, and initial premiums for specified benefits are therefore fixed by law. Coupled with the companies' economical operation, this permits savings to be accumulated. Consequently, funds are available at all times to meet every contingency. Retiring members get their pensions from the date of application; they do not have to wait because of an insufficient reserve. Funds are safely invested in government bonds.

Practically every year has brought new types of coverage and increases in benefits. Today members who have worked for any contributing employer for at least six months receive insurance payments. What is more, since July, 1950, weekly disability benefits have been made available to members after only four weeks of employment. Members receive pensions at the age of sixty-five after having worked twenty years in the industry.

At present the Amalgamated Insurance Company of New York handles thirteen separate funds created by various industries and branches which have collective-bargaining agreements with the Amalgamated. More than 5,500 employers contribute from 3 to 6 per cent of their weekly pay rolls to these funds. Union members pay nothing except in Chicago, where they contribute 1½ per cent of their pay to receive additional benefits.

The Amalgamated Life Insurance Company of New York is controlled by a board consisting of twelve union representatives, twelve employer representatives, and the union's president, Jacob

S. Potofsky, who also serves as the president of the company. Hyman Blumberg, executive vice-president of both the union and the company, represents the union's officers in supervising all welfare programs. The Chicago company is administered in a similar manner.

THE scope of the insurance program is indicated by the fact that after one year of operation the union's companies paid out \$818,000 in death and disability benefits to 8,700 clothing workers. Over the years a total of \$44,608,516.02 has been disbursed for life-insurance benefits and \$22,423,633.50 for retirement benefits. In the two-year period 1952-53, \$16,643,596.36 was paid out in life, health, and retirement benefits. The union's program was greatly enlarged recently when 176,000 dependents of members in the men's clothing and cotton-garment industries were brought under hospitalization coverage. The largest reserve is kept for retirement benefits.

The economic structure of the industry, the chronic instability of employment, and the consequent movement of workers from shop to shop made it necessary to establish the benefit program on an industry-wide basis. Benefits vary slightly from industry to industry, ranging from \$500 to \$1000 for death. For sickness, payments average \$20 a week for up to thirteen weeks, in addition to thirteen weeks for accidents in any twelve-month period. Retirement pensions in addition to social security range from \$25 to \$50 a month.

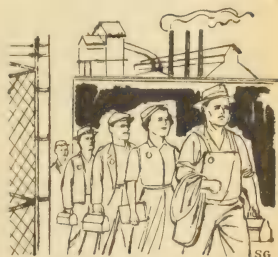
But the program means something more to the workers than dollars and cents. As a laundry worker once said at an Amalgamated convention, "Figures don't mean much. But when you say that sick benefits mean that a girl in the laundry no longer has to stand at her mangle until she drops because she is ill, she knows what that means. When you say to an expectant mother, 'You can have a few weeks off to have that youngster,' she knows what that means. And when you no longer have to take up a collection in your shop because you are afraid a member will be buried in Potter's Field, you know what death benefits mean."

The Amalgamated enlarged its social-welfare coverage in 1951 when the joint

board in New York and Philadelphia opened clinics for ambulatory patients. Funds totaling \$2,300,000 were contributed for this purpose by the union and the employers. As a result, the Sidney Hillman Health Centers were established in New York and Philadelphia to provide members and their dependents with complete diagnostic and therapeutic aid, including minor surgery, free of charge.

Both the New York and the Philadelphia center launched research programs three years ago for which \$400,000 has been appropriated. The New York center has confined its research to the causes of arteriosclerosis; the Philadelphia center has been studying other diseases common among the clothing workers. Having a large sample of the population at its disposal, the New York project has already discovered a new diagnostic approach to arteriosclerosis which may lead to its recognition at an earlier stage and thus to a reduction of the high death rate from diseases of the heart and blood vessels.

Two new health centers will be completed by the end of 1954. One will serve the 18,000 members of the Laundry Workers' Joint Board of New York and the other the members employed in Chicago. When these are completed, some 100,000 members will be provided



with medical services they otherwise could not afford. Other centers are scheduled for Cleveland and Allentown.

At the Amalgamated's fifteenth biennial convention in 1946, the last one he attended before his death, Sidney Hillman said: "We want a better America, an America that will give its citizens, first of all, a higher and higher standard of living so that no child will cry for food in the midst of plenty." The union is working steadily toward this end.

BOOKS

A Century of "Walden"

BY LEWIS LEARY

IT SEEMS almost a miracle that Thoreau's "Walden" has survived to its centennial. When it appeared on August 9, 1854, it was dismissed by the *North American Review* as "more curious than useful," worth reading only for its "suggestive quality." *Putnam's Magazine* explained Thoreau as "a Yankee Diogenes" who lived like a gipsy, a squatter on another man's land. The *Knickerbocker Magazine* compared him to P. T. Barnum—one was a town, the other a country, humbug. It was eight years before Ticknor and Fields, the publishers, managed to sell off the first printing of two thousand copies.

But in the hundred years since then at least 132 editions have appeared—more than 60 of them in the last 25 years. "Walden" may be read in English, German, French, Dutch, Russian, Czech, Italian, Spanish, or Japanese. It may be purchased in limited editions, handsomely illustrated, or in paperbacks. It has traveled far beyond Concord, to become text and solace for people everywhere who dare strip life to essentials. Like Darwin and Marx, Thoreau emerged from the mid-nineteenth century to suggest directions for many men.

But not in his lifetime. Not even for decades after his death. Thoreau's reputation in his own country was warped for generations by the wittily condescending remarks of James Russell Lowell, who wrote him off as a strange fish, so insistent on recording the state of his personal thermometer that he became repulsive to sensible men. He was a minor Emerson, distinctive only in eccentricity. Christian reformers pigeonholed him as in every social sense a sterile man. He devoted his life, said the *Catholic World* in 1878, to "desul-

tory study and admiration of nature, and got for his worship a bronchial affliction" of which he died.

A small band of devoted friends in Concord or stemming from Concord were loyal in his defense, but that mainly made matters worse. They pleaded too hard and for the wrong reasons. What sensible American would take seriously the plaudits of such a queer specimen as Bronson Alcott, who could not support his family, or Ellery Channing, who couldn't keep a wife? Even Emerson seemed to admit that Thoreau was to be admired for negative, stoic qualities. At best he was a curious primitive who was familiar with woodchucks and caught fish with his bare hands, not a leader of men but captain of a huckleberry party.

IN ENGLAND, Thoreau fared rather better at first and very much better as the century drew to a close. George Eliot welcomed "Walden" as "a bit of true American life," demonstrating "that energetic yet calm spirit of innovation" characteristic of "finer American minds." The Scotch littérateur H. A. Page hailed Thoreau as a modern St. Francis who "went to nature as an individualist, and came back a prophet of society." Theodore Watts-Dunton called him a true "child of the open air" because he knew the wind, knew that animals were not really dumb, and understood the sophism which lay at the heart of the modern concept of work.

Though Robert Louis Stevenson, as gracefully witty and condescending as Lowell, dismissed Thoreau as an anti-social ascetic, a skulker who lacked manliness or grace, the American was read seriously in England by other young men who in the later decades of the century strove for social or political reform. To them he was a revolutionist whose own practice had resulted in precepts useful to forward-looking men. While in America he remained an in-

spirer of bird walks and nature study clubs, he became in England an "idealist who looked through the outer husk and surface of life and saw the true reality."

Thus the Christian Socialist Thomas Hughes, principal of the Workingman's College in London, enthusiastically recommended Thoreau's notion that there was "something simpler and nobler" than the "trappings and baggage of social life." And the Fabian Edward Carpenter described Thoreau in his widely circulated "England's Ideal" as a "thorough economist" who reduced life to its simplest terms, establishing for all men an understanding of the relationship between labor and the rewards of labor. It is not Thoreau the woodchuck man but Thoreau the champion of individualism, in "vigorous protest against that artificiality in life and literature which constitutes one of the chief dangers of our complex civilization," who emerges from his biography as written by the Englishman Henry Salt—a book now more than sixty years old but still the most satisfactory exposition of Thoreau's life.

In Robert Blatchford's popular Socialist tract which he called "Merrie England," Thoreau is quoted as an authority side by side with John Stuart Mill, Adam Smith, and Henry George, and "Walden" is recommended to the English proletariat as a text worth cherishing. H. M. Tomlinson recalls that hundreds of Blatchford's young disciples carried Thoreau's book in their pockets, and that workingmen's clubs in English industrial areas were often called "Walden societies." It has been suggested that the first British Labor government can be traced directly to ardent young reformers influenced by Thoreau. Indeed, as George Whicher has said, the chapter on Economy in "Walden" became a "minor gospel of the British Labor Party because of its uncompromising emphasis, not on reform, but on proceeding at once to realize the ultimate values of life and on living only for them."

As the century ended, Thoreau reached Holland also, where Frederik Van Eeden established at his home not far from Amsterdam a Socialist colony devoted to literature and political reform and called it Walden. Soon afterward he reached Gandhi in South

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Africa, and portions of Thoreau's doctrine of civil disobedience were transplanted to India, where they became the effective core of the passive-resistance movement.

SO WHILE in the United States critics argued over whether Thoreau was a scientist or a poet, a naturalist or a humanist, and whether or not he was a bitter man disappointed that what he searched for in life and letters eluded him, men in Europe and Asia were discovering in what he said something fundamentally revolutionary and eminently practical. It was not until the second and third decades of our century that Thoreau in his own country was finally rescued from the nature cultists and the little band who idolized him. In the 1920's and 1930's Parrington, Canby, and many like them cut him to fit the pattern of new social consciousness in America. Today young men read him seriously in their newer literary spirit, with Freud and Eliot at their elbows.

But a review of what has been thought and said of Thoreau during

the last hundred years in the United States is a disquieting thing. Many fine minds have touched him, but few have probed deeply. Fewer have written of him with the fundamental simplicity which his own probing simplicity deserves.

If it seems almost a miracle, though a pleasant miracle, that "Walden" has survived the lack of consistently intelligent response in the United States and what may appear today the alarmingly revolutionary response abroad, it seems, as has often been said, equally a miracle that a book so potentially incendiary is allowed today on public shelves where its doctrines can contaminate contemporaries to thinking as Thoreau thought. There is some good spirit abroad in our land which watches over books like "Walden," which allows them to live on in spite of what is done or not done to them. It is satisfying to know that, even were it banned or burned, something of the quiet, decent spirit of "Walden" would survive because it has become part of us and part of the questing and American spirit we most admire.

Cry Enough!

A FABLE. By William Faulkner. Random House. \$4.75.

By Carlos Baker

THIS remarkable story centers on the origin, development, and aftermath of the mutiny of a French regiment in the trenches one Monday night in May, 1918. Its intellectual and to some extent its emotional force arises from the fact that Faulkner has chosen to project his story through a modern and ironic version of the ministry, the betrayal, the passion, the death, and the resurrection of Jesus Christ. As the false, mutiny-induced armistice comes to an end and the novel moves toward its Easter Sunday dénouement, images and events flower into recognizable parallels: the Last Supper, the triple denial, the Judas figure, the execution between thieves, Mary-Martha-Magdalene, the crown of thorns, the burial, the disap-

pearance of the body, and even an ironic suggestion of resurrection.

Neither his theme nor his method should occasion great surprise among regular readers of Faulkner. Both are extensions rather than essential innovations. All his best work—"The Sound and the Fury," "As I Lay Dying," "Light in August," "Absalom Absalom," and "The Hamlet"—has employed themes and images derived from the Bible. Several short stories, as well as novels like "The Wild Palms" and "Pylon," have left the environs of Yoknapatawpha County, Mississippi. He has dealt with war before in "Sartoris" and "The Unvanquished." The freshness here is in the recombination of familiar elements, and the fascination is to watch them being inexorably fitted into that complex, interlocking, cross-indexed mosaic work which comprises Faulkner's narrative method.

Nine years in the making, the novel is dated, after the manner of Joyce's "Ulysses," "Oxford-New York-Princeton, December, 1944-November, 1953."

The comparison with Joyce is instructive. Both books are modern fables, moral by intent, ironic by execution. Where Joyce used a Homeric mythus, Faulkner's ground-pattern is the most celebrated story in the Hebraic-Christian tradition. For unity and intensity Joyce concentrates his action into a single passionate day. For the same and other reasons Faulkner confines his own within the limits of Passion Week. Both novels are over-long, too heavily populated with rather shadowy minor figures. Vast stretches in both books strain the reader's patience by what seems like unnecessary complication or obscurantism. Sometimes both writers appear to revel unduly in the manipulation of rhetorical language, though both, when they choose, can handle straight narrative like old masters. In brief, different as the two novels are, Faulkner's work ascends into virtues and succumbs to

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CARLOS BAKER is chairman of the Department of English at Princeton University.

August 7, 1954

temptations not unlike those which distinguished, but also diminished, Joyce's huge opus of thirty-odd years ago.

The memorable opening, deliberate, impersonal, and massive as a passage from Hardy's "Dynasts," comes in Paris on a Wednesday morning. An enormous crowd has converged to see the arrival of a fleet of army trucks bearing the three thousand mutineers. One vehicle contains the illiterate thirty-three-year-old corporal and his twelve squad members. To these thirteen can be traced the central event of Monday morning—the zero-hour refusal of an entire regiment to attack. The French command pulled out the regiment, thrust in replacements, and laid down a heavy barrage to keep the Germans out of the gap. Yet the Germans did not move either: the conspiratorial message had reached them from the same source, spreading like light among the common soldiers. By noon all guns were silent along the French sector; by mid-afternoon the undeclared armistice had extended across the whole front from the Alps to the sea. For this long, anyhow, no one had been killed in anger in what Faulkner calls the "ancient familiar

abattoir" of France. Now the mutineers have come to judgment. And Gragnon, commander of their division, is urging the higher echelons to shoot them all.

AS ALWAYS in Faulkner, the reader is not so much told or given this information: the oblique narrative method compels him to glean it through the eyes, minds, chance remarks, or incidental observations of a variety of participant characters. The corporal, one slowly learns, was born in a stable somewhere in the Middle East at Christmas, 1885. He was brought first to Beirut, then to Europe. His relatives live on a small farm near the village of Vienne-la-Pucelle, north of St. Mihiel. He has rescued and rehabilitated a Marseilles prostitute whom he intends to marry. Since the beginning of the war he has been quietly at work in France. He wears a blue uniform; his papers are in perfect shape; his squad has gathered round him. Like him they seem to move at will among the soldiery of the embattled nations. At intervals they disappear and return, A. W. O. L.'s who are never reported. The corporal is said by a British colonel to have been killed in

a cavalry charge in 1914; he is said by an American captain to have died of influenza and been buried at sea from an American transport in 1917. Yet for over a year now he has been known "among all combat troops below the grade of sergeant" in the Allied armies.

"You don't need to understand," says an aged British private to a messenger-runner. "Just go and look at him." "Him?" says the runner. "So it's just one now?" "Wasn't it just one before?" says the old private. "Wasn't one then enough to tell us the same thing all them two thousand years ago: that all we ever needed to do was just to say, Enough of this—us, not even the sergeants and corporals, but just us, all of us, Germans and Colonials and Frenchmen and all the other foreigners in the mud here, saying together: Enough. Let them that's already dead and maimed and missing be enough of this—a thing so easy and simple that even human man, as full of evil and sin and folly as he is, can understand and believe it this time. Go and look at him."

The runner, as it happens, never meets the corporal face to face, though converted to the cause, like St. Paul, and spreading the gospel wherever he can persuade or harass listeners into attention, not only while the corporal lives but long after the execution and the war are over. Even when we are brought into the corporal's presence in the Paris prison, or watch a priest of God commit bayonet suicide for not having recognized and followed him before, we see him as through a glass darkly. He remains, no doubt by the author's intent, an enigmatic figure. Yet supremely dangerous, too; not to be tolerated in a world organized to continue what the French Maréchal calls man's "most expensive and fatal vice . . . so long ingrained in man as to have become an honorable tenet of his behavior and the national altar for his love of bloodshed and glorious sacrifice . . . a pillar of his national survival." War is now, says the Maréchal, the last recourse of politics, and it will soon become the last refuge from bankruptcy. "A nation insolvent from overpopulation will declare war on whatever richest and most sentimental opponent it can persuade to defeat it quickest, in order to feed its people out of the conqueror's . . . quartermaster stores."

In the Witch-Hunting Season

I tell you, don't trust the living. Their eyes
go good for practice. They're possessed, possessing.
Give them one good Friday and they're up and ready

with nails and religions. Hysteria's their mother.
There's a scratch in them that won't heal.
They have twelve fingers sticky with bleeding.

Get thin. Put by some dying before you're owned
hock shank and marrow, and out nailing Jews
for fat reasons. Get a grave behind you.

What else made the Sahara a saints' suburb
and singed the mob at the city gates when the bones
strolled back as easy as gypsies, all their own?

Ask Ezra at St. Elizabeth's mismanaging
a dozen languages in a rage of tricks
to pile all Hells into one dictionary.

Ask Blake head first in the tiger's mouth. Ask Donne
being bad for God. Asking Byron being bad.
Ask Dr. Johnson what he's doing dead

when grammar's cracking wider every day—
paid-in-full Lazarus, the one safe
man in all dangerous Judea, is my saint.

JOHN CIARDI

Against this contingency stands the equally terrible simplicity of the corporal's message: cry Enough, and back it up with action for peace. Whoever understands it has seen the corporal face to face, whether in the flesh or not, and called by whatever name.

Most of the other available attitudes toward war are summed up through subordinate characters. To the division commander Gragnon it is a profession; to the caricatured and stagy German lieutenant general who flies over the front lines for a conference it is a religion; to the American Buchwald, a prelude to gangsterism; to the Maréchal, a challenge in the statesmanship of survival. For Levine, the naive young aviator, a Sartoris-like figure, it is a romance followed swiftly by an overpowering disillusion. For the Quartermaster General it is a sick disgust from which he cannot resign. To the bandy-legged British groom (Harry, 'Arry, Mister 'Arry, Mistairy, Mystery), whose story is a revised version of Faulkner's previously published "Notes on a Horse Thief," war is a business, a money-lending private insurance business among the common soldiers, over whom his influence is almost godlike. Even though the story of his abduction and exploitation of the wonderful three-legged horse is intrinsically a great yarn, it seems intrusive in this new context. Still, his allegorical right to be present is clear enough. He is the type of the eternal gambler. When the Pauline message-runner would persuade the groom to use his great influence in the corporal's cause, old Harry, old anti-Christ, kicks him in the face and tries to bash in his head with a rifle butt.

BY THIRTY years of memorable work Faulkner has earned the right to his own methods of exposition, and one does not, therefore, attempt to revise him. Yet he has never been one to whom the matter of pace was of any special importance, and the pace, for a fact, of the whole middle part of the book is snail-like. Speeches are often prolonged past reason or requirement; seemingly extraneous detail is agonizingly built in; and biographical data on the representative men is occasionally excessive, as if Faulkner enjoyed inventing too much to stop. Rhetoric, a notable pace-slacker elsewhere in Faulkner,

crops out like lava from time to time. The sunset gun at Paris does not merely thud: its sound is "a postulation of vacuum, as though back into its blast-vacuated womb the regurgitated martial day had poured in one reverberant clap." The funeral train does not merely whistle; it makes a "sound of protest and insensate anguish and indictment of the hard dark earth it rushes over, the vast weight of sky it burrows frantically beneath, the constant and inviolable horizon it steadily clove." Through something more than half the novel the roadblocks are insistent.

About the 333d page, however, the pace quickens, the blocks fall away, and the novel rises with rapidity and assurance into its climactic phase, as good a

hundred-page sequence as Faulkner has ever done. In this part of the book he exploits to the full—and perhaps a little beyond the full—the cosmic irony of man's periodic rejection of that power which, if ever accepted, would be the means to redemption. On the afternoon of Thursday, for example, great bands of common soldiers come out of the trenches again. Friendly and without arms, they move together, Allies and Germans, into no man's land. After the false armistice of Monday, of course, such fraternization is not to be countenanced. The batteries on both sides simultaneously open up on the soldiers in the foreground. The ministry is over, and the rulers of man begin, through persuasion, subterfuge, violence, and

CHURCHES IN SERIOUS INTELLECTUAL POSITION

(Beyond selling space for publication of the accompanying material, *The Nation* is not to be held responsible for statements contained in the material)

Through no fault of their own, but by reason of dogmas inherited from the long past, the churches of today adhere to many beliefs that fail to square with disclosures of modern Biblical scholarship. The members and leaders of the churches are, in all cases, honest and sincere; but at the same time their dogmatic position obscures the past instead of illuminating the origins of religion. Statements of this kind, however, are necessarily vague and misleading unless the subject is made concrete.

All ancient heathen religion was wedded to political tyranny, social injustice, land monopoly, and personal immorality. The bitter struggle of the Hebrew prophets against Baal and other heathen gods was primarily and fundamentally a war against the things that heathen religion represented. "The name Baal became the very signature of heathenism", declares Prof. George F. Moore, of Harvard University. The struggle eventually took the form of a conflict between Yahweh, as protector of "the poor and needy", and Baal as god of the wealthy. The prophet Jeremiah states the situation as follows: "Baal hath devoured the labor of our fathers from our youth—their flocks and their herds, their sons and their daughters" (Jer. 3: 24. Cf. Jer. 11: 13).

The fight against "other gods", then, was not a mere philosophical opposition to deities that had no "real existence". It was a fight against an exploiting class that appealed to the cult of Baal as justifying their deeds and policies. The powerful campaign of the Hebrew prophets against Baal was the objective, historic force that led gradually up to the belief in One God who requires mankind to do social justice.

And yet, the agonizing warfare of the Hebrew prophets against the exploiting class in the Hebrew nation has been transformed into respectability by statements such as the following: "The Bible stands for the true God against gods that have no real existence". Statements like the foregoing obscure Hebrew history and hide from view the essential features of the Bible. Misunderstanding of Scripture took its rise many centuries ago in connection with the development of what is called "Orthodox Belief". The churches of today have inherited their beliefs from the churches of the ancient Roman empire; and even among modern progressive people, the atmosphere of orthodoxy is more powerful than many would like to admit. But these misleading beliefs will sooner or later be expelled by the disclosures of modern Biblical scholarship as cultivated in our outstanding universities and forward-looking theological seminaries.—Suggestions will be found in a circular that you can obtain by sending a three-cent stamp to L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

betrayal, the task of getting back to what men call normal. How the corporal's body is brought home for burial, how a barrage and a battle exhumed and lose the body, how a squad of soldiers, having secured from Valaumont Fortress an anonymous cadaver for the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, trade it for brandy to a demented war widow, how they find a substitute in a ravaged field north of St. Mihiel, and how years

after the war's end the crippled message-runner appears at the Maréchal's funeral with the corporal's medal and (still) the corporal's message—these stories provide the dénouement of the book. It is a good series of interwoven stories, and it is a good message that the message-runner brings. As for his experience at the funeral, it is about what one would have expected. He gets his teeth kicked in again.

A Backward Glance

POLITICS AND OPINION IN THE 19TH CENTURY. By John Bowle. Oxford. \$4.50.

By Leon Edel

FROM the vantage point of the mid-twentieth century John Bowle has cast a long and penetrating backward glance over the political thinking of the nineteenth. It is not an easy thing to do, to hold the skeins of a century's thought in one's hand while carefully unraveling the many-colored threads. Yet he has done it, and we see the romantic thinkers taking over from the rationalists; we walk the pathways of the creative will, intuition, and liberalism; and when we reach Darwin the ideas of "improvement" and of "continuing prosperity" promoting reasonableness and compassion emerge as central to the first half of the preceding century.

The second half feels the impact of Darwin and of Marx and Engels, that is, of science and the age of man, and the assaults of entrenched property. In this period Lord Acton is one of Mr. Bowle's heroes. He has the "constructive view," and indeed his warning, long ago, that "state absolutism is the modern danger" was a very modern warning indeed. It was Acton who for himself "renounced everything in Catholicism which was not compatible with liberty and everything in politics which was not compatible with Catholicism." His outlook, Bowle says, "remains one of the most powerful and elaborate expressions of the universal human instinct for mutual aid."

Bowle's conclusions, after his close survey, are that "the political misuse of

science should be arrested and political thought swiftly directed to that end." Men are still enslaved, he holds, "by obsolete nineteenth-century metaphysical myths of inevitable national and class conflict." The answer he offers is a new humanism—rationality, respect for law, compassion ("the impulse to mutual aid"), and liberty. "To realize more

fully these ancient principles in political terms is to adapt our institutions to the supreme fact of our time, the cosmically destructive power of science misused."

All this is admirable and highly relevant for the era of the H-bomb. But our quiet walk through the dense forest of nineteenth-century ideas and the conclusions drawn from them offer only a partial and perhaps a too long-range answer to the immediacy of the world's barbaric weapons. The ideas expressed by Bowle, based on great learning and lucid thinking, speak for civilization at its highest, whereas other (and powerful) voices of our time speak only for bigger and better explosives. The historical truth for which we have no answer yet is that even when prophetic voices have thundered their mightiest warnings against impending disasters, civilizations have chronically toppled.

Records

B. H. Haggin

HERE is a report on a batch of London records:

Another performance of Brahms's *Variations on a theme of Paganini* for piano, this one by Charles Rosen, is on a 10-inch record—one book on each side. It is far superior to the performance by Abbey Simon that I reviewed recently—the superiority being in its greater fineness of tone, texture, articulation of passagework, and phrasing, as compared with what now sounds like the coarseness of the Simon performance. I don't understand why Rosen pauses long between some variations and not at all between others; but this is a small matter. The recorded piano sound is shallow, requiring stepping up of bass to give it solidity.

London also gives us another performance—this one by Gulda with the London Philharmonic under Boult—of Chopin's *Piano Concerto No. 1*, as beautiful a work as he ever wrote, and one that it is astounding to realize he wrote at twenty. Uninsky's playing on the Epic record, last year, seemed to me graceful and unaffected; but it is surpassed in these respects by Gulda's, which in addition is more distinctly

reproduced (except for an occasional bit of delicate fioritura that isn't clear). There are a few places where Gulda's playing works up to a vehemence that seems to me excessive for this music—especially for the dream-like second movement; but more disturbing are the places where Boult slows up enormously for a climactic return of the ritornello. I might add that the *most* beautiful playing I have heard in this work is Horszowski's, which unfortunately is not reproduced distinctly by the Vox record much of the time.

Three great organ pieces by Bach—the *Toccata*, *Adagio*, and *Fugue in C*, the *Prelude and Fugue in A minor*, and the *Chorale-Prelude "Nun komm' der Heiden Heiland"*—are on another record with the early *Fugue in G (à la gigue)* and the *Chorale-Preludes "Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein"* from the *Orgelbüchlein* and "*Jesus Christus unser Heiland*" from the *Klavierübung*. Jeanne Demessieux's performances are excellent—the one of the *Toccata in C* being the best I have heard on records so far; and the thick sound of the organ in Victoria Hall, Geneva, is reproduced quite clearly in all the

LEON EDEL is the author of "*Henry James: The Untried Years*."

pieces except the Prelude and Fugue in A minor. I am afraid that the extraordinarily beautiful sound of the Holzkamp organ in Yale's Battell Chapel, that comes off the Overtone record of Scheidt's "Tabalatura Nova" is going to make most organ recording unsatisfactory to me.

The performances of Bach's Suites No. 2 for flute and strings and No. 3 for oboes, trumpets, drums, and strings by the Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra under Münchinger have the over-deliberate tempos and consequent stodginess in some of the dance movements that made me not care for the same musicians' performances of the Brandenburg concertos. And the soloist in No. 2 isn't first-rate either as a flutist or a musician.

Concerning Debussy's "Jeux," played beautifully by Ansermet and his Orchestre de la Suisse romande, I can only say again what I said when I heard it last. Composed in 1912 for Nijinsky's ballet, it sounds, when played as a concert piece, like an orchestral etude, an exercise in the Debussy orchestral idiom and style; and it is a curious experience to hear familiar bits of writing, previously associated with various images, now associated with nothing; but also an unsatisfactory experience to hear a succession of such details without the coherence that would be imparted to them by the movements of the ballet, and without the internal coherence that would make it something to listen to for itself.

Some old French airs are engaging and moving as sung beautifully by the baritone Gerard Souzay on a 10-inch. They include two folksongs of the Auvergne which are described as "freely set" by Canteloube; but I have come to feel that Canteloube's accompaniments for these songs—for example, in the Madeleine Grey volume—are much too free.

The fresh, clear, powerful, but not attractive tenor voice of Gianni Poggi is heard in *Ab! si ben mio* and *Di quella pira* from "Il Trovatore," an aria from "Luise Miller," and some Puccini and Giordano, on another 10-inch.

And the fine bass voice of Raphael Arie is heard in Musorgsky's amusing "The Seminarist," his Song of the Flea, and songs by Glinka, Gretchaninov, and Lishin, also on a 10-inch.

August 7, 1954

Letters

People's Padre

Dear Sirs: In the review of Emmett McLoughlin's book "People's Padre" [*The Nation*, May 29] your unnamed reviewer allows one to infer that he is a "non-Catholic." His review belies that, or else he is painfully uninformed on the subject of which he writes. He states: "Nevertheless, it must be noted that Father McLoughlin had taken a vow of obedience to the Franciscan Order, a vow which he evaded and then broke." What your reviewer overlooked is that these vows are taken by idealistic youths without experience of life's true difficulties and when they discover that they have been tragically misled, why should they remain in mental and spiritual chains? Furthermore, in free America every citizen has a right to change his religion if he wants to.

Memorial Hospital, Phoenix, Arizona, which Mr. McLoughlin founded in 1944, was never a church institution under the jurisdiction of the hierarchy. In a showdown with the Roman Catholic church he had the backing of a large majority of the hospital's trustees. Thirteen of the sixteen trustees of the hospital were Masons and they strongly supported him.

There are two things about Phoenix Memorial Hospital which give it special distinction. One is its nursing home, to which students are admitted without regard to race or religion. The other is that in the emergency room Mr. McLoughlin had this notice posted for nurses and doctors: "Every patient brought to this hospital must be given emergency treatment before any financial questions are asked."

His book, in addition to being a faithful portrayal of an inspirational life, is also a vivid account of the behind-the-scenes activities of a totalitarian political-ecclesiastical regime which belongs in medieval Europe rather than in the United States of 1954.

NORMAN S. MEESE and
SAMUEL B. WOODBRIDGE

Washington, D. C.

Kierkegaard as Writer

Dear Sirs: As a life-long reader of *The Nation* I have usually thought that its reviews, however brief, were written by men competent to give a reliable idea of the contents of the book they were discussing. I have grave doubts whether this is the case with the reviewer of the book by Hohlenberg on Kierkegaard in your July 17 issue. Otherwise he would not have spoken of Kierkegaard as "that un-

resolved amalgam of rake and saint, artist, mystic, and logician," a description in which almost every word is erroneous. Nor was any man ever less "confused, diffused (!) . . . and half-articulate" than Kierkegaard, who wielded his Danish like a rapier. Also, to compare Kierkegaard's influence with Rousseau's shows your reviewer not entirely at home in the world of thought. LEE M. HOLLANDER

Austin, Tex.

Loyalty Oath

Dear Sirs: I do not believe in the overthrow of the government of the United States by force or violence, but anybody who did not believe in the overthrow of the government of Guatemala is a godless bolshevik and, more probably than not, an agent of the Soviet Union.

Long Beach, Calif.

METEK VOLK

Some Complaints . . .

Dear Sirs: This is a brief letter to clear up some of the errors in Mr. Breslow's article on Students for America in your March 20 issue:

1. Mr. Robert Anderson has never contributed an article to the *American Student*.

2. The chapter at Fordham University has been officially recognized. (See the *Ram*, December 19, 1953.)

3. The organization has been quite successful in the East and is not limited to California.

ROBERT E. MATTHEWS, JR.
Member of the Eastern Region
Co-ordinating Council of Students for America

Hollywood, Calif.

. . . And the Answers

Dear Sirs: With reference to Mr. Matthews's complaints:

1. The author of the S. F. A. attacks on the University of Chicago was Robert V. Andelson. The name inadvertently appeared as Anderson in my article, but the error was duly noted in the Letters column of *The Nation* of April 17.

2. When the article was written, S. F. A. had not yet been officially recognized at Fordham. I am sorry to hear that it has now succeeded in winning recognition.

3. My article did not imply that S. F. A. has limited its activities to California. I merely wrote that "the organization appears to have been most successful" in that state. This is true. Chicago, Ill.

PAUL BRESLOW

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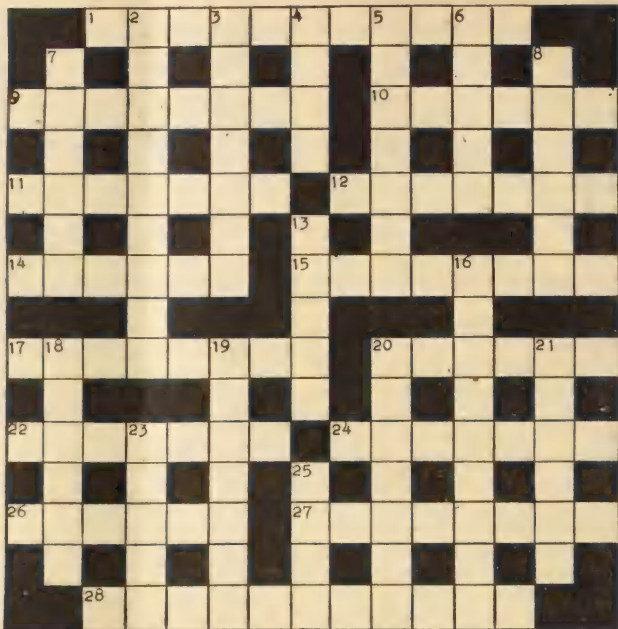
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THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

Crossword Puzzle No. 579

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 See 13 down.
- 9 A ringer in the field—evidently a corner. (8)
- 10 Is found in Terpsichore, for example, wrong. (6)
- 11 An opening between cords. (7)
- 12 To presage the last of the wine? (7)
- 14 See 8 down.
- 15 7 down which drop their leaves easily. (4-4)
- 17 Levies a punishment on humor, even though it's refined. (4-4)
- 20 They sound as though they level (by scraping)! (6)
- 22 Certainly not the way of the peaceful. (7)
- 24 Sort of super? It's just about A-1! (Sound estimate, too!) (7)
- 26 A cat-bird pair dined upon slices of it. (6)
- 27 His work certainly shouldn't be degrading. (8)
- 28 Traveling exposition? (7, 4)

- 7 A cyclic permutation would be steady. (6)
- 8, 14 across, and 18 down. Implying a defect in the flooring makes for a tight fit. (2, 4, 2, 1, 3, 2, 1, 3)
- 13 and 1 across. Not an amateur gentleman who picks up a *couvert* disarranged. (5, 11)
- 16 Certainly not the richest of Neapolitans. (9)
- 18 See 8 down.
- 19 Loiters in clubs? (7)
- 20 Finding fault with a corded fabric on top? (7)
- 21 You might find hers scattered about the country. (6)
- 23 Animal, and relatively surrounded if familiar. (5)
- 25 Certainly doesn't wake up and stretch. (4)

— ★ —

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 578

ACROSS:—1 LIBERATORS; 6 ERIC; 10 OUTRAGE; 11 CARAMEL; 12 BARMAIDS; 13 NEVER; 15 RESET; 17 EUMENIDES; 19 WONDERFUL; 21 WHALE; 23 RIATA; 27 DEBITED; 28 ALIMONY; 29 EFTS; 30 LEAN SEASON.

DOWN:—1 and 25 LOOK ALIVE; 2 BETRAYS; 3 REARM; 4 and 16 THE LIFE OF THE PARTY; 5 RACKS; 7 REMOVED; 8 CELERY SEED; 9 BRAND-NEW; 14 DRAWBRIDGE; 18 MULE TRAIN; 20 and 24 NEAT BUT NOT GAUDY; 22 ARDUOUS; 24 NUDE; 26 LYNN.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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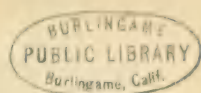
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AG 26 '54

THE *Nation*

August 14, 1954

20¢

Britain and China

Is America Out of Step?

by Joan Robinson

The U. S. Belongs in the U. N.

by Anthony Broy

The Dilemma of the Scientist *J. Bronowski*

From a Writer's Notebook

Van Wyck Brooks

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865



Everyone from Everywhere

United Nations

LAKE SUCCESS and even Flushing Meadow seemed a long way from the center of New York to those of us who drove there and back every day from August, 1946, to January, 1950. But the public did not think so. Four hundred thousand people a year, on the average, found their way there to see the United Nations at work. They came by car, by train, or by subway and bus—single individuals, families with their children, small groups of friends. They looked and listened and went away impressed.

Casual sightseers formed only a fraction of the crowd. The hard core of the visitors was made up of members of such organizations as the League of Women Voters, Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Women United for the United Nations, World Federalists, labor unions, and so on. There were also high-school and college classes, prize-winners in essay contests, teachers, foreign-affairs study groups, government officials, and military personnel, including classes from West Point and Annapolis. From all parts of the United States and from Canada, they converged on the United Nations.

One day is etched on the minds of everyone who worked at Lake Success, the day in early August, 1950, when Korea was the topic before the Security Council. (The representative of the Soviet Union had only recently returned

to the Council, after absenting himself for nearly eight months.) That day 4,200 people came to Lake Success, although only 520 could be seated in the Council chamber at one time. It was estimated that 20,000 people tried to make reservations.

After the move to First Avenue and Forty-Second Street, visitors were restricted until the General Assembly Building was completed in October, 1952. The guided tours were then inaugurated, together with a schedule of briefings for educational and other groups. Between October 20 and December 31, 54,400 persons paid for the tour. From July, 1953, to June 30, 1954, the tours were patronized by 723,750 individuals, and 3,148 separate groups—teachers, students, and members of various organizations—visited Headquarters. In that year also 64,506 individuals attended one or more of the three daily lectures on the United Nations given at Headquarters. More than two thousand requests for similar lectures were received during the same period and were filled by members of the Secretariat or of one or another of the delegations or by recommended persons outside. In a five-month period persons from eighty-three countries registered.

All visitors are welcome, for even if they just happen to be passing and stop in for a look they go away im-

pressed. But the organized groups which are studying the United Nations and regard their visit as part of a course are given special attention. Normally such a group writes in weeks or even months ahead. Having been assigned a date, it takes the tour of the building, attends meetings, and sits down in a conference room with some Secretariat official or national delegate to discuss topics in which it is particularly interested. These talks may last an hour or several hours and may be on the general work of the U. N. organization or on specific subjects, such as technical assistance, human rights, social activities, the children's fund, and so on.

Some groups plan to spend two or three days or longer at the U. N. For them a careful schedule must be worked out so as to give them as complete a view of the work as possible. Whether it is an American or a foreign group a time is set aside for the members to talk with their own delegation about their country's policy in the United Nations. Roughly one-fifth of student visitors are foreigners studying in the United States. We try to make them feel that the United Nations, though located in New York, is as much theirs as if it were in their own homeland.

WILLIAM AGAR

[William Agar is acting director of the Special Services Division of the United Nations.]

Letters

Enough of Mr. Dulles

Dear Sirs: An administrative officer who staunchly supports his subordinates is admired. However, when such loyalty is carried so far that the organization suffers, it ceases to be a virtue. Many citizens think this stage has been reached in the President's toleration of the Secretary of State.

Mr. Dulles has now manipulated our foreign affairs for half a dozen years. The veriest tyro can perceive the temper of our international relations at present—virtually all of Asia against us, most of Europe the same, all South and Central America calling us ugly names, Spain is about our only friend—Franco Spain! What irony!

Mr. Dulles was a great secretary when he could bluff, bully, or bribe, but it is evident that he has reached the end of his rope. People will stand bluffing for a

time, they can endure bullying by the military for a few years, and they can often be bought, but they rarely stay bought. Sooner or later they revolt.

At the end of World War II this nation was riding the crest of the wave. It should for many generations have been the most popular nation on earth. No one has contributed more to prevent this than Mr. Dulles. Should President Eisenhower not be looking for a new Secretary of State?

Yakima, Wash.

IRA D. CARDIFF

No Easy Solution

Dear Sirs: Milton L. Barron in his article *The Delinquent* (*The Nation*, June 5) cites the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation as advocating a "solution" for delinquency

(Continued on page 139)

The Shape of Things

Dubious Appointment

The Administration has finally chosen a successor to Gordon Clapp as chairman of T. V. A. The nominee, Brigadier General Herbert Davis Vogel, an expert in the science of water and soil conservation, is a career officer from the Corps of Engineers. The appointment is disturbing on two counts. In the first place, General Vogel is the fourth army engineer, the sixth military man, and at least the tenth person to have been reported "under serious consideration" for the post. Why were so many individuals reluctant to accept this important position? Or was it that their views on public power turned out to be unsatisfactory? Among those considered was Dr. Samuel B. Morris, manager of the Los Angeles Water and Power Department and past president of the American Public Power Association. Dr. Morris is a strong proponent of public power. Reached by telephone in Los Angeles, he told *The Nation* that he had "decided to remain" in his present position after a visit to the White House in June. General Vogel's views on public power are not known, but as the New York *Herald Tribune* has pointed out, "it is fair to assume" that he "sees eye to eye" with President Eisenhower on this issue.

More disturbing than the Administration's trouble in filling the vacancy is the fact that General Vogel comes from the Engineers' Corps. The army engineers have a long record of opposition to multi-purpose development projects and are notorious for the manner in which they have catered to local vested interests to obtain appropriations. More specifically, they have been antagonistic to T. V. A. since its inception. The Engineers prepared the initial survey and report on the Tennessee Valley and quite naturally assumed that they would construct and operate the project. But the report contained two inconsistent proposals and a set of evasive and opportunistic conclusions which could be reconciled with neither. Congress was not impressed, and the Engineers were denied jurisdiction over the authorized development.

Since then the Engineers have always been hostile to river-valley authorities, as the long feud over the Missouri Valley Authority eloquently attests. It would be

a miracle if an officer so thoroughly steeped in the tradition of the Corps of Engineers as General Vogel must be could feel enthusiastic about the purposes defined in the act creating the T. V. A. Apart from this basic consideration, General Vogel's performance as deputy governor in the Panama Canal Zone would suggest that, whatever his competence as an engineer, he is not a particularly inspired administrator. It is significant, too, that Senator John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky asked the White House to postpone General Vogel's nomination, which, so far as we can determine, he neither suggested nor approved. The Committee on Public Works, on which Senator Wayne Morse holds the deciding vote, should conduct a thorough investigation of this appointment.

The Hard Facts

This year's discussion at Arden House, reported on page 128, is one of several recent indications that certain hard facts have begun to be recognized through the fog of myth and unreality that has enveloped the discussion of American policy these last few years. The insistence, at this year's American Assembly meeting, that the United Nations should be the cornerstone of our foreign policy is not, as the *Wall Street Journal* characterized it, "one more pious theory"; it is the central assumption for workable American policy. On no other assumption can the power of the United States be applied with skill and tact and effectiveness in international affairs.

The opinion expressed at Arden that Washington's opposition to a seat in the U. N. for Communist China has been too rigid is another straw in the wind. In an editorial on July 24 *Business Week* must have chilled the stout heart of Senator Knowland by observing: "Geneva has shattered a number of American illusions, among them the idea that somehow Red China could be kept off the world diplomatic stage indefinitely. The fact is that Peking has forced its way onto that stage and it is probably there to stay. . . . Clearly Red China is no paper dragon that can be blown away with emotional steam or punctured with pinpricks." Other signs of a return to reality are not wanting. "No matter how many official denials are issued," writes a staff correspondent for the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* from Washington (July 25), "it remains the inescapable deduction

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from thinking at the highest level that one of these days, perhaps a year or so away, Red China will be admitted to the United Nations, either by the front door or by some back-door passage." Senator Knowland and the right wing may think they know where the balance of power rests in the Republican Party, but they do not seem to realize that this country's most intelligent men of influence can recognize hard facts when they see them.

Suez: Empire in Retreat

The Mediterranean is changing so rapidly and in such drastic ways that the whole balance of power—and thus the problem of security in the area—is itself in the process of being revolutionized. The final effects cannot even be guessed at yet, but one can be sure that every foreign office is reconsidering its policy in the light of those changes.

Britain's decision to turn over the Suez defenses to Egypt and withdraw its troops could not have been put off much longer. The alternative would have been a massive use of force to crush resistance and in effect to control the country; today such a policy would find no support in Britain. The misfortune is that the shift was not negotiated earlier, sparing much bloodshed and poisonous feeling. The fact that Egypt is a sovereign state made even more galling the existence of large military forces and vast installations under the command of a foreign state.

But the liquidation of British power in Egypt, good and necessary in itself, raises urgent questions as to what comes afterward. The government of Israel has strongly protested against the continued supply of arms to a hostile neighbor whose strength will in any case be enormously increased by acquisition of the Suez bases. Israel's anxiety must be even more acute than the diplomatic language of its leaders has revealed. By greatly increasing Egypt's prestige and relative power, the British-Egyptian agreement is likely also to upset the fragile equilibrium of the Arab world. The new situation calls for immediate, redoubled efforts to bring about peace between the Arab states and Israel and so provide a basis for stabilizing the area. Until that is done it would be the worst sort of folly to go on building up Egypt's armed strength. The exit of the British has not made Egypt an ally of the West, but it is still an enemy of Israel, technically and by its own profession.

Now Tunisia

The other important change, of course, arises from the action of Premier Mendès-France in Tunisia. By promising full internal autonomy to the Tunisians, while taking strong measures to restore order and punish terrorism. M. Mendès-France has opened the way to a negotiated

peace with North African nationalism inside the French Union.

The success of his move is still far from certain. It could be defeated by the extreme nationalists on both sides, French and Tunisian. But he was wise enough to win the support of the moderate wing of the Neo-Des-tour—the nationalist party—including its still-imprisoned chief, Habib Bourguiba, and to bring several of its leaders into the new Cabinet. As for his opponents in France and among the French settlers in Tunisia, they will do their worst to prove his action one of surrender to terror. But if he succeeds in checking disorders and gets the Tunisian government to provide specific guarantees for the settlers' rights, he will probably be able to outflank his domestic enemies. More advanced politically than the Moroccans and essentially friendly to France, the Tunisian nationalists have long tried to negotiate an agreement for independence without separation. On several occasions since 1945 liberal governments in France could have ended the trouble on terms as reasonable as those proposed by M. Mendès-France. That they failed was due chiefly to their fear of the political power exercised by the French *colons* over the National Assembly and colonial office.

No form of self-government for the Tunisians will be regarded as just by Frenchmen who have made their lives and livelihoods in Tunisia. But, like the British in Egypt, they will have to accept the end of colonialism. Mendès-France has ordained the beginning of the end. He knows that after Tunisia he must tackle Morocco, where the divisions are sharper, the terror far worse, and the past mistakes of the French more calamitous. He has deliberately chosen to preside over the liquidation of old-style French imperialism, and the changes he hopes to effect will alter the present power struggle in the Mediterranean quite as much as the withdrawal of the British from Suez.

The Conscience of the Country

MOTIVATED by fear and politics, cowardice and opportunism, the Senate has once again ducked its responsibilities by referring Senator Flanders's motion to censure McCarthy to a select committee. But the motion, it will be noted, was neither defeated nor tabled; action was simply deferred.

To nearly everyone's surprise, the arguments for some action on McCarthy grew stronger as the three-day debate progressed, thanks in large part to Senator Fulbright's timely specification of charges. At the outset it seemed all but certain that the motion would be tabled or defeated; that it was not is further evidence that McCarthy's strength is ebbing. The most remark-

able aspect of the debate was the reluctance of even the right-wing Senators to spring to Joe's defense. Senator Dirksen said he was "humble," and evoked guffaws from the galleries; Senator Welker said he was kind to children, and everyone smiled. Otherwise the silence was so oppressive that even McCarthy found it difficult to smirk.

His defense, moreover, was badly handled. Senator Wayne Morse surprised and dismayed the supporters of the Flanders motion by opposing it, along with Senator Guy Cordon, on procedural grounds. If a motion to table had been presented in the wake of these speeches, it would certainly have carried. But by the time the unctuous Dirksen concluded his oration, with its cheap smears and corny rhetoric, the tide had begun to turn. Had the Flanders motion been tabled or defeated, the opportunity to keep McCarthy on the defensive would have been lost until after the elections, regardless of how numerous or loud the protests might have been. Now there will be a new hearing, a report, another debate, and, eventually, or so it now seems, a roll-call vote—and each step in the procedure will produce more headlines. No matter how fast he runs or how far he jumps, the spotlight will be on McCarthy. And this time he cannot dictate the headlines.

VOTERS who agree with *The Nation* that the Flanders motion should be carried or that even stronger disciplinary action should be taken against McCarthy should join with others in strong public insistence that every candidate for the United States Senate in this year's crucial election make a public declaration on this issue. In New Jersey, Clifford Case, a Republican, has declared his opposition to McCarthy in the most forthright terms. In Kentucky another Republican, Senator John Sherman Cooper, who is in dire political trouble, has courageously spoken out against McCarthy. So have Democratic Senators Kefauver and Humphrey, both candidates for reelection. At the same time, letters and wires should go to Senator Lyndon Johnson urging him to resign as Democratic leader or cease acting as though he were a junior member of the firm of McCarthy, Knowland, Dirksen, and Nixon. Wires, too, should go to the chairmen of the Republican and Democratic National Committees demanding that both parties clarify their position on McCarthy.

After first seriously undercutting the Flanders motion by his badly timed indorsement of an avowed pro-McCarthy candidate in Illinois, the President voiced an "emotional" defense of General George C. Marshall a few days later and indicated that he might, after all, be forced to take a hand in the McCarthy row. He should be urged, without delay, to use his great influence and prestige to rally the conscience of the country, and thus of the Senate, against McCarthy.

Guatemala's "Strong Man"

by J. Alvarez del Vayo

COLONEL Castillo Armas needed no more than a month to prove that, apart from Ambassador Peurifoy and perhaps the Archbishop of Guatemala and the representative of the United Fruit Company, he had few dependable supporters. The whole propaganda tale of a country miraculously "liberated" from the claws of communism, which four weeks earlier had monopolized the headlines in the American press, fell to pieces when a handful of army cadets obliged the strong man to knuckle under and pledge the immediate disarming and disbanding of his "liberation" forces in the capital. That was the exact wording of the second point in the agreement concluded on August 2 between Castillo Armas and the rebellious cadets. The first point was a government guaranty that the young rebels would not be punished. The third was a promise by the regular army to accept the authority of the ruling junta—not a very impressive conquest for a Chief of State who is supposed to be also the commander-in-chief of the army.

The whole affair had the quality of *opéra bouffe*—the more so since the revolt seems to have begun in the congenial surroundings of a *maison de tolerance* in Guatemala City—and one could treat it accordingly were it not that it involves the fate and hopes of the Guatemalan people. Actually the explosion of the cadets was only spectacular surface evidence of a deep dissatisfaction within the army. Seven top leaders of the regular army have been seized and placed under arrest, including Colonel Adolfo García Montenegro, former ambassador to Cuba; Colonel Federico Fuentes Giron, former Director of Communications; and Colonel Daniel Caceres, former secretary of the armed forces. To excuse his action Castillo Armas has charged the officers with plotting to restore former President Arbenz to power. This accusation no one takes seriously.

Feeling justifiably insecure as to the attitude of the army, Castillo has now called upon a handful of union leaders

who had been at odds with the Arbenz regime to rally to his assistance—an act reminiscent of Perón. These "labor" recruits have threatened a general strike unless the regular army forswears any role in the government and Castillo Armas is made sole boss. They demand not only "unification of power" but a Cabinet composed entirely of "certified anti-Reds." The main target of the group is Colonel Monzón, who with the agreement of Ambassador Peurifoy headed the governing junta before Castillo Armas became President.

In spite of the unrest it is most unlikely, at least for the time being, that the Arbenz government will return to power, but it is probable that the army will presently assume the task of creating a caretaker regime to put an end to the existing ridiculous state of things. No matter how many "victories" Castillo Armas may announce, he is obviously no longer in a position to resist a real ultimatum from the army. He has lost his freedom of action—along with whatever prestige may have surrounded a man who, before his exile and return, carried no weight. His recent behavior has revealed his character. For instance he invited two emissaries of La Aurora garrison to come to see him to discuss a compromise, and when they arrived he had both arrested. According to reliable reports it was necessary for Ambassador Peurifoy to bring to bear on the other members of the junta, Colonel Elfege Monzón and Major Enrique Oliva, all the weight of his—and his government's—influence to hold the trio together. But as an Associated Press dispatch from Guatemala reported, the three are governing the nation through a "shaky shotgun political union."

This time no one but Castillo Armas and a few of his supporters in Washington blamed the disturbances on the Communists, or on agents of the Arbenz regime. The incidents of August 2 must, in fact, have taken the followers of the deposed government by surprise. They are either crowding the embassies where they found refuge or are hidden in the

interior of the country under the protection of the peasants. Surely they must have assumed that six months or so would have to pass before they could begin a campaign of opposition. Now they have learned that it will not be necessary to wait so long. While the revolt came from within the army, it could never have taken place if Guatemala had been as full of enthusiasm for Castillo Armas and hate for Arbenz as many commentators tried to make us believe a month ago.

NOW that the quality of the "liberator" has been fully revealed, one wonders what sort of policy for Guatemala was in the minds of those officials in Washington who inspired and steered Castillo Armas's rebellion. A man of his stamp is surely incapable of offering the nation that "constructive alternative" advocated by the more enlightened enemies of communism for the countries where poverty is the chief weapon of the left-wing propaganda.

In the long run nobody will be able to stop the social revolution which, as in Asia and in Africa, is on the way in Latin America. People like Castillo Armas will ultimately be left behind as grotesque accidents in the historical process. But none the less they will continue to appear and to slow up the march of events unless the people show more determination and more agility in action than did those around Arbenz at the moment of the recent counter-revolutionary coup. In fairness one must withhold judgment until the day when President Arbenz and his collaborators, free to speak, tell the whole story of their government's collapse at a moment when, all over the world and particularly in Latin America, public opinion was rallying to their support. If they had held out one week more, their victory would have been sure. And the poor show just staged by Castillo Armas offers further proof that the only thing they had to do was to stand firm—and to fight. It is to be hoped that the lesson has been learned.

BRITAIN AND CHINA

Is America Out of Step? . . by Joan Robinson

London

BRITAIN'S relations with China in the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth were determined usually by its commercial interests, which also set the pattern for the attitude of other countries trading with China. Up to 1927, therefore, Chinese nationalists of all parties inevitably regarded Britain as the leading foreign barbarian. Since that unenviable place was usurped first by Japan and then by the United States, Sino-British relations have entered a phase in which emotional hangovers on either side have counted for much less than the immediate realities.

Britain was only peripherally involved in most of the Pacific war and not at all in the Kuomintang-Communist conflict from 1940 to 1949. At a fairly early stage the British government and British business interests in China decided that a Communist victory was a foregone conclusion. Consequently, the establishment of the People's Government in October, 1949, caused no surprise in Britain and had no such reaction on British internal politics as it seems to have had in America. British diplomacy realistically sized up the Far Eastern situation in terms of British and Commonwealth interests and recognized the need for a *modus vivendi* with the greatest land power in Asia. Napoleon's sleeping giant had awakened, and there was no use denying either that the giant was a giant or that he was awake.

Accordingly, Britain recognized the new regime *de facto* in January, 1950, and looked forward to the early resumption of normal diplomatic and commercial relations. This common-sense approach to China was and is shared by

both political parties in Britain in spite of differences of emphasis between them, differences which may indeed become crucial in the future. The Labor attitude is evident from the fact that an official party delegation, composed of leading members of the National Executive, including Mr. Attlee, is visiting China this month. The more qualified Conservative attitude is evident from Mr. Eden's behavior at Geneva and from his statement in the House of Commons during the debate on foreign affairs on June 23 that the Chinese at Geneva had made "a real contribution to peaceful coexistence."

As it happens, British political, economic, and cultural relations are being decisively and adversely affected by the overriding importance of the Anglo-American alliance. I make no apologies for beginning with politics, since in the present circumstances it bedevils economics. Under American pressure Britain participated on a small scale in the Korean war. Again on American instigation Britain in October, 1950, moved the resolution in the United Nations General Assembly authorizing the disastrous MacArthur advance beyond the Thirty-eighth Parallel to the Chinese frontier, which Mr. Nehru's warning should have forestalled. When in December, 1950, General MacArthur brought the Western world to the brink of all-out war with China and possibly Russia, Mr. Attlee made a major contribution to averting the catastrophe. But in spite of the continuance of the Korean war, a war for which there was never any enthusiasm, to say the least, on this side of the Atlantic, there was no deep current of animosity against China.

It is essential for Americans to understand this feeling, for the intensity of American hostility toward China has boomeranged on American relations with Britain. To us MacArthur was a firebrand, the China Lobby an unmitigated evil, and American intransigence

in the face of the facts of life concerning China a most awkward and perplexing phenomenon. As Roosevelt said of the recognition of Russia in the thirties, it is silly to pretend that a big hunk on the map of the world is a blank, or that it can be obliterated by wishful thinking.

THESE considerations were dramatically reinforced by the Indo-China crisis of April, 1954. This time it was Dulles, only too ably seconded by Nixon and Radford, who brought us to the edge, and Churchill and Eden, speaking for the whole world outside the United States, who came to the rescue, with Mr. Attlee's full support. The time thus gained gave Mendès-France the welcome opportunity to exercise an initiative which has been rewarded with at least temporary success.

The main line of the British government's China policy became still plainer in the course of the crisis and its resolution. Mr. Eden seems to have established cordial relations with Premier Chou En-lai at Geneva, where they agreed to the restoration of full, formal *de jure* diplomatic relations, including the setting up of official commercial missions. In the meantime an interchange of business delegations is proceeding against the backdrop of acute international tension.

Britain does not want war with China. We want peace and trade, and we would be dragged into even token participation in localized hostilities most reluctantly, if at all, and only under extreme American pressure. The amount of pressure required to bring this about would inescapably generate increasingly serious friction with the United States, and it is not too much to say that it would endanger the Anglo-American alliance. There can be no possible doubt of the strength of the popular sentiment in England in favor of peaceful and friendly relations with China. In this instance, our pragmatic approach to foreign policy is not cluttered up with

JOAN ROBINSON, distinguished British economist and author of "Economics of Imperfect Competition" and other books, visited China last year with a delegation of business men organized by the British Council for the Promotion of International Trade.

ideological prejudices, and we have a vague but none the less real sympathy for the Chinese people's vast experiment in modernization.

Since Americans may find the existence of this attitude hard to believe, I shall cite two quite independent authorities, the first concerning the Labor Party and the second the country in general. The political correspondent of the *Sunday Observer* indicated on May 30 that the main reason for the official Labor Party mission to China was "the overwhelming rank-and-file support for it," which the party executive could hardly ignore. And Drew Middleton, the London correspondent of the *New York Times*, stated on July 4 that "observers here are struck by the strong popular support for the government's policy of seeking expansion of diplomatic and economic relations with both Russia and China."

At the same time liberals in Britain and the United States must not deceive themselves. Sustained pressure from Washington has in the past counteracted and is now endangering the British government's tentative reflection of public opinion on this score, as is obvious from Churchill's speeches in the House of Commons on July 12 and 14. Only the foolhardy can dismiss the possibility of Conservative appeasement. It is ironic that the word appeasement has two entirely different meanings in our two countries. In America any form of negotiated settlement with China and/or Russia based on the premise of peaceful coexistence is automatically dubbed a "Munich"; here appeasement is coming to mean capitulating to America in the abandonment of attempts to make such settlements and of the premise—I should like to say axiom—of peaceful coexistence.

There is already an open cleavage between us on the question of relations with China. The present attitude of both parties was admirably summed up by Desmond Donnelly, M. P., in the House debate of June 23, when he advocated "an independent policy within the framework of the Anglo-American alliance." We cannot help asking ourselves if such a policy is not becoming a contradiction in terms. Should Washington push London too hard on China's international status, we should eventually have to choose between a dependent



Storm Clouds

Courtesy York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily

policy within and an independent policy outside that framework. While Churchill evidently knows this, he and his successor may not be strong enough to do anything but drift into a satellite status vis-à-vis the United States.

AMERICAN influence has been no less potent in the economic than in the political sphere. China is now engaged in an ambitious program of economic development which gives it a vested interest in peace. In the broad historical perspective, the industrialization of China is going to occupy the same kind of place in the second half of the twentieth century as that of America in the second half of the nineteenth. From a narrowly economic point of view, therefore, we have everything to gain from a rapid expansion of our China trade. At its 1953 level it amounts to under \$50,000,000 a year, or a trivial fraction of 1 per cent of our total turnover of foreign trade. China wants to buy the kind of goods we have to sell and, what is no less important, has the wherewithal to pay for them. Britain and China are complementary economies, and since China's economic development is focused inward, there is no need to fear its becoming a competitor in third markets as was the case with Japan. The head of the recent Chinese commercial delegation to Britain placed the possible annual turnover of Sino-British trade in the near future at \$225,000,000 to \$280,000,000 if it is conducted on a normalized basis. This estimate is conservative and is derived

from a reasoned evaluation of export and import capabilities for specific categories of commodities. Stable trade at such a level would be a great asset to us in the years ahead.

In practice our trade is drastically restricted by the embargoes ensuing on the United Nations embargo resolution of May, 1951, and on the Battle Act. The enforcement of these embargoes is coordinated by COCOM, the mysterious Consultative Committee sitting in Paris in which the influence of Stassen's Foreign Operations Administration would appear to be paramount. In addition, as a result of the Board of Trade's stepmotherly license policy, the United Kingdom has lost to Germany, France, and Belgium Chinese orders for goods not on the embargo lists. This policy must be explained in terms of Foreign Office influence, which in turn was due to excessive fear of offending the State Department. British exports to China in 1953 were only two-thirds those of either Western Germany or Switzerland, a situation which is absurd on the face of it. British business and trade-union circles are becoming more and more impatient with COCOM enforcement of the embargoes and are asking how it is that other countries are getting in on the ground floor of Chinese industrialization. In the words of Harold Wilson, M. P., "evasion of the embargoes has become a major West European industry," and British business cannot understand why this country should be left behind in solitary virtue. The visit to Washington of the presi-

dent of the Board of Trade in the first week of July ended in another victory for the American diehards. More recently, however, some relaxation of the restrictions was negotiated. About one-third of the items on the embargo list were removed, those under partial quantitative control were reduced from ninety to twenty, and about sixty items were placed on a "watch list."

British desire to trade with China is thus another major source of friction in Anglo-American relations, and in the absence of positive remedial action this friction is bound to increase. The world we live in is not one in which new markets are to be had for the asking. British business men are not going to sit by just to please Senatorial standards of ideological purity while a market of great potential value is lost to less punctilious competitors. The embargoes would be one of the first casualties of a serious recession, and people here are already nervous lest American business men jump into the China market ahead of us in the event of a significant contraction of world trade.

BRITAIN'S economic interests with respect to China are not exhausted by the potentialities of direct trade with China. There is first the overwhelming importance of its China trade to Hongkong, which I need not review here since it was dealt with by C. P. Fitzgerald in his excellent article in *The Nation* for July 10. I should merely like to add an extract from Sir Alexander Grantham's interview with *Newsweek* (November 2, 1953): "Hongkong traders feel about the embargo much as a man feels when you give him a knife and tell him that it is in the interest of the community at large that he should cut his throat."

Second, the resurgence of German competition in foreign markets is already affecting Britain's international economic position. Japan's economic recovery has been slower off the mark than the German, and its share of the export of manufactures by ten leading trading countries, excluding the Soviet bloc, is less than half the pre-war amount. Now that the prop of United States military procurements has been withdrawn, Japan's balance-of-payments position has become extremely precarious, and in the past year its foreign-

exchange reserves have fallen by a third. It is not only our textile manufacturers who dread intensified Japanese competition in third markets. We were underbid by Germany and Japan in a traditionally British market when India recently placed a large order for locomotives with them.

The Japanese economy suffered a triple blow in 1945. The empire was destroyed; heavy industry lost its main market—namely, the imperial Japanese war machine; and nylon virtually displaced silk in Japan's chief foreign-exchange-earning outlet, the United States. Since this triple blow Japan has just not had the time to make the minimum essential adjustments. Add to this the repatriation of six million overseas Japanese and a natural increase in population of one million a year, and the situation becomes highly vulnerable, not to say explosive.

Before the war trade with China accounted for between a quarter and a third of Japan's total foreign trade. Now the volume of such trade is negligible—less according to the recorded figures than Sino-British trade—despite the Sino-Japanese agreement of 1952, which was renewed in 1953, providing for a total annual turnover of \$170,000,000. This modest target is only half the goal set by the Japanese Foreign Minister last year—10 per cent of Japan's total external trade *at current low levels*. The present volume of Japanese trade with China is so small for only one reason—the embargoes and restraints imposed by the United States. Otherwise Japan would be buying soy beans, salt, coking coal, and iron ore in quantity from China and selling it industrial, especially heavy industrial, goods in return.

The situation is thoroughly unnatural and cannot last indefinitely. Indeed, iron-fisted attempts to maintain these bans will enhance the anti-American feeling in Japan, which the H-bomb tests have gravely inflamed. (See a remarkable article by its Tokyo correspondent in the London *Times* of July 16, not the least remarkable feature of which is the attempt to explain away the Japanese reaction to the H-bomb tests as *irrational*.) In the meantime the less Japan is allowed to trade with China, the more unpleasant will become Japanese competition with British ex-

ports in Southeast Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The restoration of normal commercial relations between Japan and China is therefore an unequivocal British interest.

THIRD, Britain must consider not only itself and Hongkong but other Commonwealth countries, particularly those in Southeast Asia. India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Malaya can develop a substantial trade with China to their own, the sterling area's, and therefore Britain's advantage. Ceylon, deliberately ignoring the embargo, is conducting a flourishing business with China, and rubber interests in Malaya—which is still a colony and therefore lacks Ceylon's autonomy as a dominion—are casting envious eyes on the favorable price Ceylon receives for its exports of rubber to China. Pakistan and India have negotiated some very large barter deals with China during the last few years, and expansion of Sino-Indian trade is logically to be expected as the aftermath of the Chou-Nehru meeting and the concomitant commercial conversations.

Finally, other Asian countries seem to be following Ceylon's lead. Indonesia and Burma have concluded trade agreements with China, and there are rumors that Indonesia is going to sell rubber to China. Naturally there are conflicting forces at work in these countries. The United States did its best—or worst—to prevent the Ceylon-China rubber-ice deal but failed because it did not offer a high enough price for Ceylon rubber. Apparently, it is still trying to induce Ceylon to abandon this highly profitable agreement, under which Ceylon sells rubber above and buys rice below world-market prices. The worsening of the terms of trade against primary producers in the last year or so makes China a most desirable customer, especially at a time when dollar purchases are falling off.

One of the criteria economists use in assessing administrative measures such as rationing and price control is their tendency to work with or against market forces. This criterion also applies to embargoes and political restrictions. American policy with respect to China's foreign trade unquestionably works against the forces of the market. From this it follows, not that the policy cannot be temporarily maintained, but that it

becomes harder and harder to enforce with the passage of time and that in the event of such complications as the cessation of American military procurements in Japan, or a sustained recession in the United States, or a sharp downturn in the prices of primary products, it will probably collapse.

I WOULD add a word on cultural relations. The British Commonwealth can provide a double bridge between China and the Western world, through India and through Britain. China regards itself as a "new democracy" evolving toward socialism. It has the great advantage of not having to pay "the penalty of being first" in socialist industrialization. Its people, as the heirs of a rich and un-

broken cultural tradition, have a serene confidence and ease in political, social, and personal relations with other nationals which the Russians are still in the process of acquiring. As of the moment, they have no chip on their shoulder in communicating with foreign intellectuals. India is an Asiatic country, grappling with the same formidable problems as China, and is also a member of the Commonwealth with material and cultural ties to Britain. The Chou-Nehru meeting in Delhi and Mr. Krishna Menon's role at Geneva are symbolic of India's position as a mediator between China and the West.

Britain is a "welfare state," primarily capitalistic but with undoubted if vague socialist leanings. In the event of a

détente in the international situation, we are admirably placed both to complement and to supplement India in this respect. On the one hand, China has much to learn from us technologically, scientifically, and socially; in favorable circumstances we could, at the very least, anticipate a resumption of the flow of Chinese students to Britain and of the exchange of scientists and cultural leaders between the two countries, to our mutual advantage. On the other hand, the Chinese with their innate sense of form in thought and action have a better chance than any other nation to achieve industrialization without the soulless philistinism of the Industrial Revolution in the West. If they succeed, we shall all be their debtors.

NEWS FROM ARDEN

The U.S. Belongs in the U.N. . . by Anthony Broy

IN 1955 the United Nations will be ten years old. Under Article 109 of the Charter a proposal to call a conference on revising the Charter will automatically be placed on the agenda of the tenth General Assembly next spring.

Over the week-end of August 1 the American Assembly, a discussion group founded by President Eisenhower in 1950 when he headed Columbia University, met at Arden House, the former Harriman mansion in the Ramapo Mountains north of New York City, to discuss suggested changes in the Charter and to take a new look at the United States' stake in the United Nations. After two and a half days of spirited give-and-take behind closed doors, the blue-ribbon assembly of some sixty educators, journalists, business men, clergymen, labor leaders, and diplomats agreed on a lengthy set of findings. If these were no ringing declaration to be nailed to a church door, they contained a sharp rebuke to Senator McCarthy, to Senator Knowland and his coterie of hard-

rock isolationists, and to Congressmen who have succeeded recently in emasculating American appropriations for technical assistance to underdeveloped countries.

The most vigorously debated of all questions was the admission of Communist China to the United Nations. The delegates agreed on the principle of "universality of membership" in the U. N., but some argued that the phrase meant just what it said—that the de facto government of every nation should be seated—while others would attach a moral qualification. Only a "peace-loving state," this group held, should become a member of the U. N. The question whether the Chinese Communists were "peace-loving" was then sidestepped. In its final recommendation the assembly found that the Peking government should not now be admitted—reasons not stated—but deplored the "tendency in the United States to adopt a rigid policy of permanent opposition under all circumstances to the seating of this regime."

A number of delegates confessed to being puzzled by Ambassador Lodge's recent statement that should Red

China's application for admission be brought up in the United Nations he would veto it. These men said privately that Communist China's admission would be considered by the credentials committee of the U. N. General Assembly and hence was not subject to a veto. The final statement of the Arden House conference bore them out: "The question of what government should represent China in the United Nations is not, technically, a question of membership but of proper representation of a country already a member."

Examining the need for Charter revision in the light of the history of the past nine years the gathering noted that three major developments had taken place in world affairs since the Charter was adopted in 1945—the "cold war," the progress in nuclear weapons, and the rising nationalism in Asia and Africa. The "cold war" was attributed to aggressive Soviet policies. On the significance of nuclear weapons the delegates took their cue from a keynote speech by General Matthew B. Ridgway, who warned that undue reliance should not be placed on A-bombs or H-bombs. They then considered the morality of

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using the bombs. Some delegates thought nuclear weapons no more and no less immoral than a good many others now employed. Was saturation bombing, they asked, any less immoral than atom-bombing? The delegates agreed that in any eventuality "bomb rattling" by Americans in high places should be strictly eschewed. The net effect of a truculent policy based on the possession of atomic and hydrogen bombs, they said, might be to drive the neutral nations into a still more determined neutrality and to scare our present allies into thinking that a policy of neutrality offered them "their best chance of survival."

The rising nationalist movements in Asia and Africa occupied a good deal of the assembly's time. In corridor talk several persons expressed the view that the United States, with its "long anti-colonial tradition," should in "unequivocal and unambiguous" language place itself behind liberation movements abroad, even at the risk of alienating our British and French allies. The final statement said only: "It is urgent that we develop, in cooperation with our European friends, programs which will speed the orderly progress toward self-government of those peoples still under colonial rule."

IF THE Assembly criticized colonialism rather hesitantly, it came out with a ringing affirmation of support for the United Nations, took a slap at those who wanted the United States to withdraw from the organization, and sharply attacked those who wished to expel the Soviet Union. "We must stay in the United Nations. We must work to make it an even more effective instrument for peace with justice and freedom. We must use it and not by-pass it. We must make it, in fact as well as in pious theory, the cornerstone of United States foreign policy," the final resolution read; and continued, "With the Soviet bloc absent, there would be no hope of reducing 'cold war' tensions through the United Nations; with them present, this possibility exists."

The assembly called upon the United States to expand its own overseas aid appropriations. Several delegates strongly disapproved, if only for strategic reasons, the severe cutbacks passed by Congress. American military bases over-

seas, they said, would be of dubious value if they became "islands in a sea of discontent." The assembly also asked the United States to channel a larger proportion of its aid through the U. N. —that is, expand the work of the U. N. Technical Assistance Division. Direct American aid, it was pointed out, was being interpreted in some foreign quarters as an attempt to capture allegiances through gifts of food and clothing. Channeled through the United Nations, American aid would be seen as coming from "clean hands."

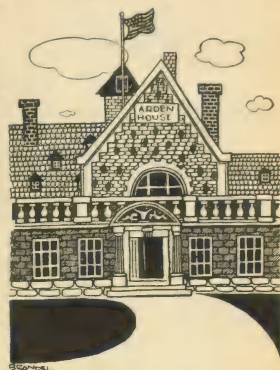
Not embodied in the final resolution but voiced earlier in the conference by a critical few was the view that the United States should stop thinking in terms of "what is good for us is good for the United Nations," should stop using the U. N. as an instrument of American foreign policy, and should work instead to remake the U. N. into a true world agency.

Early in the discussions several delegates regretted that regional pacts and bilateral negotiations were undermining the U. N.'s prestige: "Recent actions have tended to relieve the U. N. of primary responsibility, as in the case of Guatemala, and have weakened it in the process." But the final resolution on this point read: "Regional arrangements which are within the spirit and purpose of the Charter, such as NATO and the Organization of American States, are necessary and effective agencies of collective security. We regard them as an essential part of world-wide collective security. In appropriate circumstances, they should be used for carrying out United Nations decisions on a regional basis."

Outside the conference rooms and in conversation with reporters delegates talked freely about the damaging effect of McCarthyism on the prestige of the United States abroad. On the one side McCarthyism was hamstringing the ability of the State Department to negotiate treaties. On the other side our allies were becoming increasingly reluctant to sign treaties with us, knowing that these treaties would soon become tied to American domestic politics and that the Senate might refuse to ratify them, leaving the nations concerned high and dry after they had committed themselves to a definite course of action.

The original topic before the confer-

ence—Charter revision—took a back seat in the debates and in the final recommendations. On this subject the assembly broke wide open. A minority pressed for a meeting on Charter revision.



sion next year, holding that much water had passed under the bridge since 1945, that the United Nations had lost much of its effectiveness in this period, and that a serious reexamination of the Charter was in order. The majority, agreeing with Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld, who had already made it clear that he did not favor rewriting the Charter at this time, felt that the projected reexamination would open a "Pandora's box" out of which would fly such differences and confusion as would endanger the very existence of the U. N. This majority held, however, that if the U. N. General Assembly voted for a conference on the Charter the United States should not actively oppose it. It also pointed out that the Charter could be amended at any time with the approval of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly, including the permanent members of the Security Council.

Any recommendation on abolition of the veto in the Security Council was conspicuously absent from the final declaration of the assembly. Delegates freely admitted to reporters that the United States would never consent to such a change.

What the discussion in this year's American Assembly foreshadows is, of course, a great debate on the United Nations Charter and on American policy in relations to the United Nations. The subject will be very much in the news in 1955, the year of Charter revision.

DILEMMA OF THE SCIENTIST

Good Science Means Dissent . . by J. Bronowski

NEARLY nine years ago, on a warm autumn evening in 1945, I was driving over the mountains of southern Japan to the city of Nagasaki. I thought I was still in open country when all at once I realized that I was already crossing what had been the city. The shadows which flickered past me in the dusk were not rocks and trees: they were crushed buildings, the bare and skewed ribs of factories, and two crumpled gasometers.

The scale of the damage at Nagasaki drained the blood from my heart then, and does so now when I speak of it. For three miles my road lay through a desert which man had made in a second. Now, nine years later, the hydrogen bomb is ready to dwarf this scale, and to turn each mile of destruction into ten miles. And citizens and scientists stare at one another and ask, "How did we blunder into this nightmare?"

I put this first as a question of history, because the history of this is known to few people. The fission of uranium was discovered by two German scientists a year before the war. Within a few months it was reported that Germany had forbidden the export of uranium from the mines of Czechoslovakia, which it had just annexed. Scientists on the Continent, in England, and in America asked themselves whether the secret weapon on which the Germans were said to be working was an atomic bomb. If the fission of uranium could be used explosively—and this already seemed possible in 1939—it might in theory make an explosion a million times larger than hitherto. The monopoly of such an atomic bomb would give Hitler instant victory, and make him master of Europe and the world. The scientists

knew the scale of what they feared very well: they feared first desolation and then slavery. With heavy hearts they told Albert Einstein what they knew of atomic fission. Einstein had been a pacifist all his life, and he did not easily put his conscience on one side. But it seemed clear to him that no scientist was free to keep this knowledge to himself. He felt that no one could decide whether a nation should or should not use atomic bombs except the nation itself: the choice must be offered to the nation and made by those whom the nation had elected to act for it. On August 2, 1939, a month before Hitler invaded Poland, Einstein wrote to President Roosevelt to tell him that he thought an atomic bomb might be made, and he feared that the Germans were trying to make one.

THIS is how it came about that, later in the war, scientists worked together in England, Canada, and America to make the atomic bomb. They hated war no less than the layman does—no less than the soldier does; they too had wrestled with their consciences, and they had decided that their duty was to let the nation use their skill, just as it uses the skill of the soldier or the expert in camouflage. The atomic scientists believed that they were in a race against Germany whose outcome might decide the war even in its last weeks. We know now that the race was almost a walk-over. The Germans were indeed trying to make an atomic explosion, and they thought that they were ahead of the allies. But by our standards what they had done was pitiful; they had not made a pile that worked, and they believed that the fast chain-reaction of an atomic bomb was impossible. The Nazis had made fundamental science a poor relation, and put it under second-rate party men with splendid titles. And, more deeply, the Nazis had sapped the pith and power of research, the quizzical eye and the questioning mind, the urge to

find the facts for oneself. There were not enough unconventional ideas in the German atomic projects, and when the younger men did put up some, their leaders always knew better.

In short, the Germans failed; it was the Allies who tested the first atomic bomb in July of 1945. By this time Germany was defeated and Hitler was dead. The atomic scientists who had made the bomb in America were therefore shocked and distressed to hear that it was still intended to use it, against the Japanese. They wrote a round robin to President Truman in which they pleaded against this decision. This is not simply a bigger bomb, they said: it changes the very scale of war and of all power; and it should be demonstrated to the world, not on men and women, but in some desert place. However, the protest of the scientists was ignored; and Hiroshima and Nagasaki were made desert places.

There were, I know, scientists who hoped after this that the atomic bomb would make war unthinkable. There are scientists today, and soldiers and statesmen too, who hope that the hydrogen bomb will bring the nations to their senses. I am afraid that they are mistaken. Wars are neither made nor unmade by weapons; it is the other way about—the weapons grow out of the wars. And by the same token, if there is war, then the weapons are used; alas, I have no faith in making the desperate business of war sporting by forbidding the more unpleasant forms of slaughter. The Lateran Council outlawed the cross-bow in 1139 because it was inhuman, and poets and scientists foresaw the danger of the flying balloon in 1784; but war has not become more kindly for their good sense.

I am therefore out of sympathy with the cry that the scientist ought not to discover formidable sources of power, or at least should not disclose them to his frail and destructive fellow-men. As a piece of advice this is unpractical, and

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as a policy it is a makeshift. It is, in fact, humbug—a pious wish that someone else should make the world a better place for us. Under any democratic system of government the responsibility for the world is yours and mine, and we do not change the world by what we wish but by how we act. If we do not want the nations to make hydrogen bombs or plan war, then it is our business to say so to those whom we elect to act for us, and to say it until they listen. And it is not enough to appeal to one side, as the "Peace Congresses" do which try to put pressure on every government except the Soviet government. In fact, I believe that not even a totalitarian government, despite its stony face, is immune to public opinion, to the voice in the crowd, to the arguments among friends. But there is a limit to the effectiveness of public pressure in totalitarian countries, and we must recognize this.

Here we cannot evade the choice the community must make, between a bomb or no bomb, between planning for war or peace, by asking the scientists to hide the choice from us. The community of voters decides that there shall be research for war and employs the scientist to do it. Having given him that hangman's job, it must not ask him to be judge as well, to decide single-handed what is or is not good for the community to know. The scientist in this work is the servant of the nation, and he must not dictate to it, even about his own discoveries. If he does so, he betrays his trust, just as much as Dr. Klaus Fuchs did when he decided that he knew best who should share the secrets of the atomic bomb.

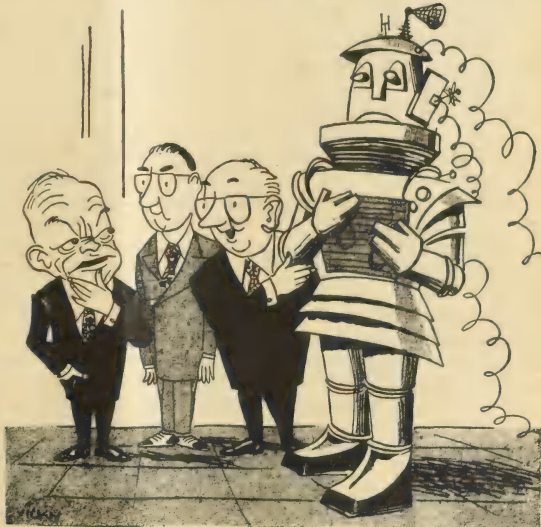
THEN what should the scientist do who abhors the miserable misuse of science to conspire death, and who wishes that he had never had a hand in computing an aiming error? I can only speak for the scientist in a free society. The scientist in a totalitarian system faces perhaps the same crisis of conscience, but if his government allows him no alternative he may indeed—who knows—act out his dissent in the sabotage of which he is often accused in public trials behind the Iron Curtain. The disaster of state intolerance, anywhere in the world, is that it saps both sides of the moral contract, the individ-

ual's as well as the state's. But the scientist in society has no right to dictate to society, and this is the heart of the matter—in return society must not dictate his life to him. He must be free to follow his conscience, as any citizen should be free, in peace or in war. Like every man and woman the scientist has a duty to himself which demands that his work shall not only be useful but conform to his sense of human fulfillment and dignity. If this prompts him to reject research for war, or atomic physics, or science itself, he must be free and able to find other work.

Above all, the dissenting scientist must be free to give his reasons and to speak his mind. This is his true responsibility in the blundering, warring world: not to impose his will on his fellows, but to help them find their own wills. We live in a time when science penetrates every public issue, from a city plan to the fall in the death rate, from a fuel crisis to cigarette smoking or margarine. If the voter leaves these issues to the specialists, democracy will sink to what it became in Athens, when a minority of educated men governed 300,000 slaves. The faith of our democracy is that at bottom every man has the ability to form a judgment on every issue; and therefore the life of

democracy hangs by his willingness to educate his judgment. For example, voters here have learned a great deal of economics and of history, but in science they and the men they elect are steeped in prejudice. I believe that nations can choose wisely, and democracy can prove its power, if scientists are willing to become teachers to them. The chemist, the biologist, the mathematician can speak at first hand of the roots and the range of modern discoveries, their possible results for good or ill, the choices that they offer. And, more profoundly, from the statistician to the secret physicist each scientist has a method to teach by which the voter will measure promise against achievement and ask if the world has any business to fall so far short of what it might be.

TODAY the man who has worked on the issues of life and death, a guided missile or the hydrogen bomb, is seldom free to speak as he would like. I think his silence, in which secrecy and tact combine, is a loss to the community. And if in time he comes to find silence natural, the habit will dry up science itself, so that at last it fails its own nation. There is no conforming or totalitarian science. The dropping of the agricultural policies of Professor



Courtesy London Daily Mirror

"Mr. President, meet the American scientist of tomorrow—no dangerous thoughts, no security risk."

Lysenko is as much evidence of this as the poverty of German atomic research during the war. You cannot make a discovery to any pattern but its own, which in the end is the personality of the men who make it. And if you want good science, if you want minds from which everyone has something to learn, then

you must put up with men as awkward and heretical as Newton was. The dilemma of militarism in science is not confined to a few men who have their livings to make, or whom a board of loyalty clears but sacks. Like every moral problem it challenges the future of the nations in a most practical way. Can

we have secrecy and an educated democracy as well? Can we have a state-guarded science in which there will still be dissent? And if we give up dissent, how long before science becomes a hocus-pocus like alchemy, which has nothing to contribute either to war or to peace?

PHILADELPHIA STORY

Velde and the First Amendment . . . by Goldie Watson

MRS. GOLDIE WATSON, for twenty-two years a teacher at the Martha Washington Public School in Philadelphia, was among twenty-six teachers recently dismissed by the Philadelphia School Board for having refused to answer questions as to their political affiliations and beliefs. When questioned by the Velde committee on January 17, Mrs. Watson had invoked the First rather than the Fifth Amendment and been cited for contempt of Congress.

On June 4 the Philadelphia School Board summoned her to appear for a hearing. The technical charge against her was incompetence. Nineteen witnesses were prepared to testify to her superb record as a teacher and civic leader; a ruling of the board prohibited their testimony. A witness who was qualified to comment on academic-freedom issues and the function of Congressional committees was barred on objection by the board's counsel that such evidence was "irrelevant."

At one point in the hearing Walter Biddle Saul, conscientious and fair-minded president of the board, temporarily turned the gavel over to J. Harris LaBram, a board member. Through what appeared to be deliberately provocative rulings LaBram silenced Mrs. Watson's attorney and thereby provoked audible protests from the large audience. In the end, the board thought it best to permit Mrs. Watson to make a statement, the text of which follows.

The board voted ten to three against her, and on June 29 she received notice of her dismissal.—EDITORS THE NATION.

I HAVEN'T prepared a statement. I didn't know that what has happened in the last five minutes would happen.

Dr. Hoyer was permitted at great length to give the reasons why he suspended me. He was permitted under cross-examination and direct testimony, by the very lawyer who sat in on my original conference and now appears as my prosecutor, to say whatever he had to say. And I think I ought to have the right, even without my counsel, to say why I appeared. I want to say why when I got before the Velde committee I invoked the First Amendment. And I want the board to hear it. I want the board to hear what the Velde committee did to me.

Since the inception of the committee

in 1938 under the chairmanship of Martin Dies, I had been of the opinion that this wasn't a legislative committee concerned with investigating and then presenting laws; rather it was an inquisitorial committee and it was violating the First Amendment to the Constitution. I invoked the First Amendment because many inequities still exist against Negro Americans, and unless we have the right to meet and to talk and to confer and to petition the government, there is no political freedom for us. There is no opportunity for us to reach the ultimate conclusion drawn by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments. This has been a confirmed opinion of mine that has been stated in many speeches.

I knew that the Supreme Court had

not decided the question. I knew that this opinion of mine was held to be legal and right by many people in the country—justices of the Supreme Court, constitutional authorities, deans of law schools, and educators on all levels. It was not just the opinion of Goldie Watson.

I also knew that this was my only way to test whether my position was right. And I knew that if the Supreme Court found I was wrong I would be fined and would spend at least one year in jail. But, as I said there that day, these rights are sacred to me and I was willing to take this risk.

But I want to talk about the Velde committee and Goldie Watson. Two weeks before the first headline in Philadelphia I received a phone call from Mr. Fuoss of the Velde committee staff, who told me that he wanted to talk to me about communism. I invited him into my home. He came and brought with him a Mr. McKillip. When they entered my home they told me they had three persons who were willing to go on the witness stand and testify that they had known me to be a Communist. I asked who they were. Naturally, they wouldn't disclose that. And then Mr. Fuoss made a speech about my ability and my record, that it was so much in the black, and how much good I had done in the community. He said they had come to see me because they were convinced I would cooperate with them.

I wanted to know, "What do you mean by cooperate?"

And he said, "That you will name other people as Communists."

I stopped them right there. I told them that I have had a rule for twenty-two and a half years that when a pupil walks to my desk he says "I" [Mrs. Watson would not permit her pupils to inform on their classmates]. I said that nothing would make me cooperate in that sense with the committee. I gave them a breakdown of what I thought about the committee and its violation of all Americans' rights and its dangers, particularly to Negro Americans. I repeated that under no circumstances would I cooperate with them.

THE interview lasted for a very long time because I tried to convince Mr. Fuoss—I suppose it was ridiculous of me—what real Americanism is. I reminded him that this committee had never investigated anything that had happened to Negro Americans, no matter what crimes were committed. I am not going to review the crimes for you. You know about the lynchings. You know about the police violence. Never has this committee gone into any community and talked about un-Americanism as it affects Negroes. Therefore to me it was not a committee really concerned with un-Americanism; it was a committee that was an inquisition; and the individual members of the committee used it to gain political prestige. If they subpoenaed me—up to this point Mr. Fuoss had assured me I would never be subpoenaed—I would rest my destiny on my background in the classroom and my civic activities. And if my career, which Mr. Fuoss told me would end, if it all ended on the horns of this dilemma, it would end.

That wasn't the end of the committee. They mailed me documents. They called me on the telephone. In one telephone conversation, you would be interested to know, gentlemen, they attacked you, and very seriously.

I explained to Mr. Fuoss in each phone call that my position had not changed. Mr. Fuoss compared me to their prize Negro woman informant, Mrs. Dorothy Funn. I have never been so praised by anybody. He said, "How different you would be if you were on our side of the fence. You are vital. You have great national prestige." And then he dangled security in my Board of Education job. I wouldn't be subpoenaed. I wouldn't lose my job. He offered pro-

motions and dangled financial security. And I reminded him of what I had said in our first interview.

Then Mr. Fuoss said to me something that I think is very significant. He said, "Mrs. Watson, the Communists in the country will be the most surprised people that you have taken this position."

And I said, "I know they will, Mr. Fuoss, because there are two sets of people in this country who know I am not a Communist—the Communists and the F. B. I." He laughed. He said, "You are right, Mrs. Watson."

Mr. Fuoss still said he was not going to give me a subpoena. But I received my subpoena on Friday night at eight o'clock and the hearings started Monday. Everybody else had theirs two weeks or a month before. I got mine finally because I wouldn't knuckle under; because I hold the Constitution very dear, not just when it is good for Goldie, not just when it is safe.

All my life I have dedicated myself to Negro children. I have attempted to convince them that this was a country in which we could have ultimate freedom. I have held the Constitution very high. How could I, how could I down in Washington demonstrate that what I believed about the First Amendment only held for me when it was safe? If Goldie was going to be fired, if she was going to go through this kind of ordeal, then she would run to the cover of the committee. I couldn't do it. And it would have been the lowest type of moral cowardice and morals for me to have permitted myself to become a stool-pigeon and an informer because I had been informed on. I wouldn't do it. I could not have returned to my classroom under those circumstances.

When I walked into that room I knew that no power, no power on God's earth, could make me become a part of something that I thought was wrong, could make me show my boys and girls that I held the Constitution in contempt. Because for me to have participated in that inquisitorial investigation would have been showing that I did not believe in the Constitution.

I talked to Dr. Hoyer on October 15, 1952. I talked to him very frankly and very honestly. And when our conference ended, Dr. Hoyer reminded me that he had been my district superinten-

dent. And I said, "May I ask you two questions?"

My first question had to do with Mr. Soken. "Who is this gentleman?" I said. Then Dr. Hoyer introduced him and said he was the board's attorney.

My second question was, "What shall I do now?"

And he said, "Nothing." First he said, "What do you mean?"

And I said, "Shall I go out and get leading citizens to testify as to my loyal record?"

And he said, "No, Mrs. Watson, you don't need to do anything. You have cooperated with me. Your answers are satisfactory." He turned to Mr. Soken and said, "I think Mrs. Watson has answered the questions." He bowed and we ended the interview.

AND so I thought when I came here today that I would get a fair hearing. I am glad you have offered me the opportunity to tell you my opinions because I have been heartsick about what is happening in Philadelphia.

I invoked the First Amendment, but I recognize very clearly the position of those people who invoked the Fifth. I know the Fifth Amendment was written into the Constitution to protect the innocent as well as the guilty. And I appreciate the position the teachers have taken. But I made up my mind that never by any act of mine would I indicate that I had ever done anything to harm America.

I have tried to make my boys and girls proud to be Negroes, because in this great city of Philadelphia I have never had the opportunity of teaching a white child. And then I made them understand that if they believed in the Constitution, if they were willing to work for democracy, one day we would walk down the streets of America as Americans first and Negroes second; we would achieve the things guaranteed to us by the first ten amendments and by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth.

And I say to you, gentlemen, that if the First Amendment no longer means anything, if my right to test this amendment is a crime, we have reached a terrible state in America. Democracy is running down the drain. And Negro Americans will be able to achieve nothing in such an atmosphere.

BOOKS

From a Writer's Notebook

BY VAN WYCK BROOKS

I HAVE always noticed," said Boileau, returning from Versailles after one of his audiences with Louis XIV, "that when the conversation did not turn on his praise the King was bored and ready to go away." Sainte-Beuve, quoting this in his essay on Madame Récamier, adds, "Every great poet when growing old is on that point a little like Louis XIV," a fact that I have verified in the presence of two poets who have at least some claim to be described as great. I have noted that their opinion of other writers, especially critics, was almost entirely determined by what these writers had said, or thought, or done with reference to *them* and that, if not vain, they were deeply egotistical and became all the more so as they advanced in life.

This ever-increasing egotism of the literary mind is a sort of occupational or vocational disease, and it springs from the fact that their own personalities are the stock in trade of writers, for their work is literally spun from the "ego and his own." Subjectivity and isolation are their governing conditions. It is natural enough that, in many cases, from overcultivation, their egos are as morbid as the liver of a Strasbourg goose.

This explains why many poets, and other writers, are never happy unless incense is perpetually swung before them, for their self-esteem grows tenderer every day; and it also explains why even the greatest cannot forgive persistently hostile reviewers. For since they and their work are virtually identical, they feel that attacks on their writing are attacks on themselves. To what a sorry pass of low spirits and ill health reviewers have been known to bring

writers of genius, even to the point of killing them, as Shelley said of Keats—sometimes because their work is their only compensation for a general sense of ineptitude and failure in life.

In one of his essays Paul Valéry says of Edgar Allan Poe, "This great man would today be completely forgotten had not Baudelaire introduced him into European literature." What an odd statement! Yet many have taken for true this illustration of French provincialism. In the first place, Baudelaire did not introduce Poe into European literature, for the Russians were on the ground before him. They were publishing Poe in Russia in the late eighteen-thirties. Moreover, in this country, however misprized, Poe was always famous, and he would have been preserved for the world by his countrymen alone. From the time of Rufus Griswold down, through Woodberry and through Stedman, Poe has been continually reedited and kept before the public.

The critic Montgomery Schuyler said that *except in architecture* American humor had never found full expression, but he might have added that it had found a fairly full expression in writings *about* American architecture. Schuyler himself referred to certain "disorderly" American modes that called for the intervention of an architectural police, and the architect Louis Sullivan spoke of the "Tubercular" and "Cataleptic" fads, which might have been "President Grant" or "Admiral Dewey." Two California crazes were signalized by Bret Harte as the "Union Pacific Renaissance" and the "Comstock Lode" manner, and Ambrose Bierce, in "Can Such Things Be?" described as follows a certain house that was an example of the "Early Comatosé order": "It appeared to have been designed by an architect who shrank from publicity and, although unable to conceal his work, did

what he honestly could to insure it against a second look." All these pleasantries recognize that the word "Victorian" is out of place in connection with wooden buildings of a type that Queen Victoria's realm never knew, while they disparage the innumerable fantastic inventions that have served in this country in lieu of a style. What they all seem to say is: we are waiting for the real thing and we will accept no makeshifts in the meantime.

Sherwood Anderson always said that Gertrude Stein made words "fresh," while Leo Stein said that for him words never grew stale, adding, "Words competently used seem to me as effective as ever." The feeling of Sherwood Anderson, a good writer, was entirely sincere; but would he have felt this so strongly if he had not been an advertising man who had spent much of his life in a journalistic world? The prevalence of journalism in the twentieth century, especially with Americans, so many of whom have also been advertising writers accustomed to the conscious or half-conscious debasing of words, largely accounts for the vogue of Gertrude Stein.

How confidently English writers count on fame! Cunningham Graham, for instance, writing of W. H. Hudson, spoke of his place in literature as "fixed as securely as Betelgeuse in the firmament." He called "Far Away and Long Ago" "a classic as imperishable" as the stories that Boccaccio penned for mankind's delight, and he could use these words in a country in which literary men arrive at an "assured status" with the age of eighty. For so I read in a trustworthy English review, which also informs me that three books on Norman Douglas were published within a year of this writer's death. In England what centenary of an author goes unnoticed? There statues of authors are erected in towns where they have lived, there plaques are affixed to their houses, there plays are written and acted about them, and memorial editions, ten volumes at a time, are published in "Penguins" ten years after their death.

In this country the hungry generations tread them down, and no writer of any kind is able to count on a public that will remain loyal for ten or even

VAN WYCK BROOKS is the author of the five-volume work "Makers and Finders—a History of the Writer in America." Selections from his unpublished Notebook have appeared in several previous issues of The Nation.

for two years. In literature we have few or no permanent titles; there is no such thing with us as "winning one's spurs." This is because the American mind, unlike the English, is not formed by books but, as Carl Sandburg once said to me, waving a goodbye from the platform of a train, "by newspapers and the Bible." But is this something that critics can take lying down? Is it not in their interest, and that of authors acting with them, to create in this country a memory and a fund of esteem?

★

Several literary types have vanished from the world under the stresses and strains of the world-war epoch—the bookman, for instance, and the men of letters, rightly so called, types that existed everywhere fifty years ago. I do not mean the parlor dispenser of "art appreciation" who was really a sort of parody of the artist as critic, but the superior type that was represented in England by Saintsbury and Andrew Lang and with us by Huxley, for instance, and John Jay Chapman. These were the men, ubiquitous once, who followed the by-paths of literature and art and communicated a taste for letters as a mode of pure enjoyment, and like the old Trelawney type of literary adventurer they have disappeared with the pressure of modern living.

So also the by-paths they followed have been left untrodden. Life has become too difficult for these types to survive, though one still finds them occasionally in Europe as one finds tinkers on Irish roads who recall the days of "Lavengro" and "The Romany Rye."

Medical Trail-Blazers

WILLIAM H. WELCH AND THE RISE OF MODERN MEDICINE.

By Donald Fleming. Little, Brown and Company. \$3.

DOCTOR DAN. By Helen Buckler. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. \$5.

By Bennett Epstein

AMERICANS have always been devoutly concerned about their health. In an earlier day they flocked to medicine shows and later fell with equal enthusiasm for the lure of patent-medicine advertisements. Yet the name of

So one sees on Dublin streets or even London streets the *Yellow Book* dandy and the threadbare author who carry the mind back to Max Beerbohm and the novels of George Gissing. But in general these characters are as lost and forgotten, in literature and life, as the days of the "Household Poets" or the days when Thackeray wrote novels "in the gentlemanly interest." It is just as Huxley said, in the early twenties, before he died, "Seven devils of war and woe . . . and hatred, murder, and rapine have driven forth the gentle arts from the House of Life."

The literary temperature is too inclement for these types now—that is to say, the prevailing spirit of the age—for, as Taine pointed out, according to the temperature, so is the selection that takes place among the species of talent. Some species prove abortive that would have thrived in a warmer air and that may thrive again at some time in the future: they are extinguished or fail to develop when the customs of the moment and the public mind repress them or close the outlets which they require. William James in one of his essays followed a cognate line of thought when he spoke of the kinds of genius that are at odds with their surroundings, that are condemned to be ineffective because "some previous genius of a different strain has warped the community away" from them. Putting together the types of genius that have molded the mind of our time with the spiritual climate that a world-war epoch has created, one can understand why these types have been pushed to the wall.

Dr. William H. Welch, who only a few decades ago raised the status of medical training in America from the lowest in the world to the highest, is unknown to the average layman. And Dr. Daniel Hale Williams, a Negro who was acclaimed even into this century as a leading surgeon and who initiated many practices of modern surgery, became a forgotten man in his own lifetime.

As late as 1872, when William Welch entered the College of Physicians and Surgeons, American schools had no requirements for admission and no laboratory, hospital, or clinical facilities.

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The NATION

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A few schools were connected, nominally, with universities, but the majority were proprietary schools, operated for personal profit. Diplomas were granted, often bought, after a few months of listening to lectures.

After receiving his degree Welch went to Germany and worked in the research laboratories of the best-known medical scientists. He came back with an ideal of medical training based on clinical research, high educational prerequisites, and facilities for hospital experience. The only place in America where he saw a chance to realize this ideal was at the new Johns Hopkins University, which was planning to establish a hospital and medical school. Welch was appointed professor of pathology and became the moving force in setting high scientific standards for the hospital and school. He grew to be an acknowledged leader in developing public-health service. As chairman of the advisory board he guided the program and methods of the new Rockefeller Institute. He laid out fields of activity for large, privately endowed projects like the Carnegie Institute, as well as for the National Research Council and virtually every medical organization of his day.

IN CONTRAST to Mr. Fleming's severely objective account, in which no clear picture of Welch the man emerges, Miss Buckler's story of Dr. Dan reads like a novel. With affection and a sense of human drama she depicts his early struggles to gain a livelihood, his rise to the status of foremost surgeon of his time, his efforts on behalf of his people, his betrayal by members of his own race, his last tragic years of physical helplessness and mental decline, and his burial in an unmarked grave.

Fair-skinned and red-haired, Daniel Hale Williams might have passed as a white man. He chose, however, to identify himself always as a Negro.

Although he came of a moderately well-to-do and highly respected family, his mother abandoned him, at the age of twelve, to making his own living. First a barber's assistant and bass fiddler at church entertainments, he later made a start at studying law and then became, by chance, an apprentice to a busy and competent doctor in Janesville, Wisconsin. So his life-work was determined.

At the age of twenty-four he started

his formal training at the Chicago Medical College, one of the better medical schools of the time. Three years later he began practice in Chicago. Some daring and successful operations obtained for him a constantly growing clientèle. Through recommendations from his former white teachers he received appointments as staff surgeon in various institutions and as a member of the Illinois Board of Health.

But always he was preoccupied with the lack of opportunities for Negroes in the medical profession and the complete absence of training facilities for Negro nurses. His increasing fame and popularity with both Negro and white colleagues and patients enabled him to enlist wide support for the first interracial hospital. In 1891 the Provident Hospital and Training School opened its doors. Some of the foremost white doctors of Chicago became consultant physicians. Dr. Dan set high standards for his mixed staff, for the training of nurses, and for antiseptic preparation, rarely practiced up to that time.

Two years later he performed an operation which established his place in the medical profession. A man was brought in who had been stabbed in the heart. The prevailing theory would have considered the case hopeless, but Dr. Dan performed successfully the first authenticated operation on the human heart. The description of this operation, before an audience of doctors watching each stage in tense amazement, is as exciting as the wildest chapter in an adventure story.

The widespread fame he thus gained led to his appointment, against strong political opposition, as head of the Freedmen's Hospital for Negroes, a government institution in Washington affiliated with Howard University. Here he instituted major reforms in the care of patients and also in the supervision of interns and nurses and introduced modern antiseptics. Within a year a shockingly high mortality rate dropped to an unprecedented low.

Dr. Dan's rigid standards aroused bitter enmity among the more lax and the ousted staff members. A groundfire of intrigue and the betrayal of Dr. Dan by his Negro first assistant and intimate friend led, with the change in 1896 to a Republican Administration, to a Congressional investigation of Dr. Dan's

position. At his hearing he was able to refute all the false charges made against him, but although apparently cleared he was sickened to the point of resigning. Six months later the report of the committee, influenced by political and personal plotting, confirmed most of the hostile accusations.

Still connected with Provident Hospital, Dr. Dan spent the next years in performing some history-making operations, working unceasingly for the establishment of medical schools for Negroes in the South, and fighting segregation wherever he encountered it. He tried to induce Booker T. Washington to include medical training at Tuskegee and to urge the appointment of a qualified head for the Freedmen's Hospital, but Washington was evasive and finally hostile.

The deepest stab came from the machinations of Dr. George Hall, a man of his own race, whose everlasting enmity he had incurred years before by judging him inadequately trained to join the Provident staff. By spreading innuendoes against Dr. Dan's professional achievements and worming his way into favor with Booker Washington, he made Dr. Dan's position untenable. In 1926 Dr. Dan resigned from the staff of Provident Hospital and retired to his country home in Michigan.

His death in 1931 evoked tributes in white and colored newspapers, but many people thought he had died years before. No tombstone marked his grave, and when three years later a greater Provident Hospital was erected, the picture of his arch enemy, Dr. Hall, was hung in the lobby and no memento of Dr. Dan was anywhere displayed.

There are some interesting parallels between the careers of Dr. Dan and Dr. Welch. The two men were almost exact contemporaries. They had similarly high and revolutionary standards for their profession. Dr. Dan's reforms at Freedmen's Hospital began the same year that the Johns Hopkins Medical School opened in Baltimore, fifty miles away. Yet their careers do not appear to have impinged at any time. And in the biography of neither is the name of his fellow-pioneer even mentioned.

BENNETT EPSTEIN, formerly a regular reviewer for a Chicago newspaper, now does free-lance writing.

The Other Side

EYEWITNESS IN INDO-CHINA. By Joseph Starobin. Cameron and Kahn. \$2.50, cloth; \$1, paper.

By O. Edmund Clubb

IT is not fashionable these days to quote pro-Communist works. Indeed, the mere reading of them has its perils. And here is a book by a former foreign editor of the *New Masses*, written in a partisan vein, openly in favor of the Vietminh. Mr. Starobin spent about a month in Vietminh company in early 1953—the first American, he notes, to visit them in seven years—and writes as an eyewitness.

Some of this book is a traveler's tale of the trip from Peking to Vietminh country and return. Space is given to brief historical accounts of both the Vietminh and the Cambodian and Laotian "liberation movements." But Mr. Starobin also recounts in some detail his observations of the revolutionaries' daily existence in the hill country, and treats of particular subjects like the Vietminh agrarian policy.

He includes, besides, a record of various interviews with Vietminh chief Ho Chi-minh; General Vo Nguyen Giap; Pham Van Dong, who headed the Vietminh delegation at Geneva; and personalities of the rebel National Assembly. He goes on to report contacts he had with the common people who do the working, and the fighting, on the Vietminh side. He tells anecdotes regarding their demeanor, actions, comments, and their responses to his questions. He describes civilian and military discipline, the practice of self-criticism, and the social position of the intellectuals.

It comes to mind that this pattern has been met before. Ho Chi-minh's concept of protracted war was formulated by Mao Tse-tung in a lecture series of 1938. Vo Nguyen Giap's characterization of guerrilla warfare and analysis of the French military dilemma have their counterparts in Chinese Communist thought. The Vietminh political set-up, comprising a nominally coalition gov-

ernment dominated by the Communist Lao Dong, is similar to that found in China. And the political approach to the people bears striking resemblances to procedures employed by the Communists led by Mao Tse-tung.

Information in war, said Clausewitz, is "the foundation of all our plans and actions." Mr. Starobin's present account, judged by the known facts of the Chinese revolution, probably reflects with general accuracy the Vietminh picture as it is being presented by Ho Chi-minh's followers to the Vietnam people. The Vietminh portrayal is being given wider currency still—in other parts of Asia,

and even in France. The Communist interpretation of events in Indo-China will affect many people, whether we like it or not. For the author raises a number of pressing speculative questions. They are presumably in the Communists' minds; some of them urgently confront non-Communists as well. The chief of these is whether developments in Indo-China will lead to peace or to a war involving the United States, and what the effect of those developments will be on France. The book "Eyewitness in Indo-China" offers information that, properly weighed and carefully collated with data already available, will prove of significance for those who may desire to understand more fully the motive forces of the Vietminh.

TRAGIC POSITION OF CHURCHES TODAY

(Beyond selling space for publication of the accompanying material, *The Nation* is not to be held responsible for statements contained in the material)

Jehovah, champion of "the poor and needy"—Baal, the god of wealth, whose devotees appealed to the Baal cult as vindicating their legal hold on the plain people.—"Baal hath devoured the labor of our fathers from our youth, their flocks and their herds, their sons and their daughters" (Jeremiah 3: 24; cf. Jer. 11: 13). "The name Baal became the very signature of heathenism": Prof. George F. Moore, of Harvard Divinity, in *Commentary on Judges*, (195). Heathen religion was identified in antiquity with political tyranny, cult prostitution, and land monopoly. "Woe until those that add house to house, and field to field" (Isaiah 5: 8).

Modern scientific Biblical scholarship shows that the religion of One God was not impressed abruptly upon the Hebrew people at a flaming mountain in the wilderness of Arabia. Not a single one of the scholars responsible for the new Revised Bible of 1952 looks to Mount Sinai as the source of Ethical Monotheism. They do not accept the Pentateuch as a trustworthy introduction to the Hebrew history that took place in Palestine. But on the contrary, scientific Biblical interpretation shows that the resounding struggle against "other gods" was a long, desperate, and bloody fight against economic enslavement of the Hebrew peasant class under the Hebrew wealthy class. That is how the religion of One God was gradually and painfully brought forth under the leadership of the Hebrew prophets in Palestine itself.

What is it, then that has obscured the vivid human meaning of Hebrew history and covered up the significance of the Bible as a reflection of that history? Who or what is responsible for enthroning in our Church Pattern the naively blasphemous idea that the Bible stands for the "real" God, as opposed to heathen gods that are "unreal"? Who or what has defaced the ancient, dramatic Story of God, and substituted for it the complacent Respectabilities of modern ecclesiasticism?—A bulletin on the subject can be obtained by sending a three-cent stamp as below. (Requests without stamp will bring no result).—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

O. EDMUND CLUBB, a retired American foreign-service officer, spent twenty years in various Far Eastern posts.

August 14, 1954

Theater

Harold Clurman

THOUGH there was nothing on the London stage during my brief visit to England (July 2 to July 23) to cause any strong reaction of either pleasure or distress, I constantly enjoyed going to the theater there.

The London theater is an easy place. The audiences are relaxed and attentive, as well as cordially appreciative of the slightest favors. The theater is not a challenge to an English audience, nor is a poor play considered a swindle. The audience comes to the theater satisfied that it will have an agreeable time. It hardly expects the performance to shatter, convulse, inspire, or rape it. Apart from certain first-nighters in the gallery, the English audience does not become rude when it fails to be entertained.

The theater in England is regarded in the main as a gentle art. Its economic life is difficult, but not disastrously so. Its artists are concerned about it, but an atmosphere of comparative repose and security still obtains.

Most systematic observers of the theater in London felt severely let down by the season of 1953-54. Hardly any of the new plays had made a marked impression on them. The level of acting, they averred, had remained high, but the material presented had been lamentably feeble. Exceptions were made for the new Christopher Fry play, "The Dark Is Light Enough"—there was some uncertainty about this too—and interesting themes were found in the semi-political drama of "The Prisoner" and "Marching Song." Apart from "The Boy Friend," a fondly satirical evocation of American musicals of the twenties, and a little revue, "Intimacy at 8:30," the best all-round show was "The Teahouse of the August Moon," a nice American gift tendered through the acting offices of Eli Wallach's warm charm.

I shall reserve an account of my reaction to the Fry play for the occasion of its New York production. Since for the present the London theater's chief claim to distinction, according to its own critics, lies in the excellence of the acting, I shall confine my remarks to a consideration of that subject.

A steady competence is the mark of English acting today. The actors not only speak well and comport themselves with an assurance which results from continuous practice on the stage but show a craftsmanlike dedication that produces a most gratifying effect. Even in the presence of an only moderately talented player we are made to feel that acting is an art and the actor a person to be respected as an artist.

In this regard English acting is superior to our own, which is often marred by a certain strain, as if the actor were not sure of his preparation for the stage or of his ability to cope with the competition not alone of other actors but of other interests and entertainments which might appeal to the public more than his own meager efforts. In other words, the English actor profits by a tradition that justifies him in taking his work seriously and allows him confidently to expect to make normal progress in what may be reasonably assumed to be a permanent institution. The American actor is haunted by a fear that he is perhaps only a vagrant and his career perilously prone to accident.

The lack of undue tension in the English actor, while it helps make him professionally efficient, often tends to render him artistically tame. But before pursuing this theme any farther, let us turn back for a moment to the subject of the English drama, the stuff with which the English actor has to work.

I HAVE heard it said by Englishmen—I am in no position to advance any certain judgment on this—that the failure to produce a new group of playwrights as vigorous as that of the generation between 1895 and 1929 is due to the historically understandable tiredness and quasi-depletion of the English people today. The English are not energized by an expansive prosperity or optimistic enough to rebel against the complacency of a firmly entrenched culture. The present social situation demands an earnestly cautious conservatism because the possibilities of disaster to a hard-tested people are overwhelming.

The English are a practical race and not given either to fits of metaphysical depression or to hysteria: they will produce no "pessimistic" drama—which often serves as a safety valve for volatile or philosophically expressive people in unhappy circumstances. What results, therefore, is a rather unadventurous type of drama reflecting bygone modes. The plays now being written—the popular and very well acted "A Day by the Sea" by N. C. Hunter may be taken as an example—are intelligent, literate, in every way decent, but essentially devoid of any true flair or fresh perception. They reflect a society sensibly making the best of a confused and trying time, unwilling to take chances at a moment when just honest living may be all the boon one has a right to expect.

Something of this may be deciphered in the general quality of the acting. There is certainly a far greater number of gifted and well-trained actors between the ages of forty and fifty than here, and it is a privilege to see them. Yet one comes away from their performances with the realization that a job has been done with fine aplomb but without a truly quickened sense of life. Passion is usually absent, and spurts of deeply personal feeling, lively sensibility, or imagination are even more rare than on our stage. These are, of course, uncommon at all times, but one does not often perceive any attempt by an English actor to force the soul a bit, to reach out beyond the already seen, the accepted, the frequently and safely admired. The serious and gifted young American actor today sometimes tries too hard and often mistakes what is merely strenuous for profound emotion. The English actor hardly ever tries for anything more than *accomplishment*. His sights are set on smooth technique, acting for its own sake. Life is used rather than made. Theater is not fashioned from reality but from theater itself. Reality—and realism—is arrived at artificially. This is impressive as discipline; it is not fulfilling as creation.

Where there is anarchy, the organization furnished by an "academy" is advantageous. But academicism—even of sound caliber—may end as a confining force by drawing too sharp a limit on growth. I began to suspect on my recent visit to London that the English actor and his director—who appears to serve

the actor with polite dispatch without offering sufficient leadership—need to be surprised, shocked, or blasted into new discoveries of themselves as persons and of the world as greater than the world contained within the traditional theater.

Record Notes

BY ROBERT E. GARIS

Bach: Christmas Oratorio; Weber, Fischer, Marten, Gunther with orchestra and choir of the Detmold Academy of Music under Thomas (London-L'Oiseau Lyre); good performance.

Trio Sonata in G Major for flute, violin, and harpsichord; Sonata in E Minor for flute and harpsichord; Sonata in G Major for violin and harpsichord; Trio in D Minor for flute, oboe, and harpsichord; The Collegium Pro Arte (London-L'Oiseau-Lyre); uninteresting music in routine performances.

Beethoven: Concerto No. 5 for piano and orchestra ("Emperor"); Backhaus with Vienna Philharmonic under Krauss (London); except for a rather wooden slow movement, a fine performance; string sound very dry.

Sonatas in C Minor and G Major, Op. 30, Nos. 2 & 3; Casadesus and Francescatti (Columbia); efficient in the fast movements, inflated in the slow.

Symphony No. 6 ("Pastoral"); Kleiber with Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam (London); excessively placid performance with beautiful orchestral playing.

Borodin: Polovtsian Dances from "Prince Igor"; In the Steppes of Central Asia; Mitropoulos with New York Philharmonic (Columbia); effective performances. (With Ippolitov-Ivanov's "Caucasian Sketches.")

Brahms: Alto Rhapsody; Ferrier with London Symphony Orchestra under Krauss (London); solemnly opulent singing which may seem right to admirers of the music. (With four Brahms songs.)

Concerto No. 1 for piano and orchestra; Backhaus with Vienna Philharmonic under Böhm (London); Curzon with Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam under van Beinum (London); Serkin with Cleveland Orchestra under Szell (Columbia); Backhaus's performance placidly correct; Curzon's very fine

and well recorded except for slightly dry string tone; Serkin's assertive and violent, the piano sound glassy and the orchestral sound reverberant.

Quintet for clarinet and strings, Op. 115; Boskovsky with members of the Vienna Octet (London); refined performance, occasionally sugary.

Trio No. 1 in B Major, Op. 8; Stern, Casals, Hess (Columbia); Trio di Trieste (London); the Trieste performance fine, the Casals much more powerful and equally sensitive.

Hindemith: Symphony, "Mathis der Maler"; Ormandy with Philadelphia Orchestra (Columbia); acceptably luxurious performance; recording reverberant. (With Concert Music for strings and brass, Op. 50, a heavy piece of Hindemith rhetoric.)

Mozart: Concerto No. 1 for flute and orchestra, K. 313; Barwahser with Vienna Symphony under Pritchard (Epic); Glass with South German Chamber Orchestra under Reinhardt (Telefunken); Concerto No. 2 for flute and orchestra, K. 314; Barwahser with Vienna Symphony under Pritchard (Epic); Barwahser less steady technically and musically than Glass and his playing is badly over-recorded.

Concerto for flute, harp and orchestra, K. 299; Glass and Stein with South German Chamber Orchestra under Reinhardt (Telefunken); good performance.

Schumann: Concerto for cello and orchestra; Gendron with L'Orchestre de la Suisse Romande under Ansermet (London); fine performance. (With Tchaikovsky's Variations on a Rococo Theme, Op. 33.)

Symphony No. 2; Szell with Cleveland Orchestra (Columbia); tense performance, dry, shrill recording.

Fünf Stücke im Volkston for cello and piano; Casals and Mannes (Columbia); superb performances of engaging music.

Trio No. 1 in D Minor; Op. 63; Schneider, Casals, Horszowski (Columbia); superb performance.

Wagner: "Lohengrin"; Steber, Varnay, Windgassen with Bayreuth Festival Chorus and Orchestra under Keilberth (London); Steber superb, Varnay and Windgassen poor, ensemble excellent.

B. H. HAGGIN is on vacation. His regular column will appear next week.

Letters

(Continued from inside front cover)

that is typical of current proposals which penetrate "no deeper than the superficial symptoms." Mr. Barron's use of the phrase, "can be combated swiftly and economically," indicates that he has relied on a news story based on an article, *Activity for all Children*, which appeared in the April *Journal* of the association, rather than the article itself. The article dealt only in part with the problem of delinquency. It was chiefly concerned with the evidence that American children are getting insufficient exercise for normal growth and development. In the context of the article this key sentence takes on quite a different meaning from that the news story gave it: "The Association maintains that the best and most economical way to counteract the demoralizing and debilitating forces at work today on the children and youth is to provide a rich and varied program of physical education and recreation for all the children in our schools, so that each within the limits of his native endowment can grow into a physically vigorous and emotionally balanced adult with many skills and hobbies for his leisure."

The official spokesman of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, as well as a majority of its 20,000 members, are fully aware that a social phenomenon like delinquency is as complex as the society in which it appears.

CARL A. TROESTER, JR.
Executive Secretary, American
Association for Health, Physical
Education, and Recreation.

Washington, D. C.

Author's Rejoinder

Dear Sirs: Mr. Troester's remarks do not really meet my criticism. In my opinion the "key sentence" which he quotes from *Activity for all Children* clearly indicates that the association, despite its important role and contribution, advocates a panacea on a superficial level for delinquency as well as for the other complex problems of children and youth in American society.

London MILTON L. BARRON

Solved at One Swoop

Dear Sirs: I have a simple suggestion to settle the commotion in the South arising from the recent Supreme Court decision abolishing segregation in schools: Let teachers and pupils wear black glasses in the school, so they can't tell differences in color. This might also be done outside school, thus solving at one swoop the whole color problem.

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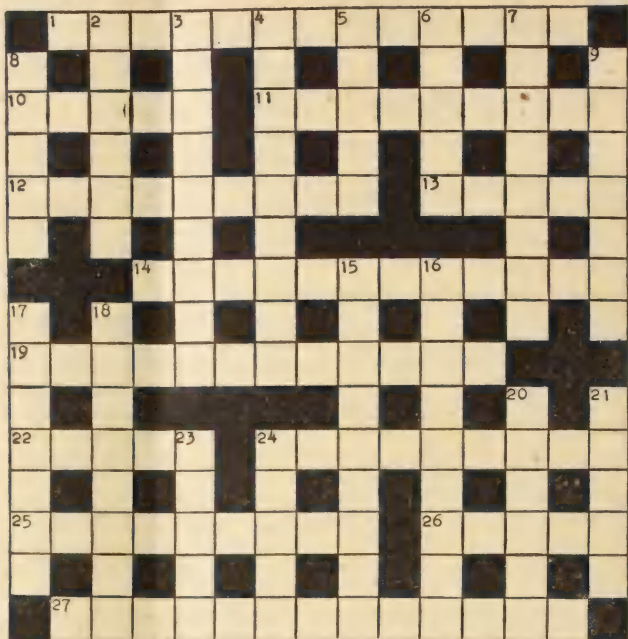
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Crossword Puzzle No. 580

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1, 20 down, 25 across. Why sanitation is turned into a saint? (11, 2, 4, 2, 9)
10 Proving soup is most relative. (5)
11 See 4 down.
12 Arab run-aways? (9)
13 The clear pale liquid of the ebbing Rumanian river? (5)
14 And these might have been Rumanian at one time. (12)
19 What they do to get diamond experts in Brooklyn? (They should be good at ducking blows!) (5-7)
22 You run away with it in construction. (1, 4)
24 They use a rather low expression of humor, which is partly suppressed. (9)
25 See 1 across.
26 Fall advertisement for the series. (5)
27 Do come in and lay down inside! (13)
7 Doctoral, yet not quite full-fledged? (8)
8 "Home, Sweet Home" is not exactly a sea-chanty! (5)
9 William Bryant spoke of life's bright one. (7)
15 They don't imply conservatives can't be wrong! (9)
16 Slightly longer than night's candles, according to Romeo. (6, 3)
17 One who tries to notice? (7)
18 Usually seen with a kit, when complete. (8)
20 See 1 across.
21 A singular form of 6. (5)
23 You might find it on a West Indian tribe. (5)
24 Piute way of causing travelers trouble. (3-2)

• • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 579

ACROSS:—9 CAMPBELL; 10 MISUSE; 11 GLOTTIS; 12 PORTEND; 15 GATE-LEGS; 17 PINE-SPUN; 20 RAZORS; 22 WARPATH; 24 UPRaise; 26 QUINCE; 27 PROMOTER; 28 PASSING FAIR.

DOWN:—2 REPUTABLE; 3 VEERING; 4 CULL; 5 TIME OUT; 6 UPSET; 7 TABLES; 8, 14 and 18 AS SNUG AS A BUG IN A RUG; 13 and 1 AGENT PROVOCATEUR; 16 LAZZARONI; 19 PUTTERS; 20 REPROOF; 21 RUSHES; 23 PANDA; 25 SPAN.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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Mendes-France Europe's 'Last Reserve'?

by Alexander Werth

The Decision-Makers

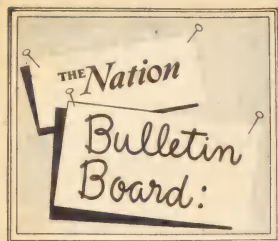
Can You Name Them?

by Floyd Hunter

BOOK REVIEWS

Africa: Hope and Danger *by Melville J. Herskovits*

Ira Wolfert on Ben Hecht



HERE'S A cheering note for liberals: in his *Nation* article, *Daughters of Vigilantism* (January 9, 1954), Ralph S. O'Leary touched on the mushrooming of crackpot political groups and the danger of their development into a major political force. This week William G. Carleton (page 150) presents his survey of the "super-patriotic" organizations in the Southwest and his estimate that their prestige is now on the decline. He also dispels, happily, some widely held misconceptions about the state of politics in Texas.

INDIA'S KRISHNA MENON rarely grants personal interviews, but was willing to be interviewed by Sam A. Jaffe exclusively for *The Nation*. The story will appear in next week's issue. Ben Shahn, the distinguished artist, has drawn a portrait of Menon for our cover.

ALLEN SEAGER, author of "Amos Berry," suggests that his forthcoming study of American business men as they appear in such novels as "Executive Suite" be called "Our Contemporary Rubber Bread." The editors have taken the title under advisement: but whatever it is called, Seager's article is sure to be stimulating reading.

IN TRIAL BY VIOLENCE, which was printed in *The Nation* of July 3, Fredric G. Wertham, the psychiatrist, told the story of his part in the trial of Paul H. Pfeffer for the murder of Edward Bates. Wertham testified that in his judgment Pfeffer did not murder Bates; that a "confession" introduced by the prosecution was forced. His testimony, casting doubt on the validity of the confession, is credited with saving Pfeffer from the electric chair. Instead, the twenty-two-year-old youth received a twenty-year prison sentence. Subsequently another man confessed to the crime, and it must be a great source of gratification to Wertham that Pfeffer was released from jail last week. The perception of another man occupied with the case is also worth noting. Fred Cook, a veteran rewrite man on the New York *World-Telegram*, was the first to pinpoint the inconsistencies in Pfeffer's alleged "confession." A rewrite man seldom gets a chance to help solve a

murder case; but Cook is one who used his brains and did.

SEVERAL READERS have asked for the source of the statement that Jacques Duclos, the French Communist leader, referred to Pierre Mendès-France as "that dirty Jew." The statement appeared in *Life*, July 19, 1954, page 85.

WE'LL HAVE SOME important—and good—news on our book club, *The Nation's* Choice, for you in a week or two.

CONTRIBUTING EDITOR Bruce Catton, author of the Pulitzer prize-winner "A Stillness at Appomattox," has just been appointed editor of a new journal to be published quarterly by the Society of American Historians, at 26 Lilac Lane, Princeton, New Jersey. The magazine will be bound in hard covers, run to 120 pages, and cost \$10 a year. No advertising—all solid history.

HAROLD WARD, public-information officer of the United Mine Workers, says we could not have got better newspapermen to do the survey on the depression in the coal industry—Sick Coal and Hungry Men—which appeared August 7. He emphasizes the bolstering effect of the

U. M. W. Welfare Fund on the distressed communities: "I am sure you are aware of the enormous financial lift that results from payment of \$100 monthly pensions to miners over sixty years of age in a community where coal is predominant. Last year there were more than 50,000 retired coal miners receiving the pension. Over the nation, this amounted to almost \$60,000,000."

THE SUDDEN DEATH of Vito Marcantonio this month recalled to some of our staff the time when *The Nation* and Marcantonio's law firm occupied the same floor at 20 Vesey Street. They remember the fiery, ex-Congressman as an amiable neighbor—if one with whom they had sharp political differences. However, despite the differences, their reaction now is much the same as that expressed by three New York Congressmen. Representative Multer said a person might differ with Marcantonio's views but still would have to respect him; Emmanuel Celler said Marcantonio "always fought hard and fair for what he thought was fair"; and Arthur G. Klein said he was proud to call Marcantonio a friend; he added that there were other members of Congress who liked him although "perhaps not everyone will admit it."

MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

The Brothers Dulles

Dear Sirs: In view of the recent demise of Guatemalan democracy, it might be well to point out that the Brothers Dulles are not the first partners of the New York law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell to have achieved some satisfaction from a successfully engineered Latin American revolution. Take the case of William Nelson Cromwell, who played such a prominent part in the liberation of Panama from Colombia at the turn of the century. As legal counsel for the French canal company, then trying to convince Congress of the superior merits of a Panama over a Nicaragua canal, Cromwell spared nothing. A \$60,000 contribution to the Republican campaign fund he charged up as a "necessary expense" to his French clients, to whom he later submitted a bill for \$800,000 for services rendered. While J. P. Morgan provided financial assistance to the chief French agent, Bunau Varilla, Cromwell encouraged Panamanian secessionists to believe that they might expect as much as \$6,000,000 from Theodore Roosevelt's "secret fund." Finally, the hired Colombian revolutionaries, aided and abetted by the United States navy, brought off the revolution which had been hatched in Room 1162 of the Waldorf-Astoria.

The Guatemalan episode has nothing on this. Nor was the lesson lost here in London, where *Punch* celebrated the Fourth of July with a cartoon portraying the Statue of Liberty holding a bunch of bananas with a United Fruit Company label. The Spanish caption read: *Statua de Liberación*.

Even in his own time such actions made Cromwell, in the words of Senator Charles S. Thomas of Colorado, "the arch-plotter of his time, the manipulator of legislation, the adviser of home and foreign ministers, the designer of successful revolutions, the master of intrigue, the betrayer of his country's honor among the nations." Shortly thereafter Woodrow Wilson, once president of the Princeton where the Brothers Dulles received their "education" in pietism, patriotism, and political economy, moved to the White House. The change in residence did nothing to alter his professorial manner. He was "determined to teach the Mexicans to elect good presidents," and the sainted Woodrow, who was elected President so that he might teach the vested interests to behave decently, ended up by being responsible for more United States armed interventions in Latin American affairs than all his predecessors combined.

Perhaps, some day, Americans will
(Continued on page 160)

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Edwards Off the Air

We find it hard to believe that the A. F. of L. dropped its forthright news commentator, Frank Edwards, solely for the reasons given by President Meany. His chief explanation is that Mr. Edwards mingled opinion and news without saying which was which and weighted his programs on the side of labor and the A. F. of L. The first point is unconvincing; the second astonishing. Edwards's broadcasts were so plainly interpretative in tone and content that no one could have possibly been misled into thinking they were anything else. He was a news analyst, not a reporter. His commentaries did reflect broadly the interests and views of labor. What Mr. Meany called "biased" and "colored" sounded to us like the legitimate judgment of an honest spokesman. And so we suspect that behind the pious explanations of the A. F. of L. president must lie some substantial clash of opinion which may yet come to light.

Whatever the facts, we shall miss the broadcasts of Frank Edwards, not because we always agreed with his views, for we did not, but because they were outspoken, intelligent, liberal, and informed. These days the air waves carry mighty few broadcasts that can be so characterized.

The New Tax Law

The new tax law, with its handouts to business enterprise and stockholders, is being defended as an antidote to recession. More liberal treatment of depreciation, it is claimed, will encourage industrial expansion; rebates to dividend receivers will stimulate venture capital.

These arguments would be more impressive if backed by evidence that the economic setback was in any way related to a lag in private investment. Actually, the trouble can be traced to a quite different cause—the failure of consumption to keep pace with the flood of goods pouring from our immensely expanded industrial plant. Since the end of the war, despite the competition of defense programs, despite high taxes, industry has found no difficulty in raising funds for new factories and more efficient equipment. Ample incentive for expansion was provided by a tremendous demand for goods of all kinds. But during the past year supply has not merely

caught up with that demand in a great many industries but outstripped it, and as a result industrial production has fallen by 8 per cent.

No doubt the new tax concessions will encourage some business men to instal more efficient equipment or to develop new products. But by and large industrialists are likely to hesitate to invest additional capital until they see consumption taking an upward trend. From this point of view, the tax bill puts additional spending power in the wrong hands. It may swell the savings of the well-to-do, but savings are already tending to outrun the demand for capital, which is one reason why stock prices are becoming inflated. It will not, however, add appreciably to consumer spending, and that is what is needed. In the long run not only the general public but business also would have benefited if the Administration had thought less about the tribulations of the higher brackets and more about the needs of persons with small incomes. We say this notwithstanding the President's rather premature announcement of the end of the recession.

Nixon-Knowland Feud

The bitter feud between Vice-President Nixon and Senator Knowland, which has long been simmering beneath a carefully preserved façade of reciprocal devotion, got completely out of hand at the recent Sacramento meeting of the Republican State Committee. Now in the open, the feud will not be easily settled.

The trouble began when Representative Patrick J. Hillings, a Nixon protégé who hopes to replace Senator Kuchel two years hence, arrived in California to direct an artfully prepared campaign to win the committee's vice-chairmanship for a Nixon-backed candidate. (The vice-chairmanship is a great prize this year, since the person chosen will, by tradition, succeed to the chairmanship in the crucial convention year of 1956 and have a hand in the selection of delegates.) Alarmed, Senators Knowland and Kuchel promptly flew to Sacramento, and Governor Goodwin J. Knight interrupted his honeymoon to join them there in a determined and successful effort to crush the putsch. Once the Governor, who controls state patronage, joined forces with the two Senators, who control federal patronage, the Nixon plot was frustrated. But this alliance is likely to prove transient. Senators Knowland and Kuchel are both Warren men, and

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Governor Knight never got along well with Warren. Under pressure from the Governor, "the Nixon crowd" agreed that the vice-chairmanship should go to Howard Ahmanson, who is pro-Knight rather than pro-Nixon or pro-Knowland. At least the Governor contends that such an understanding was reached; the Nixonites deny it.

That the Nixon-Knowland feud could have an important bearing on the Republican Presidential nomination in 1956 is suggested by a little-noticed incident which took place during the Sacramento meeting. At an Oakland luncheon honoring Chief Justice Warren, a tactless toastmaster referred to him as "the next candidate for President of the United States." Furious, the Chief Justice was on his feet instantly to say that the suggestion was "improper" and that no one present should give "any furtherance to it." One can be sure that Chief Justice Warren's indignation was unfeigned, but the reference raises an interesting question all the same. Should President Eisenhower decide not to run in 1956, around whom could the feuding California Republicans unite? Who would control the important California delegation? And, with Eisenhower out, who could unite a badly split G. O. P. nationally? "In Washington," reports the political editor of the Los Angeles *Daily News*, "the biggest rumor floating around inner circles is that if Eisenhower refuses to run for a second term Chief Justice Warren may be drafted. Reason: too many Republicans won't take Vice-President Richard Nixon and there's a feud between Nixon and Senator William F. Knowland." He might have added: too many Eisenhower Republicans won't take Senator Knowland but vastly admire the Chief Justice. The key to Republican unity in California could therefore prove to be the key to national unity.

The Dulles Record

SECRETARY OF STATE DULLES has a variety of pains in the neck. But that chronic soreness, which even Aunt Sarah's Miracle Ointment won't cure, comes from conducting international affairs while continuously glancing over his shoulder at Congress. From the day it took office, the Eisenhower Administration has let domestic politics dominate its foreign policy.

Of course it is perfectly reasonable for the Executive to strive for smooth relations with the legislature. The classic instance of failure to obey this logic was Woodrow Wilson's neglect of Congress, with America's consequent refusal to ratify the Versailles Treaty and join the League of Nations. To avoid any comparable dilemma after becoming Secretary of State, Dulles set out to establish a beachhead for his policy on Capitol Hill. The trouble is he has never got beyond the beach.

In some ways Dulles is the answer to Moscow's prayer. Just as Washington dreams of splitting Peking

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from Moscow, so the Kremlin's fancy turns to developing fissures in the anti-Communist alliance. No willing ally of the Cominform, Dulles has nevertheless shown aptitude for inciting dissension between the United States and its partners.

It began right after President Eisenhower entered the White House. In his first state-of-the-union message he proclaimed the "unleashing" of Chiang Kai-shek's forces on Formosa. The impression conveyed was that the Chinese Nationalists were poised for a mass attack on the Chinese mainland. While this passage in the President's address to the joint session of Congress won a tremendous ovation on the spot, it startled our allies. But they soon discovered, to their relief, that when the wraps were removed from Chiang, he turned out to be just an old exile on an island. Our own Asia Firsters for whom the President, Admiral Radford, and Secretary Dulles produced the stunt, ultimately came to regret this exposure of the Generalissimo's impotence.

Next was the fabulous repudiation of the Yalta agreements among the United States, Britain, and the U. S. S. R. During the 1952 G. O. P. convention in Chicago, Richard Nixon and the American ex-ambassador to Poland, Arthur Bliss Lane, were among those who prevailed on Dulles to write this idea into the Republican foreign-policy plank. After the election the Administration tried to embody it in a resolution to be adopted by Congress. When put on paper, however, it revealed the Russians rather than F. D. R., Truman, or Acheson as the culprits. This was not what the G. O. P. leadership had ordered. So the entire Yalta-repudiation scheme was shoved into a pigeonhole, where it lies forgotten. The British government, a cosignatory at Yalta, had been against the repudiation right along but was not consulted.

The plan did its immediate job, though. It undoubtedly induced a few thousand additional Americans of Polish* or other Soviet-satellite origin to vote Republican. The episode was matched by the Dulles-inspired Eisenhower campaign speech promising "liberation" to peoples under Communist rule from the Baltic to the China Sea. This theme, too, was presently watered down and then abandoned, but not before it had horrified our allies and provided the Kremlin with "proof" of our warlike intentions.

During his first month in office Dulles broadcast an "ultimatum" to France to ratify the European-army treaty at once or face an end of American aid. He seemed to be using his great authority to corroborate Communist propaganda about France's satellite relationship to the United States. When the French reacted with understandable indignation, Dulles flew to Paris to soothe them. They gradually calmed down on being assured that his words were beamed to Western Republicans who had to be reconciled to the annual foreign-aid bill.

Speaking at Williamsburg, Virginia, on May 15 this year, Dulles resumed his obeisances to the right-wing Republicans, bowing so low that he again fell on his face. He produced this gem: "The Soviet rulers occasionally tell us that there could be 'coexistence' between their society and ourselves. We must, however, beware of these professions." This was his most successful effort yet to make America appear as the leader of the anti-peace camp.

AGAINST his saner judgment Dulles has gone most of the way with the wild men concerning China. In April, 1953, as guest of some Washington newsmen at dinner, the Secretary mentioned a U. N. trusteeship for Formosa as a possible eventual road to compromise with Red China. The story was printed. William Knowland, G. O. P. leader in the Senate and champion of all those antique China eggs, demanded an explanation of President Eisenhower. So Dulles wrote a disavowal of his remarks on Formosa, and the White House issued it.

Dulles knows that United States spending in Japan has just shrunk from \$800,000,000 to some \$400,000,000 a year and will continue to evaporate as we reduce the American garrison there. He is aware that unless Japan is allowed to return to the China market, its economy will head for disaster. Or does Mr. Eisenhower intend to fling open the American market to Japanese exports?

After all his fine words on freer trade, the President has made one of his most ignoble retreats in this field. He might have settled with the protectionists in his party last spring by merely scrapping the proposed three-year prolongation of the Reciprocal Trade Act. But he topped this by his July 28 order raising by as much as 50 per cent the tariff on imported watches and watch movements.

Four Senators were especially active in attempting to influence the President on this issue. One was Leverett Saltonstall (R., Mass.), who is up for reelection on November 2 and is chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee; the Waltham Watch Company is in the Saltonstall constituency. Senator Everett Dirksen (R., Ill.) has the Elgin Watch Company in his home state, and Dirksen's access to the White House is eased by his role as chairman of the G. O. P. senatorial campaign committee. Location of the Hamilton Watch Company in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, explains why the two Senators from Pennsylvania, James H. Duff and Edward Martin, were extremely active in this affair. Duff was chairman of the subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee to investigate the importance of the United States watch industry for national defense.

The President cited defense needs as the major motive for hoisting the tariff. But careful reading of the June 30, 1954, report by the Department of Defense suggests

that much or most of the military needs for fuses and similar items can be filled outside the watch industry. It seems that the local interests of a small band of influential Republican Senators played a decisive part in a Presidential decision which stultifies Mr. Eisenhower's liberal-trade professions. It is a textbook illustration of domestic politics distorting our foreign relations.

Senatorial weight tilted the scales last year, too, with the appointment of Scott McLeod as the State Department's chief security officer. The chairman of the powerful Senate Appropriations Committee, Styles Bridges, arranged the transfer of McLeod from his—Bridges's—office in the Capitol to be the principal snooper among the large personnel of American diplomacy. Friend and confidant of Joe McCarthy, McLeod reduced morale in this branch of government service to a new low. Finally even Dulles felt constrained to curtail his authority, though he is still dreaded in those rare spots where a trace of liberalism survives in the State Department and in our foreign missions.

Dulles's eagerness to curry favor with the rightists in Congress explains his historic fluff of March 29 this year in calling for united action—which, he said, "might involve serious risks"—to repel communism in Southeast Asia. Having failed to consult them, he had to hear from the British and French governments that they were strongly disinclined to incur the risk of war against China and Russia.

The Sources of Power

NOWADAYS virtually every report on an actual political situation in American society reveals the discrepancy between democratic myth and operative reality. Whatever comes under scrutiny—the procedures by which presidential, or even vice-presidential, candidates are selected, the formulation of a "new look" in military policy, or the operation of a city government—specific analyses fail to sustain traditional democratic theory that the power lies in the hands of the people. Where, then, does it lie? This is the obviously basic socio-political problem which Floyd Hunter has set himself to solve in his provocative article beginning on page 148 of this issue.

Last year the University of North Carolina Press published Mr. Hunter's "Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers," which analyzes in detail the power structure in Regional City, a Southern metropolis. By using a selected list of fourteen individuals as "judges," Mr. Hunter was able to identify forty men who are "the decision-makers for the total community." These forty leaders, he found, "are able to enforce their decisions by persuasion, intimidation, coercion, and, if necessary, force." The test for admission to this top level is almost entirely a man's position in business:

"The pattern of business dominance in Regional City is a fact." All other institutions—family, church, state, education, civic organizations—are in a subordinate position because of their dependence upon business support. "The organization leaders are prone to get the publicity," Mr. Hunter remarks. "The upper echelon, the leaders, have the power."

Mr. Hunter is convinced that cooperation among men of power derives from "value agreement" rather than deliberate conniving. But the effect seems to be the same. Once a policy is established, the demand for strict conformity is immediate and overwhelming: "It is only on the unsettled issues that discussion is permissible." Thus our democratic society is not entirely innocent of the taint of totalitarianism. Professionals employed by the policy-makers, adds Mr. Hunter, are expected to discuss only minor matters: "... whether there shall or shall not be a new hospital or day nursery or the like."

From his study of Regional City, Mr. Hunter is now lifting his sights to examine the power pattern in the nation. The article in this issue is the first fruit of his broader study, which ultimately will result in a second book. It is no disparagement of this sociologist's valuable contribution to an important problem to indicate what we believe are certain weaknesses in his approach. Many may agree with us that he places too heavy an emphasis on individual men of power and minimizes organized power; that he tends to slight the political process, as well as the means by which economic or social power is translated into political terms. In any case his subject is of great importance. *The Nation's* editors, who have long advocated social planning with the sanction of the federal government, must perforce admit that such planning can hardly be fruitful so long as the existing sources of power remain unidentified. We shall welcome comment from our readers on Mr. Hunter's work.

Who Should Be Censured?

LAST WEEK "freedom's bastion," the Fifth Amendment, was surrounded and largely dismantled after a scant forty-minute debate in the House and a carefree "voice vote" in the Senate. Indeed, the history of the immunity bill suggests that Congress has ceased to be a deliberative body. The House, which did at least hold hearings, recommended the bill for passage despite unanimous opposition by bar associations and general opposition that was nearly as strong. In the Senate no hearings were held, there was virtually no debate, and final approval was registered *without a roll call*.

Frankly characterized as "a device to get around the Fifth Amendment," the bipartisan bill as finally passed would compel witnesses to testify against themselves in "national-security" cases before courts, grand juries,

and Congressional committees once a federal judge had granted them immunity. The bizarre reasoning of the bill's sponsors is characteristic of the times: so many witnesses have invoked the protection of the Fifth Amendment, it is said, that it can be restored to public favor only by restricting its use! The same reasoning would dispose of the First Amendment, and if Congress were consistent it would "get around" the Sixth Amendment in some fashion, since many more citizens demand juries and the right to counsel than plead the Fifth Amendment. As passed, the bill will aggravate the abuses of the very committees whose members, purposes, and procedures are currently under myopic Congressional scrutiny. "Uncooperative witnesses" will now face a choice of risks: jail for contempt or possible perjury prosecutions based on minor discrepancies in testimony coerced by "due process." It may be argued that, given the heat of Washington and the length of the session in this election year, the Senate need not hold hearings or seriously debate even measures as important as the immunity bill, but at least they should be read and studied. This measure, as Congressman Celler said, is "so loosely drawn that it rattles."

But if the Senate acted in shameless disregard of its constitutional responsibilities in passing the immunity bill by voice vote, how is one to characterize its action in adopting, by a vote of 85 to 0, a measure to outlaw the Communist Party? It all began as a debate on Senator John M. Butler's bill to deny collective-bargaining right to "red-dominated" unions (see *Tooling Up* for Mass Repression by Laurent B. Frantz, *The Nation*, December 12, 1953). Under pressure from the leadership of the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. it had been more or less agreed that the best way to head off the bill would be to set up a Presidential commission to study this and some twelve other bills dealing with subversion. To this end, Senator Magnuson had introduced such a resolution. Meanwhile, however, Senator Hubert Humphrey, up for reelection this year, concluded that it would be "smart strategy" to counter the Butler bill by proposing a measure to outlaw the Communist Party. This suggestion met with such "wide acceptance"—we are quoting a Congressional leader—that it undercut the support which might otherwise have been given to Senator Magnuson's resolution. As it was, his "study-commission" proposal got only thirty-one votes. The Democratic leadership then, as a matter of policy, formally adopted Senator Humphrey's proposal, which was offered as a substitute for the Butler bill. But Senator Price Daniels, a Democrat, crossed up the party leaders by adding the Butler bill to Senator Humphrey's proposal. Not to be outbid in this cheap game of demagoguery, Senator Knowland promptly announced that the combination measure was a good idea. Horrified, a number of saner Senators—another credit goes here to Senator John Sher-

man Cooper of Kentucky—began offering all kinds of amendments, many of which were adopted with scarcely any consideration, for by this time the scene had become one of "great confusion."

Here, once again, the Democratic "liberals" have outsmarted themselves in their neurotic, election-year anxiety to escape the charge of being "soft on communism" even at the expense of sacrificing constitutional rights. When the McCarran Act, which became the Internal Security Act, was before the Senate in 1950, Senator Paul Douglas argued that the bill was "ineffective" because it did not "go far enough" in attempting to curb communism. A group of seven Senate "liberals," all Democrats, then offered the detention-camp proposal as an amendment, thinking it would discredit the bill itself—or so they said. But, as now, they were caught in their own trap, and the amendment was eagerly accepted by the Republicans. What *The Nation* said on that occasion applies with added force to this latest upset:

We are aware of the pressures that beat down [1950, like 1954, was an election year]. . . . And we understand the sensitivity of these men to the jeopardy in which they felt their party's candidates would be placed if the Democrats in Congress could point to no record of anti-Communist achievement. But none of these considerations, we are certain, weighs against the folly of lending even tactical support to the McCarran monstrosity. The hysterical will not credit the Democrats with its passage in any case; so the Senate liberals have given moral ground to no purpose whatever. . . . These are times that call for a bold defense of principle, not for the kind of politics that trips on its own cleverness.

FORTUNATELY there is some reason to believe that, in ways not at all intended, the Senate too has "outsmarted" itself. The immunity bill, for example, is subject to serious constitutional attack on at least four counts: (1) Read literally, the Constitution protects one against self-accusation, and four Supreme Court justices have said that the right of silence remains despite a grant of immunity. Test cases arising under the new act—which we assume the President will sign—may thus result in a decision that will not only invalidate the measure but clarify and perhaps broaden the scope of the right guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment. (2) Is compelling testimony *ever* necessary to the legislative process? One hundred and sixty-five years of legislative experience and an equally long record of Congressional inquiries would seem to prove the contrary. (3) Must not immunity extend to both state and federal prosecutions to be valid? The House, which incidentally shows more regard for the Constitution these days than the Senate, sought to provide an immunity as broad as this but the Senate disagreed. Even so, the House felt—and the statement is a commentary on the times—that "the constitutional question

should not prevent the enactment of the recommended bill"! (4) Finally, there is the doubt, and a serious one it is, whether a judge is exercising a judicial function when he acts in aid of a Congressional committee—sitting as a sort of ex-officio chairman—and grants immunity to a witness. The power to pardon is vested in the President, and federal judges can only decide issues that fall within the "case and controversy" rule. Is this such an issue? Then, too, the new immunity bill will give rise to protracted litigation from which some good precedents may emerge. For example, each time a witness is brought before a federal judge important questions can be argued: Is the committee acting within its powers? Is it pursuing a proper line of questioning? And so forth.

The offensive "outlaw" measure must now go to the House, where, given the lateness of the hour, it may be bottled up for the time being. But wires and protests should go to every member without delay. And may we suggest that our readers study the record

of the disgraceful Senate debate on this measure? Only Jonathan Swift could do justice to this extraordinary situation in which Congress, suspending one constitutional right after another, continues to assert that the Constitution must be protected against those who would overthrow it by "force and violence." If the irresponsible behavior of the Senate in this election year does not expose the fraudulent nature of the domestic "Communist menace," it is hard to see what kind of evidence would be necessary. Today, as in 1950, party leaders are playing cheap partisan politics with this hoax to a degree that endangers the Constitution itself. As we recall, the critics of Senator McCarthy propose to censure him, among other reasons, for the manner in which he has undermined respect for representative government. Having censured McCarthy, as we hope it will, let the Senate then censure itself for the disgraceful 85 to 0 vote by which it has attempted to edge us a little closer to the concept of the one-party state.

MENDES-FRANCE

Europe's "Last Reserve" . . . by Alexander Werth

Paris
I THINK I am right in saying that this is the only time since the apotheosis of De Gaulle at the time of the Liberation in August, 1944, that the people of France have felt they had at last at their head a man of immense personal and political value. Only too often during the Fourth Republic people have had the impression that the country was just muddling along, that their leaders were mediocrities, that vital problems, internal and international, remained unsolved, and that it made very little difference whether the Premier was called Bidault, Pleven, Queuille, Pinay, or Laniel. A fatalistic indifference to public affairs was evident in all circles. It was assumed that, whoever headed the "next" government, the war in Indo-China would go on, the unrest in North Africa would flare up or subside, the hemming and hawing over E. D. C. would persist, and there would be a little more or a

little less aid from the United States. This state of affairs might have continued indefinitely but for two things—the disaster of Dienbienphu and the rapid deterioration of the situation in North Africa.

Since 1952 it has seemed as if the leaders of the M. R. P. were doing everything they could to prevent a peaceful settlement in either Indo-China or North Africa. Their mistakes—if not crimes—have, indeed, been so stupendous that one is not surprised to find some ultra-Mendèsistes calling for a sort of "war-crimes committee" to put the guilt where it belongs. Part of the press is now demanding that a dossier be published to show how Bidault, supported by Admiral Radford and—perhaps less emphatically—by Dulles, did his utmost to precipitate a third world war in Indo-China. And that is of course only one example of the fatal lack of vision of the various M. R. P. governments. When in December, 1951, Maurice Schuman, as No. 2 man at the Quai d'Orsay, drew up his famous

note, together with the leaders of the North African lobby, in reply to the reasonable proposals of the Tunisian government, he knew, or should have known, that he was opening an era of bloodshed in Tunisia. And when in August, 1953, Bidault encouraged the Glaoui and the French settlers in Morocco to overthrow the Sultan, he should have known that he was scrapping any possibility of reaching a peaceful settlement there.

It is true that the responsibility for the war in Indo-China is rather more divided. The war began under the short-lived government of Léon Blum, and his Minister of Colonies, Marius Moutet, was one who refused to stop the fighting when that could easily have been done—and on terms infinitely more favorable than those Mendès-France managed to obtain at Geneva.

The new Premier's task is the unenviable one of repairing the errors—often ten years old—of his predecessors. The bulk of public opinion is behind him, but there is a question whether Parlia-

ALEXANDER WERTH is The Nation's correspondent in France.

ment will allow him to do what is necessary. Long before the war Charles Maurras formulated the famous distinction between *le pays légal* and *le pays réel*, suggesting that France really wanted a monarchy but that its institutions interfered with the fulfillment of its will. Whether or not the distinction was a true one in the France of the Third Republic, there is no doubt that the parliaments and ministries of the Fourth Republic have often gone against the will of the *pays réel*—otherwise the war in Indo-China would not have lasted eight years. Only when this will is very vocal, as it was when Mendès-France first took over, will Parliament hesitate to thwart it. Mendès-France represents *le pays réel*. His opponents can only wait for a decline in his present immense popularity. Whether the Bidaults and Plevens and Maurice Schumanns are too discredited ever to regain power, time will show.

MENDES-FRANCE is of course no newcomer. In so far as the French public has been at all interested in the activities of the National Assembly—the decline in the number and circulation of political newspapers has been spectacular since 1946—it has regarded him as “the last reserve.” When things got too desperate, it was felt, Mendès-France might be called on. The only political excitement noticeable in France in the past eighteen months was generated during the interminable Cabinet crisis in June, 1953, when Mendès failed, by a handful of votes, to be elected Premier. People realize today what appalling disasters could have been averted by his election: the war in Indo-China would in all probability have been ended under much more favorable conditions, and the perhaps irreparable damage done in North Africa have been avoided.

In his handling of Dulles, Mendès has shown himself a first-class diplomat. People here were much amused when he reminded Dulles in Paris that the American insistence on linking Indo-China with Germany was wholly in line with the intolerable Soviet proposals for a “planetary settlement.”

Mendès is respected in France as the man “who has always been right.” He was right when he resigned as De Gaulle’s Minister of Public Economy because the General, wholly unacquainted



Courtesy London *New Statesman and Nation*
Mendès-France

with financial problems, rejected his Crippsian proposals for giving France a firm currency in favor of Plevén’s typically French easygoing measures for reestablishing “confidence”—the confidence of the war profiteers and black-marketeers. He was right when he criticized the successive M. R. P. governments for allowing French economy to stagnate, and when he emphasized that without a heavy outlay for capital investments and the return of the army cadres from Indo-China, France would be unable to pull its weight in Europe in either the economic or the military sphere. He was right, time and again, in insisting that the alternative to internal autonomy for Tunisia and an amicable agreement with Morocco would be chaos in North Africa. He said this in his speeches; he said it even more forcibly in his preface to M. Mitterrand’s book, published last year, in which he urged that France seek to profit from the economic resources of North Africa by embarking, in agreement with the Moroccans and Tunisians, on a vast program of capital investment designed to “turn North Africa into another California.”

Though he has been rightly described as a representative of “the more intelligent part of the French bourgeoisie,” his own economic policy has always been “English” rather than “French,” and he is unwilling to compromise with France’s time-honored easy habits. So he is up against many difficulties. He has no parliamentary majority that would support him through thick and thin;

even in his own Radical-Socialist Party—which is trying to cash in just now on his popularity—he has more enemies than friends: Martinaud-Déplat, “France’s little McCarthy,” and René Mayer, the head of the pro-E. D. C. faction, are busy digging his grave. The economic proposals he has made so far are the result of an uneasy compromise between him and Edgar Faure and lack the grand sweep of his opposition speeches. The capital-investment program is as yet negligible, and the proposal that 240,000 houses be built yearly was apparently dropped at the last Cabinet meeting and replaced by some utterly vague formula.

In the matter of E. D. C., Mendès will try to make time, knowing that Adenauer’s prestige is now suddenly declining—the Brüning meetings, the Hamburg and Bremerhaven strikes, and the John episode being so many straws in the wind. His spectacular trip to Tunis has already aroused the fury of the North African lobby and its numerous, more or less subsidized, supporters in Parliament and the press. As for Morocco, where the situation is much graver than in Tunisia, Mendès is hampered in seeking a solution by the absence of a proper representative authority, such as the Bey of Tunis, with whom to negotiate—unless the old Sultan is brought back in accordance with the thousands of petitions coming from the Moroccan people. Moreover, the nationalist movement in Morocco, as distinct from that in Tunis, has become an anarchic, xenophobic mass movement no longer based on middle-class aspirations.

There is not much time to lose. Both Tunis and Morocco, and eventually Algeria, must be given reforms, since the alternative to reforms may well be chaos. As the *Monde* emphasized, Britain’s departure from Egypt appeared to Mendès like the writing on the wall: if France was to keep North Africa it must act promptly, before its suzerainty was swept away in the flood of militant pan-Arab nationalism. But there is grave danger that Mendès may be sabotaged by those who think a policy of force is the only one the Arabs understand—a policy like that which produced such brilliant results in Indo-China! Whether or not Mendès is allowed to carry on will be the test of France’s political wisdom and of its instinct for self-preservation.

THE DECISION-MAKERS

Can You Name Them? . . . by *Floyd Hunter*

WHO are the men of power in national affairs? What men give our nation its political direction? What men are behind those out front? Is there any pattern in the development of national policy? It would be easy to pick politicians whose names are continually before the public and say that they make policy. Or one might maintain that a few political bosses in league with powerful "interests" pull the strings. Or one might naively assume that policy formulation follows the lines laid down in the standard eighth-grade civics books. The best thing to do is probably to take a fresh look at the whole process and see what turns up.

After making several studies of the power structure in communities, I have become convinced that the bases of power at the national level may be profitably examined in the light of sociological research. Many leaders I interviewed in community studies had national connections, and often these connections were more important as sources of power than purely local affiliations. The question consequently arose, "What is the relationship between the leading figures in one city and those in another?" Beginning a study of this question, I have visited more than fifty large cities in the United States during the past two years and interviewed the men who are known as national leaders. There appears to be a basic social relationship among the top policy-makers in at least the larger cities thus far visited. And by this relationship I mean more than simply membership in the same political party.

In order to get at the problem at all, I had to throw off the temptation to do a job of muckraking. An earlier generation of sociologists thought of the problem of power in terms of direct influence, pay-offs, the bribing of legislatures

and councilmen, and so on. Local studies show us that such practices still prevail, but it must also be recognized that policy development depends on many other factors. It is a social process that goes beyond the familiar log-rolling and pressure tactics of the recognized lobbies. Power manipulation is apparently considerably more sophisticated than it used to be.

I have based my study of national policy-making on certain hypotheses:

1. The nation can be thought of as a community.

2. In the nation as in the community there is a power structure inside and outside of government—not synonymous with government or any other formal organization—influencing policy development. The national power structure is not a single pyramid of influence and authority but rather a kind of informal executive committee of the many major influence groups. It represents different geographic sections, different segments of the economy, and different organized groups. While disagreements may arise on specific issues, the common aspirations of the larger corporate interests bring about a working unity.

3. Principal cities, containing concentrations of major industries, are anchor points of power and furnish a large proportion of the active personnel. The national power structure is held together, city by city, mainly by a network of informal association.

4. Because of its unique authority, government is of special concern to the rest of the power structure, which acts through government and upon government in relation to specific policies.

5. Being diffuse and informal in character, a large portion of the total power structure is not seen in operation.

The social researcher who can lay aside his prejudices, stop calling power *bad per se*, and persuade someone to give him a modest travel allowance can gather a good many facts in support of the hypotheses outlined above.

It cannot be disputed that in our major cities, as well as in our smaller communities, men can be identified who operate in a super-political relationship to elected officials, organization executives, institutional groupings, and the unorganized body politic. The existence of a hierarchical relationship between top-drawer leaders and those below them in the power scale and the fact that these men do not necessarily function as a corrupt political "machine" have been revealed in the course of inquiries. That there can be statistical confirmation and correlation of their views in respect to the power of others scores a point for scientific method.

The membership lists of the boards of the National Industrial Conference, the Committee for Economic Development, and the Advisory Committee for the Department of Commerce provide good starting points for anyone interested in a run-down of national leadership. These boards are highly selective in recruiting members and represent a stable cross-section of top business leadership. They are made up of persons who have access to each other and who have channels to persons in other power networks of civic, professional, political, and religious leaders.

I AM not contending that there exists a single group of wirepullers at the national level who have a hand in every policy decision that finds its way to a state capitol or to Washington for legislative and administrative implementation. But there is undoubtedly a great volume of informal discussion by men "in the know" even before trial balloons are sent aloft by national associations, lobbies, and front-rank politicians to feel out the temper of the body politic. And there are most certainly networks of wirepullers, with definable objectives and characteristics.

Certain policies brew for a long time before they jell. Among the policies that have already jelled for most leadership

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groups regardless of their political affiliations are the reduction of taxes, particularly corporate taxes, the restriction of governmental activities, particularly in the field of social security, and the private exploitation of national resources. Political heat, to continue the analogy, may unjell some policy decisions—for example, with respect to Taft-Hartley. An unjelled policy, like the sale of publicly generated electric power to private corporations, brings into play very definite relationships, particularly within the interest group involved. The processes of utilizing national trade associations to exert financial and moral pressure on politicians has been documented over the years, and the power of lobbies has often been stressed—perhaps overstressed. I would not underestimate the power of the formally organized groups, but I would emphasize the importance of a closer look at some of the informal aspects of policy development.

Various men prominent in national affairs—they may be connected with a

New York banking house or be managers of large industrial or commercial firms—shuttle back and forth across the country picking up information and distributing opinions as they go. In their travels they are entertained by leaders in the communities they touch. Some maintain New York and Washington residences where they can entertain visitors. Everywhere clubs are open to those who can claim guest privileges in them by purchase or friendship. In this way "big" visitors meet the "big" local people, and the "little fellows" are often brought in to meet those of stature. The recreation areas and race tracks also provide meeting places for persons vitally interested in testing current trends. "Whom do you know?" is a key political question, and policy-makers up and down the scale make it their business to know a lot of people, and to know the right ones for particular political purposes.

National and community leaders are informally organized for a vast array of purposes. Many of the committees

formed for the promotion of educational, religious, or civic enterprises are clearly devoted to their causes. But when eminent men get together on such a committee, it develops "latent functions" which may affect national policy. Men engaged in educational committee work, I am told, are prone to talk about matters of policy at a dinner held to raise money for education. This is only "natural," but it plays a part in the scheme of power relations. How much of this type of informal clearance of ideas on policy goes on, and how important it may be, are questions around which social scientists are beginning to build research projects.

THE customary assumption that certain national associations and their lobbies at Washington are mighty strongholds of power may have to be modified. Some national leaders, not a majority, look upon the associations and their secretaries with hostility or contempt. The secretaries are seen as "paid employees," who often go off on tangents. Those who guide the policies of these associations are not always on the boards of directors of the member firms.

National leaders tell me they have a wide acquaintanceship among other leaders. Some men are recognized as top policy makers, others as second- and third-rate figures amenable to reason through informal discussions with the higher-ups, still others as front men for specific interests. The acquaintanceship is not confined to persons who serve on the same corporate boards, or who belong to the same political party, or who happen to have similar amounts of money in the bank. Friendships, committee work, club and recreation associations, customer relations, and financial problems all tend to intertwine into definable action patterns. It is too simple to say policy is made at the curbstone of Wall Street or on the doorsills of the bosses, or by the "sixty families," or by the struggle between the liberals and the reactionaries in Congress. Policy in any field is developed by a broad range of activities, not all of which are sinister or contrary to the public interest.

Policy development is a prime social function that defies confinement within formally organized political or associational groupings. Many of the associations utilize the technique of bringing in

Who Are the Policy-Makers?

Three hundred national and community leaders interviewed by Floyd Hunter chose twenty of the following fifty persons as the principal behind-the-scenes manipulators of national policy in the United States. Which twenty do you think were chosen? Turn to page 159 for the answer.

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|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Stephen D. Bechtel | 26. John J. McCloy |
| 2. Jacob Blaustein | 27. Mrs. Eugene Meyer |
| 3. Randolph W. Burgess | 28. R. L. Minckler |
| 4. Norman Chandler | 29. Edward L. Ryerson |
| 5. Lucius D. Clay | 30. Gideon D. Seymour |
| 6. E. H. Crump | 31. Henry Knox Sherrill |
| 7. Harlow H. Curtice | 32. Herman Steinkraus |
| 8. Donald K. David | 33. Mervyn H. Sterne |
| 9. Charles H. Diefendorf | 34. Joseph Stetler |
| 10. Benjamin F. Fairless | 35. Irvin Stewart |
| 11. Adrien J. Falk | 36. John Stewart |
| 12. R. G. Folliis | 37. W. Paul Stillman |
| 13. Henry Ford II | 38. Roger W. Straus |
| 14. Y. Frank Freeman | 39. Jay Taylor |
| 15. Henry F. Grady | 40. Sidney J. Weinberg |
| 16. Crawford H. Greenewalt | 41. Ernest T. Weir |
| 17. Merrill Griswold | 42. Carl Wente |
| 18. Fred Gurley | 43. John Hay Whitney |
| 19. Lewis G. Harriman | 44. Arthur V. Wiebel |
| 20. W. L. Hemingway | 45. Clyde Williams |
| 21. Paul G. Hoffman | 46. Charles Edward Wilson |
| 22. K. T. Keller | 47. R. W. Woodruff |
| 23. Lawrence A. Kimpton | 48. Benjamin E. Youngdahl |
| 24. J. L. Latimer | 49. James W. Young |
| 25. Hughston M. McBain | 50. J. D. Zellerbach |

the "little fellow"—the corner druggist, the hardware dealer, or the small-town banker—to promote their interests before government officials or committees. The technique is effective when these individuals are backed by the big fellows; most politicians know who is behind the carefully coached witness on a particular matter. Any community organizer, community-chest director, or real-estate-board executive uses similar methods. The choice of a person to present a case before any authoritative body is usually well thought out in advance. The delib-

erations are not published in the newspapers; the final choice may be. Behind the whole process, of course, are innumerable "clearances."

Open politics, the selection of candidates for office, the determination of political fund-raising goals, the selection of issues for campaign purposes are amenable to informal direction. "Who can be tapped for specific tasks connected with these activities?" is a vital question, and the right answer sweeps political parties into power.

For effectively ordering the relations

of men taking part in policy development a power structure related to government and acting both within and outside government is necessary. The organization must be flexible in the initial stages of policy determination, and the policies must be in line with the stable interests of the nation. Social scientists are convinced that an examination of the relations of men outside the formally organized party systems and formal government can turn up data that will throw considerable light on the operations of formal politics.

DIEHARDS ARE DYING OUT

In the Southwest . . . by William G. Carleton

Los Angeles

NOWHERE in the United States are the fascist-tinged movements more numerous and noisy than in the Southwest, and yet to date they consist only of peripheral and splinter groups which have been unable to combine into a major political force. Right now they seem to be declining in popular appeal and are therefore less of a threat than they were a year ago.

Luncheon-club speakers and pulpiti-ers who parrot the Joseph Kamp-Allen A. Zoll-Edward A. Rumely-Bonner Fellers-Walter Steele-Gerald L. K. Smith kind of super-patriotic propaganda and right-wing bombast get a larger play in the Southwest than elsewhere. Every community in the area has its "little Joe McCarthys." Sometimes these men are solid citizens; more often they are gabby adventurers, ambitious radio announcers, notoriety-seeking preachers. Fred Spangler, who works out of Houston, seems to make a good living by peddling super-patriotism and right-wing extremism along the civic-club circuits. The Los Angeles di-

vine, the Reverend James Fifield, has acquired a reputation by preaching ultra-Americanism on radio and television. Various Texas oil millionaires, the Facts Forum radio program, the Minute Women of America, and the disturbed ladies of Pro-America have engaged in widely reported rightist activities. Throughout the area new rightist "parties" are mushrooming—the Congress of Freedom, the States Rights Party, the Constitution Party, the Nationalists, the Christian Nationalists. However, these groups show no signs of combining into a major fascist movement.

Many Southern advocates of laissez faire capitalism and states' rights sharply differentiate themselves from McCarthyism, super-patriotism, and bigotry. For instance, in Louisiana, Frank B. Ellis, Democratic national committeeman, is a believer in extreme states' rights and classical capitalism, but in 1952 he supported Adlai Stevenson. On the other hand, John U. Barr of the Southern States Industrial Council and Leander Perez, although not particularly attracted to McCarthyism, want to break with the "radicalism" of the Democratic Party. Barr is a leading spirit in the Congress of Freedom, and Perez has called a conference at Jackson, Mississippi, for the organization of a states' rights party. Colonel Buford Balter, a leading New Orleans business man, who

subscribes to the economic views of Ellis, Barr, and Perez, is apparently attracted to McCarthy and super-patriotic movements. This split in the rightist forces of Louisiana is fairly typical of the rest of the area.

It is the opinion in Texas that national newspapers and periodicals have been exaggerating the political influence of certain Texas oil millionaires. As one exasperated newspaper reporter put it, "Why all this sudden bother about the political wallop of Cullen and Hunt and Seth Richardson and Glenn McCarthy? None of them knows much about politics or will follow any political line for long. Besides, the oil millionaires divide among themselves and neutralize one another. Who do you suppose is the financial angel for the so-called liberal side of Texas politics, the fellow who right now is financing the Ralph Yarborough campaign against Governor Shivers? It is none other than J. R. Parten, rich Houston oil man."

Two years ago when Cullen and Glenn McCarthy brought General MacArthur to Texas, they expected to fill Houston's Rice Stadium, which seats 70,000. Only about 5,000 people turned out. The General's reception in Dallas was equally disappointing to his followers. This spring when Senator McCarthy was the chief speaker on San Jacinto Day, the crowd fell far below expectations.

WILLIAM G. CARLETON, professor of political science at the University of Florida, is a frequent contributor to The Nation. Currently he is making a swing through the Southwest, West Coast, and Great Plains, sampling political trends.

Increasingly, Texans regard the brash heckling of speakers by the Minute Women of America as a public nuisance. In Dallas, where the Minute Women were once strongest, their interruptions are now abruptly squelched by those who preside at meetings. In Houston radio announcer Joe Worthy, who took the side of the Minute Women, is no longer on the air, oil man Cullen has dissociated himself from them, and Ralph S. O'Leary's courageous articles in the *Houston Post* exposing their officious meddling in the public schools have been widely applauded. In Los Angeles the success of Pro-America, a kindred organization of women patrioteers, is more difficult to appraise because its members, drawn more largely from the upper middle class, avoid public appearances and spread their propaganda in the form of sly gossip in telephone and personal conversations. Facts Forum programs have declined in prestige and popularity.

Indicative of public sentiment in the Dallas area is the fact that John O. Beaty, professor of English at Southern Methodist University, received so little support in his conflict with the university administration over a so-called Communist issue. Beaty, author of "Iron Curtain Over America"—a book that has delighted the anti-Semites—charged that university publications, the university bookstore, the university library, and finally the administration itself were infiltrated by Communist and atheistic ideas. The administrative board of the university sustained the officers on all counts, and Beaty left Texas.

THE election returns from the Southwest also show that McCarthyism has lost ground. Jack B. Tenney, the "little McCarthy" of the California senate, was recently defeated for reelection in his Los Angeles district. Senator Robert S. Kerr of Oklahoma, one of the few men in public life who spoke out at the time in favor of Truman's dismissal of General MacArthur, was renominated in the face of strong opposition which used Kerr's anti-MacArthur stand as an argument against him. Senator John L. McClellan was renominated in Arkansas in part because of his stand against McCarthyism.

Catholics of the Southwest, like Catholics elsewhere, are split on the Mc-

Carthy issue. *Catholic Action of the South*, published in New Orleans, is pro-McCarthy, but most Catholic laymen who have spoken out on the Senator are against him. The Archbishop of New Orleans and the Archbishop of San Antonio have announced they will end segregation in the parochial schools in their jurisdiction, although private schools are not affected by the Supreme Court's anti-segregation decision. The Archbishop of New Orleans has taken a vigorous stand against Louisiana's anti-labor "right to work" bill, as have Father Louis Toomey and Dr. Raymond Witte, both of Loyola University. While in the North many Protestants deplore Catholic conservatism, in Louisiana and Texas many Protestants deplore Catholic liberalism. (It has been remarked that the Americans will escape fascism, if for no other reason, because of the very diversity of their prejudices.)

During the past year the role of neo-fascist elements and even of orthodox right-wing conservatives in Texas has been widely discussed. The truth is that Texas has the healthiest politics of all the Southern states. The very aggressive-

ness of the conservative elements has sharpened the political issues and called forth bold counter-action by the liberal elements. In no other Southern state are labor unions and Negroes so discerning, active, and effective in politics as they are in Texas. Texas comes nearer to having a two-party system within the Democratic Party than any other Southern state. The lines are tightly drawn between states-rights' conservatives and loyalist national Democrats. In every Texas community the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. are active in organization politics—in the fights for precinct committeemen, county chairmen, delegates to party conventions. The Negroes, too, are well organized, united, and aggressive. During the Shivers-Yarborough contest almost every Negro business place had a Yarborough placard.

The many fascist-fringe organizations of the Southwest are not likely to combine into a major political force unless there should be war with Red China or Russia. Geneva was portrayed by almost the entire press of the area as "appeasement" and "another Munich," but the mass of the people remained apathetic.



"Hey, Joe, this ain't a donkey."

Courtesy St. Louis Post-Dispatch

The last thing they want is another shooting war—big or little—in Asia. Senator Knowland's suggestion that the United States withdraw from the United Nations if Red China were admitted met a cool reception.

Some questioning of the stereotyped American view of international affairs is even appearing in the press. The San Francisco *Chronicle* has run articles suggesting that Russia does not dominate Red China. In a recent editorial the *Houston Post* questioned whether in the long run a common ideology was enough to hold nations together. Most

significant, the old China traders in the San Francisco area are beginning to stir. Before the Communist revolution in China about one-half of the trade of the port of San Francisco was with China. Involved in it were shipping companies, banks, insurance companies, and countless business firms. Before the Korean war trade and business associations in California passed resolutions favoring recognition of the Communist regime. The Korean war reversed all this, but the current trend in the world toward peaceful coexistence is having its effect, and sentiment is reviving for resump-

tion of trade relations with China.

A very discerning California politician said to me: "We in California have never thought that Senator Bill Knowland was smart. We regarded his appointment to the Senate as Warren's way of paying off an old debt to the Knowland family. The China Lobby went after Knowland's support in order to neutralize powerful commercial interests in San Francisco. Bill fell for the whole thing and has led the extremists. By 1956, if present world trends continue, he may be out on a limb, especially in his own bailiwick of San Francisco."

GERMAN JUNGLE

The Otto John Story . . . by Carolus

Berlin

FOR three days that rugged island in the sea of Soviet occupation which is West Berlin had again the air of being the capital of Germany. For it was in Berlin—not in Bonn, as Dr. Adenauer had wished—that the West German National Assembly met on July 19 to extend the mandate of the federal President, Theodore Heuss, for another five years.

It was characteristic of this distinguished man, a statesman in the classic German tradition, that his first official act after his reelection was to pay homage to the memory of the five thousand victims of the anti-Hitler coup of July 20, 1944. Not since the war have any truer or finer words been spoken to the German people. The Americans might do worse than use some of the millions of dollars which they spend—and largely waste—on propaganda in West Germany to put a copy of Dr. Heuss's speech into the hands of every German.

The President's purpose was to put a stop to the campaign of slander which the former Nazis were carrying on against the men who had taken part in

the attack on Hitler's life. If he failed, if in fact the effect was the opposite of what he intended, it was because of Dr. John.

The memorial meeting was held at one of the places in the city where the plotters had been executed. A man stood not far from President Heuss, in the midst of the mothers, widows, and children of the murdered men, and sobbed uncontrollably. It was Dr. Otto John, mourning for his brother, whom the Nazi butchers ten years ago had hanged by his throat from a meathook.

Now head of the West German counter-intelligence, Dr. John had held a similar post in Hitler's Air Ministry and thus been able to render good service to the conspirators. When he realized that the coup had failed, he escaped by plane to Lisbon. From there he made his way to England, where he joined the British propaganda services. After the war he helped the British prosecutor at the Nürnberg trials. He returned to West Germany in 1948. Two years later the Adenauer government, on the recommendation of the British occupation authorities, made him head of an "Office for the Protection of the Constitution." On July 20, 1954, he was once more a fugitive. This time he did not need a plane; a car took him the short distance to East Berlin.

The Adenauer government was shaken to its foundations. What could it do but declare that "the man with a thousand secrets," as his friend Sefton Delmer of the London *Daily Express* dubbed him, had been kidnapped by the Russians? The kidnapping theory, however, met with general skepticism even before it was demolished by Dr. John himself.

No cheap thriller contains more fake clues, more tangled threads, more dirty innuendoes than the story of Dr. John's defection. A high government official has been pictured as an ignorant, lying degenerate, spending more time in bars than in his office. And the neo-Nazi campaign against the Germans who fled from the Third Reich or joined the Resistance at home has burst into flame.

IN HIS first radio talk from the east zone Dr. John said he left West Germany because of the neo-Nazi peril and because so many former Nazis had infiltrated the government. If he had said this in Bonn and begun to fight there against the Nazis in the government he could have combated the danger more effectively. But when he decided to flee to the east zone, his days as West Germany's security chief were already numbered. His dismissal was expected at any time. It would not have been due, how-

CAROLUS is the pseudonym of a prominent Social Democrat in West Germany who is a contributing editor of The Nation.

ever, to the machinations of the Nazis in the Adenauer government. Dr. John was really the victim of the conflicting policies of the British and American occupation authorities. His wholly justified complaints over the East Berlin radio* about the growing influence of Nazi leaders and Nazi generals are a powerful criticism of American policy in West Germany, which seems to be based on the principle that "the bigger Nazi a man is, the better anti-Communist and anti-Russian."

THE counter-intelligence department formerly headed by Dr. John is located at Cologne. There is no doubt that it has worked closely with British military circles. Competing with it for authority is the Security Service of General von Gehlen, maintained by the American occupation authorities at Munich. The John office is run by civilians; von Gehlen's is largely staffed by former Wehrmacht and S. S. officers. Von Gehlen himself headed the Nazi security services in German-occupied Eastern Europe. There was a bitter personal feud between John and Gehlen, and with Adenauer identifying himself more and more closely with Washington's rearmament policy, Gehlen's influence at Bonn increased. The pro-British John was not once received by Adenauer while he was in office; Gehlen, Washington's man, had constant access to the Chancellor. John represented the views of the British Foreign Office, Gehlen those of Adenauer and Dulles. It is hardly surprising that John lost.

These conflicting attitudes were behind various recent incidents. Bonn opened its so-called "Operation Volcano" a few days before Dr. Adenauer's American trip. Some forty industrialists, business men, managing directors, and engineers were arrested in the middle of the night and accused of conspiring to aid Russia. Sensational reports were put out by press and radio, and the Chancellor left for Washington looking like St. George triumphant over the Red Dragon. All but three of the men arrested have now been freed. The much-trumpeted treason trial is still to be held. Instead, the government and its security services were sharply criticized in Parliament—even by members

of the government coalition—for unjustified arrests of innocent people. The government had to agree to compensate the victims for the considerable damage to their honor and reputation and publicly to proclaim their innocence. Their crime was that they had engaged in perfectly legal commercial transactions with the East. The aim of "Operation Volcano" was to frighten business men away from such transactions.

The "Naumann affair," in the spring of 1953, was the work of Dr. John's security service. On the order of the British occupation authorities, a neo-Nazi organization was raided and its leaders arrested. This dangerous gang was headed by Goebbels's Under Secretary of State, Dr. Naumann. All the other leaders were former high-ranking Nazis. The organization had plenty of money and gave orders to thousands of Nazis. Among its papers were plans for undermining the democratic parties and seizing power in the best Nazi tradition.

It was a genuine Nazi conspiracy. Foreign Secretary Eden testified to this in the House of Commons when justifying the measures taken by the British authorities. Some of the plotters escaped to the American zone and have never been arrested. The others were finally freed without a trial and the whole affair was hushed up. Why? The answer lies perhaps in the papers of that "Youth Organization" which the Hesse state police ran to earth near Frankfurt three years ago. These papers, besides giving directions for practice maneuvers, telling where the most modern weapons were stored, and listing hundreds of leading democrats and Social Democrats who were to be liquidated, revealed that the organization was financed by the American occupation authorities. Not one of the conspirators was arrested. Their leader was a notorious crook who was very probably in the pay of Russia—which neatly rounds out the picture of the German political jungle.

No less than forty-two secret organizations in West Germany and West Berlin are combating the Communist peril. Thousands of people make a good living from the profession of anti-Communist. Each of the occupation powers has its agents, informers, and stool pigeons who penetrate into the smallest village and the least important bureau. The West German government



Otto John

also takes a hand in the game, and any anti-Adenauer politician is suspected and watched. And that is not all in the spying line. The organizations of Polish, Czech, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Slovakian, Rumanian, and even Ukrainian immigrants in West Germany hate and spy on one another. Each is working against the others and for its own particular purposes. The only people who benefit are the Russians, who eventually learn the secrets of all.

The situation is well described in a report which Zachariah Schuster, representing the American Jewish Committee, recently gave to the press in Bonn. Germany is revealed as a vast sewer into which have seeped all the reactionary groups of East Europe, from the Hungarian "Arrow Cross" to the notorious Russian "Rondel." Some of them are even organized in military units, under the eyes of the American authorities. They all attack democracy and foster anti-Semitism among the Germans. It is anybody's guess how many representatives of these reactionary groups are working for the Gehlen office.

Dr. John, a weak man unequal to his task, has given it up and run away to the Russians. When Germany is finally remilitarized, General von Gehlen will be able to create a centralized security service, bringing together all the groups now functioning separately. England has had little joy from its protégé, Dr. John. Only time will tell whether America will fare better with von Gehlen.

*This article was written before Dr. John's press conference in East Berlin on August 11.

BOOKS

Africa: Hope and Danger

TELL FREEDOM: MEMORIES OF AFRICA. By Peter Abrahams. Alfred A. Knopf. \$4.

THROUGH MALAN'S AFRICA. By Robert St. John. Doubleday and Company. \$3.95.

REPORT ON AFRICA. By Oden Mecker. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$5.

By Melville J. Herskovits

PETER ABRAHAM'S book, the story of his life until he left Africa to go to England, is a beautifully written, moving, revealing story. It adds an essential dimension to the African picture, for the African of color, either in the Union of South Africa or in the rest of the continent, rarely speaks with such forthrightness and literary talent. Aside from the emotional experience books of this kind can yield, their first-hand testimony about the under side of the interracial situation gives them great sociological and psychological importance.

Abrahams is one of those the Union calls "colored," a person of racially mixed blood. His father was an Ethiopian who married the widow of a Cape Malay, herself of mixed ancestry, and worked in the mines of the Rand. The boy's early years were happy enough, but when his father died the family was broken, and he was sent to live with a colored couple, Aunt Liza and Uncle Sam, in the village of Elsburg.

The grinding poverty of this worker on a white farm and his washerwoman wife allowed them little opportunity to show the affection they undoubtedly felt for the small boy. Peter had to bear his share of the burden, but there were compensations: he learned the beauties of the veld, and he made friends with a Zulu boy his own age who taught him that Africans as well as whites can have a sense of dignity and worth. Other les-

sons were bitter—his encounter with "Boer dogs," trained to attack non-Europeans, the insistence that he address all whites as *beas*, the brutal thrashing Uncle Sam was compelled to give him by the father of a boy Peter had fought for calling his own dead father a "black baboon."

We follow Peter through his return to Johannesburg, his adventures as a member of a youthful gang of petty thieves, his job at the tinsmithy, where he was befriended by a white girl who gave him the glimpse of great literature that inspired him to go to school. We learn of his struggle to get an education, of the impact of American Negro writing on his thinking, of his growing recognition as a poet, his discovery of Marxism, and his disillusionment with left-wing factionalism despite the appeal of its anti-racism.

"For Europeans Only," the ever-present warning to any man of color in the Union, was inescapable there, and he had to leave. "In my contacts with them the Europeans had made it clear that they were the overlords, that the earth and all its wealth belonged to them. . . . And I had submitted to their superior strength. But submission can be a subtle thing. A man can submit today in order to resist tomorrow. My submission was such. . . . I had been lucky in some of the whites I had met. . . . But I had reached a point where the gestures of even my friends among the whites were suspect. . . . I needed, not friends, not gestures, but my manhood." The tragedy of South Africa has rarely been better expressed.

IN "Through Malan's Africa" we get the situation in the Union as seen by a newspaperman and traveler. The author's position is clear. He does not like the party in power and feels it has heightened, though not caused, the tensions that plague the country. His on-sentence-to-a-paragraph style gives a tempo to his discussion that fits the scene he describes. Each racial group in the Union is treated in turn, with em-

phasis on the non-Europeans—nine chapters for the Cape coloreds, eighteen for the Africans, four for the Indians, and one for the Malays, as against two for the Afrikaners and five for "other whites." This is not too disproportionate in terms of population ratios, but in view of the importance of Malan and his following in the present situation, one wonders if more might not profitably have been said of them.

TWO chapters of "Report on Africa," on the Gold Coast and on Liberia, originally appeared in the *New Yorker*. The book is written in typical Newyorkerese—bright, comprehensive, sometimes superficial, sometimes showing flashes of insight. Its author, we are told, is an amateur zoologist, and certainly no other recent popular book on Africa describes the flora and fauna so accurately, even to giving the scientific Latin names.

After spending the better part of 1952 in Africa, Mr. Meeker topped off his travels by reading sourcebooks and contemporary documents, including the newspapers. This aided him to provide the historical background for his observations and to bring them up to date. He was in the Gold Coast when Kwame Nkrumah was named Prime Minister, in South Africa when the non-resistance campaign was in full swing, in Kenya when the Mau-Mau "emergency" was declared. He made the most of his opportunities. His interview with Jomo Kenyatta, which must have been one of the last the Kikuyu leader gave before his arrest, is of considerable historical interest.

As always in a book of this sort, there are details that need correction. Use of the term "ju-ju men" and translating a Dahomean cult-house as "convent," to name but two, are regrettable. But these errors are of little consequence when compared with the author's realistic approach to the role of the native in present-day Africa and the respect it shows for the achievements, past and potential, of African culture. Commenting on the fact that "some of the feudal-minded among the white settlers . . . were forever using their historical primitiveness as a club with which to beat back further advances by the Africans," he observes, "there is no empirical evidence that an East African can't learn from scratch just as fast as any other sort of man."

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS, professor of anthropology and director of the Program of African Studies of Northwestern University, spent most of last year in Africa south of the Sabara.

The Belgians themselves, unofficially, would undoubtedly enjoy his felicitous designation of their colonial policy as an Auntie-Knows-Best one. One paragraph on this policy presents the basic problem as concisely and clearly as anything that has been written on the subject. Only its concluding lines can be quoted here: The Belgians "had never made the Africans any promises about their future, so they had left no trail of broken promises. But one felt there was something missing. Had the company managers underestimated the power of nationalism? What if the Africans became tired of expressing themselves in terms of buying vacuum cleaners and clip-on bow ties, and developed a terrible thirst for politics and higher education as they have in West and East and South Africa?" Every Belgian colo-

onial would recognize the cogency of these questions; in the Congo one hears them, variously phrased, repeated endlessly.

Like most general books, this one gives no more than a passing glance to Portuguese territories; what is surprising is that French Africa receives so little attention. Dakar and Dahomey in French West Africa and Brazzaville in French Equatorial Africa are described, and that is all. But one can hardly complain with Ethiopia and the Sudan thrown in for good measure. In a perceptive chapter on South Africa Meeker comments on "the terrible weight of bad conscience, of fear and frustration one accumulates in the Union."

It is a good book and will help correct the unrealistic view of Africa that prevails in this country.

about all the worlds through which he has moved thus far in his sixty boisterous years—the Jewish immigrant days at the turn of the century; the Chicago newspaper and literary days that, through Hecht more than any other individual, have become as much a part of our folk opera as cowboys and cattle rustlers; the Germany of World War I, where the seeds of World War II and possibly III were visible; the New York theater world of the twenties, with the curious omission of any but the most passing reference to his own achievements in it; the Florida land boom of the same era; the golden age of Hollywood; the violent years of the birth of Israel. But Hecht, however else he happened to be making his fame and fortune, was always a newspaperman, and reading about his times in this book is like reading the second hand on the clock.

But when it comes to conveying a picture of himself—and, after all, what else would you read autobiography for?—the second hand stands still and the whole clock is there, in fact does not seem to have moved at all from the day Hecht began telling time by it.

HECHT is a not unfamiliar phenomenon among men of talent in America—a Casanova, not of mere woman, but of life itself. Life has only to come before his eyes for him to adore it, woo it, and make it yield up its prize. He is ardent over every bounce with it until some private, mysterious, perhaps misunderstood dawn comes to pale his exuberance. Then he rushes off, carrying away from each separate triumph, no matter how great, only what Casanova carried away—that sense of his own impotence which was his most priceless possession, spurring him on as it did to new triumphs.

As far as Ben Hecht remembers, his life has been a single day—a long personal Fourth of July which he spent celebrating his own independence by shooting off a mouthful of firecrackers. It is a queer way to spend a lifetime, but who can say his own way is less queer or even better? Now that Hecht's day is coming into its evening, he feels regretful—but not over the way he has lived, only over the fact that he cannot go on doing it for another sixty years.

This is the way he ends his book. It

Leaping into the Air

A CHILD OF THE CENTURY. By Ben Hecht. Simon and Schuster. \$5.

By Ira Wolfert

THE fact that Ben Hecht's autobiography is whopping and gorgeous has been broadcast widely. What else could have been expected? He is the author of "Count Bruga" and at least sixty of the slickest, juiciest movies anyone has seen and co-author of "The Front Page" and "Twentieth Century" and of the state of Israel.

The present reviewer is a newspaperman himself and has never met one of that ilk who would not give his right arm down to and including his typewriter finger to write like Ben Hecht. When Westbrook Pegler is in the mood he can make the language do him the same wonderful favors, and that's true, too, of Walter Winchell and Bob Casey and Jimmy Cannon and was true of Heywood Brown and Damon Runyon. But they're delicate boys. The subject has to be to their liking or it wrestles them to a fall. A tale of a city budget would have Walter Winchell writing

with his thumbs, and when it's about love or human goodness Pegler writes as an abashed barefoot boy drawing lines in the dust with his toe, and ends up taking a punch at the fellow who embarrassed him silly by warming his heart. But the subject makes no difference to Ben Hecht. Love or money, heroism or skulduggery, schmalz or wisdom, it's all warm and breathing to him and he makes it jump up into the air to kiss you or bite you. The Newspaper Guild has never gone on record to that effect, and when the darn business offered him a job it wouldn't go higher than \$75 a week; but it is a fact that Hecht has made more tears fall and more groans of admiration rise from more of those lovers of sheer, pure prose who earn their livings as newspapermen than anybody else who ever lived.

What does Hecht's sheer, pure prose say? Who cares? I suppose some do. There are people who wear a gray overcoat on their hearts and insist that words be mere platters conveying solid fare on which to grow instead of iridescent bubbles with which to have fun. For them Hecht has an answer.

Somewhere in his book he writes that trying to find out about the world from following it in the newspapers is like trying to tell time by following the second hand on a clock. Hecht has written

IRA WOLFERT, distinguished journalist and war correspondent, received a Pulitzer prize in 1943 for his dispatch on the fifth battle of the Solomons. His latest book is a revised version of his novel "An Act of Love."

August 21, 1954

is at a parade of volunteer firemen in Nyack, New York:

Here she stands—our daughter—vibrating beside us beneath the pillars of Mrs. Probst's porch. . . . Her hands float as if a dream were moving them. A heart with no baggage of yesterdays; a smile that explodes at the touch of sun or the sound of music; a look of mystery and talent—these are Jenny. . . . But now she is gone, racing down the street, leaping into the air at every fifth step. Watching her, I remember a lad in Racine. My book is done—but it is beginning all over again.

That's a fact. Hecht has gone through sixty years of life leaping into the air at every fifth step, and only a bore could fail to enjoy reading his account of it.

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European Moderns

MODERN PAINTING. Text By Maurice Raynal. Translated by Stuart Gilbert. Skira. \$25.

By S. Lane Faison, Jr.

THIS plush, handsomely printed tome offers the material contained in the second and third volumes of the Skira "History of Modern Painting" arranged according to a different scheme. Instead of a survey of major movements and individual artists as before, a strict time sequence now prevails. The new plan is not so novel as the publishers claim, since Rewald's "History of Impressionism" and one of Wilenski's books on French painting were similarly organized. The novelty lies in the application of the method to a collection of two hundred color plates: synchronization thus becomes *visual* and more readily fixed in the mind. By a clever use of folding pages collateral-contemporary material—for example, what Bonnard and Matisse were painting around 1910, during the rise of cubism—can be included conveniently without interrupting the narrative of the main developments.

The period covered is from 1884, when Seurat and some associates founded the Salon des Indépendants, to the present. The major contributions from France, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Germany, Russia, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia are all appropriately represented, but the single page on England and the inclusion of John Marin alone for America merely excuse the title, which should actually read Modern

Painting in Europe. Furthermore, as Raynal explicitly states, the book does not survey younger talents or even those in middle age today. Younger critics will therefore argue that this is a book about old-timers. Significantly, the pace is speeded up rapidly after 1930, and the detailed and excellent coverage of the preceding pages is no longer provided. It is hard to get anything but a confusing picture of 1935-53 in twenty pages after one has read a hundred good ones on the years 1907-14.

Since the reproductions are printed directly on the page and not hand-tipped on coarser stock as before, the color has been intensified to a dangerous degree in order to compete successfully with the glare of the surrounding white paper. I fear many of the originals will seem an anti-climax to the viewer who first saw them jazzed up into super-posters, but these are conventions of the post black-and-white age to which the public will have to become adjusted by education and experience. The new method has one advantage: the plates are no longer cropped around the edges.

Welcome expansion of text and plates will be found in several sections, notably those on the Nabis—Vallotton, Denis, Vuillard, and others—and the Futurists. As before, the lists of events in chronological tables, the brief biographies, and the bibliographies make an important supplement to this generous treasure of color plates. The text is for the most part the same, with new introductions, transitions, and corrections.

Recent Fiction

The Age of Cain

HACKENFELLER'S APE. By Brigid Brophy. Random House. \$2.75.

In less felicitous hands this brief story of the elderly biologist whose ambition it was to observe the mating in captivity of a pair of apes higher on the evolutionary scale than either gorilla or chimpanzee might easily have been farce or formula. Miss Brophy, who has the industry to make her most minor character an individual and the wit to see her situations as organic rather than

mechanical sequences, has written a delicate satire with a cutting edge.

Professor Darrelhyde can reconcile himself to disappointment when Percy suffers schizophrenic conflict and rebels against the duty and desire that urge him to Edwina, but when it is proposed to utilize the ape as an experimental animal—passenger in a rocket—the biologist is outraged. Percy's life and potential parenthood must be saved.

But at every turn the professor meets the human will to be cruel or indifferent, perverse ("humanitarians" who en-

joy photographs of tortured animals) or fearful (the rocket has something to do with defense; the magic word excuses any enmity). He discovers that he is indeed living in "the Age of Cain." Yet Miss Brophy does not leave it at that; she gives her blade another twist or two: man is capable of magnificent gestures, and the apes are not. Man may do good, not because it is good, but because some excitement may be engendered in the doing; and man, who cannot live intelligently, can die heroically—and pointlessly.

Interesting Technique

THE MANGO SEASON. By Kathryn Grondahl. Morrow. \$3.50.

Here is a pleasant first novel unexpectedly combining slick formula with some of the more important techniques of modern fiction. By manipulating point of view and time development, Kathryn Grondahl has given a dimension of depth to what would otherwise be a rather pedestrian tale of the "diplomatic set" in Bangkok, Siam.

There are, in "The Mango Season," English, American, French, Siamese, and several minor-league diplomats, together with their wives and occasional mistresses. There are a "native" man of mystery, a Eurasian woman of equal mystery, and an attempted coup d'état. There are also a wild French girl and an urbane young Britisher, a wholesome Wyoming girl and a clean-cut Iowa boy. There are, finally, the beautiful but unhappy wife of a diplomat who drinks and the sensitive, melancholy professor who is lonely.

Given these ingredients, readers will expect—with some justice—another potpourri for the mass market. "The Mango Season," however, cannot be dismissed quite so simply. Miss Grondahl has for the most part avoided stereotyped plot development, focusing instead on the slow unfolding of character within situation. Her novel is set in one week; most of the significant events have already occurred. As Miss Grondahl brings the reader to the minds of her characters, using brief, interlocking passages to form a chain of points of view, the whole picture is revealed.

Of course, Miss Grondahl is not always comfortable with this technique; accustomed to magazine audiences, she

seems unwilling to ask much of her readers in the way of either attention or comprehension. The result is shallow prose—as if Virginia Woolf were writing for the *Ladies' Home Journal*:

In Darkest Georgia

YOUNGBLOOD. By John O. Killens. Dial Press. \$3.95.

A family chronicle of the Youngbloods—Laurie Lee, Joe, their children Robby (who looked like Joe Louis) and Jenny Lee—"Youngblood" has a certain eighteenth-century discursiveness and leisurely pace. It is no trouble for the author to stop his narrative and go back for an extended biography of one of the characters. Surprisingly, it is no trouble for the reader either, which indicates that while Mr. Killens has a tyro's willingness to flout the "rules" of writing, he has the professional's ability to get away with it.

In Crossroads, Georgia, the Youngbloods have a reputation as "good colored folks," a reputation earned by their patient industry, but Joe as a young man attempted to escape from the South, only to be forcibly "hired" on his way north. And Laurie Lee has taught her children fiercely not to submit to injustice at black hands or white. When the paternalism of the wealthy whites wears thin and the oppression of the Crackers become intolerable, the self-respect of the Youngbloods demands that they stand up to their tormentors, no matter what the cost.

"Youngblood" is described on the blurb as a documentary novel. Certainly the author has not hesitated to add any material which he feels might be even remotely relevant, including a "good" Cracker who is as unreal as Dickens's Riah and introduced for much the same purpose. In spite of its documentariness, its attribution of almost cloying virtue

Young People Prevented From Knowing Hebrew History

(Beyond selling space for publication of the accompanying material, *The Nation* is not to be held responsible for statements contained in the material)

High school and college students are told what the best modern scholarship knows about the history of many nations; but they are not told with equal care what modern scholarship knows about Hebrew history. Every nation arises from the coalescence of antecedent stems; and so—"the children of Israel dwelt among the Canaanites, and took their daughters to be their wives, and gave their own daughters to their sons... They did not destroy the gentiles, but mingled themselves with the gentiles" (Judges 3 and Psalm 106). This racial coalescence gave rise to the Hebrew language and the Hebrew nation. The name Israel was applied to the composite Hebrew nation through the work of such leaders as Saul and David.

In Hebrew history two ideas of law came into conflict, inherited respectively from the original Israelite immigrants and from the Canaanites who previously possessed the country: (1) that all the members of a nomadic tribe or clan have a right to equal consideration under all circumstances, and (2) that the possessors, or "baals", who own the ground of a settled country have rights that supersede all others. These contrasted ideas were symbolized by the cult-names "Jehovah" and "Baal". And accordingly, when the soil concentrated in possession of great Hebrew landlords, a struggle broke out in which the Hebrew prophets took up the cause of "the poor and needy" against the wealthy adherents of the Baal-cult. The powerful warfare against Baal by the Hebrew prophets was the force that led gradually up to belief in One God who demands the practice of social justice (not socialism or communism) by all mankind.

If the Hebrew prophets, in the name of Jehovah, defended the cause of "the poor and needy" against the wealthy adherents of Baal, would this be embarrassing to teach young people? It is very different from the "orthodox" approach to the subject, even though it has nothing to do with socialism or communism.—A bulletin dealing with the problem will be sent to you upon receipt of a three-cent stamp. Failure to include a stamp will bring no result.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

to the Youngbloods and their friends, and its often pat situations, "Youngblood" is well worth the hours spent on its 566 pages.

Profitless Voyage

WINDWARD OF REASON. By H. Gifford Irion. Dial. \$3.50.

Mary Page, adopted by her cousin Charles Brendan, becomes the subject of an educational experiment: she is to be the first feminine philosopher trained to think logically, to be free of emotional impediments, to live on intellectual heights fortified by enlightened selfishness. Mr. Irion's description of the eleven-year-old girl from Virginia, her introduction to the staid, dull house in Boston, the careful, relentless forcing of her mind, and Mary's developing maturity are the foundations of a solid if sluggish novel whose strongest claim to attention is the author's facility in writing in the first person as a young girl.

"Windward of Reason" owes a great deal to "Bleak House"; many of the characters and situations are derivative, though pallid after long years. Cousin

Charles is certainly Mr. Jarndyce; Mary writes and acts like an uncloying Esther Summerson; one begins to look for a Mr. Tulkington or the suitor from Shropshire.

Unhappily, after modernizing Dickens for some five-sixths of its course, "Windward of Reason" suddenly yaws. The character of Mary changes, and in a manner inexplicable on the basis of all the author has previously established. The reader can only assume that Cousin Charles's great plan is totally defective, with evil implicit; he gets no clue from the author. It would almost seem that Mr. Irion, after carefully and lovingly writing most of his book, laid the manuscript aside and returned to it in a different and wearier mood.

Objet d'Art

VICTORIAN CHAISE LONGUE. By Marghanita Laski. Houghton Mifflin. \$2.75.

This very brief novel transports convalescent Melanie Langdon ninety years into the past, where she discovers the schizophrenic distortions, not only of

another, hidden self, but of situation and surroundings. Attempting to dismiss the translation as a dream, a nightmare, a fever, she realizes with horror that she is becoming more and more deeply imprisoned in the past as memories of the strange woman she has become spring unbidden, though fragmentary, into her mind. Her present-day mind still functions, but she cannot articulate the twentieth-century words, only the rough nineteenth-century equivalents.

The conventions, superstitions, and medicine of the time conspire to condemn her to death. She can get no one to open a window as she stifles in the foul air; she is dosed with laudanum and swathed in heavy clothes. Her appeals for help are sympathetically dismissed as hallucinations of the very ill. Return to her own time, to her husband and child, seems unachievable. The Victorian in her is too strong.

British critics have acclaimed this as a tour de force and a chef-d'oeuvre; since "The Victorian Chaise Longue" depends so heavily on a word play it can certainly be called a bon mot.

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Music

B. H. Haggin

THE recent works of Jacques Barzun would keep me from reading anything of his I didn't have to read; but a translation of Berlioz letters looked not only like something he couldn't spoil but like something he should do especially well. He had given thought to the problem of translation—to the extent of an article in *Partisan Review*; and though what my eye caught as I turned the pages of the article was mostly the usual high-flown razzle-dazzle he did make one close-to-earth point about not translating idiomatic expressions like the French "Que voulez-vous?" literally (but amazed me by citing this as the only defect in a translation that he praised and that I had found shockingly bad—Scott-Moncrieff's of Proust); and this led one to hope that in the actual process of translating a French text he would stay close to earth.

The book, "New Letters of Berlioz 1830-1868" (Columbia, \$4.50), with the French texts as well as Barzun's translations, turns out to be one of the Columbia University Bicentennial Editions and Studies under his general editorship. Which is to say that it turns out to be not just a volume of Berlioz letters but a sample of Columbia scholarship—in this instance a sample of Barzun scholarship. This doesn't mean just the profusion of notes, footnotes, additional notes, lists, etc. It means also a selection of only new letters, and for the most part letters concerned with negotiations and plans and arrangements for publication and performance and other business—letters which lend themselves to combining with Barzun's notes to make "a small-scale biography of Berlioz." And so it means the inclusion of only very few of the personal letters that are so moving.

As for the translation, Barzun speaks in his introduction of the "careless way" in which Berlioz's letters have been published—of "words omitted, altered, and even added; and for good measure, but no good reason, the punctuation . . . entirely changed." He again opposes having "the French form or idiom remain visible beneath the English," and has "tried instead to find a native equivalent for Berlioz's prose, which is vivid, full of color. . . ." As so often happens, the intentions stated in the introduction could not be more admirable; the actual practice in the book could not be less.

Nor is it a matter of the handling of French idioms. Much of the writing is simple prose which requires only simple translation with the same order of words and clauses, the same punctuation, to preserve the original force, vividness, and color; instead of which Barzun omits, adds, changes words, order, and punctuation, makes clauses into separate sentences, makes separate sentences into clauses of one sentence, and in so doing often destroys the force, vividness, and color. Berlioz's "Rubini ne demande pas mieux" needs only to be translated simply as "Rubini asks nothing better"; and Barzun's "Rubini is eager to do it" may mean essentially the same thing but isn't what Berlioz says. So with Berlioz's "Ecrivez-moi, je vous en prie, quand vous le pourrez," in which he is saying "Write to me, I beg you, when you can," rather than Barzun's "Do, please, write to me when convenient." Or with Berlioz's "Quant à vous. . . je n'ai rien à dire," in which he is saying "As for you . . . I have nothing to say," rather than Barzun's "As for you . . . what can I say?" Or with Berlioz's "J'ai trop souffert, j'ai trop senti pour n'être pas bientôt éteint," in which he is saying "I have suffered too much, I have felt too much not to be used up soon," rather than Barzun's "I have suffered and felt too much not to etc." Or with Berlioz's "Monsieur et cher Confère/J'ai lu avec une vive émotion la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire," in which he is saying "Sir and dear colleague/I have read with lively [or strong or great] emotion the letter you have done me the honor to write," rather than Barzun's "Dear Sir/I have been much moved by reading the letter you have

favoured me with." Or, in the same letter, Berlioz's "Il faut cependant l'honorer toujours, le respecter toujours, l'aimer toujours," in which he is saying "One must nevertheless honor it [music] always, respect it always, love it always," rather than Barzun's "Nevertheless, one must continue to honor it, respect it, love it—always."

And sometimes the essential meaning is changed. Berlioz's "Adieu, je vous avertirai du jour de la répétition" means "Good-bye, I'll let you know about the day of the rehearsal," not Barzun's "Farewell. I'll see you at the rehearsal." And when Berlioz writes his editor "Je n'ai pas reçu hier de billet ni de Monpou ni de vous, en consequence je n'ai pas vu la pièce nouvelle; il paraît qu'il n'y a pas grand mal que je m'en prive; faites faire une note par quelqu'un," he is saying "I didn't receive any tickets yesterday either from Monpou or from you, consequently I didn't see the new piece; apparently I suffered no great loss; have someone write a note"; and the point of his statement is eliminated by the omission of "yesterday" and "have someone write a note" in Barzun's "I have received no tickets, neither from Monpou nor from you, and consequently haven't seen the new piece—no great deprivation, apparently"—the point being that Berlioz had been supposed to review the new piece the night before but hadn't seen it and his editor must therefore get someone else to write a note about it.

In sum, in addition to offering a poor selection of letters Barzun destroys much of their effect by often unbelievable mistranslation. That effect—of Berlioz's vivid mind, personality, and literary gift—is evident even in the few isolated sentences I have quoted; and it is something only quotation can convey. I can't quote enough of the moving letters to Marmontel and the American addressed as Sir and dear Colleague; but here is a passage out of a staccato outpouring from London (with translation revised by me): ". . . departure of Wagner after the worthy Mr. Hogarth has introduced him in his proper turn to Mr. Meyerbeer, asking these two celebrities if they knew each other, joy of Wagner at leaving London, renewal of the critics' fury against him after the concert in Hanover Square, he conducts it is true in a free style . . . but he is very

attractive in his ideas and conversation, we go to drink punch at his house after the concert, he renews his compliments to me, he embraces me with fury, saying he had had a mass of prejudices about me, he weeps, he stamps, hardly has he left when the *Musical World* publishes the passage in his book where he annihilates me in the most comical and witty fashion. . . ."

Answer to the Query on page 149

1. Stephen D. Bechtel, President, Bechtel Corporation
3. Randolph W. Burgess, Chairman of Executive Committee, National City Bank
4. Norman Chandler, Publisher, Los Angeles Times
5. Lucius D. Clay, Chairman of the Board, Continental Can Company
7. Harlow H. Curtice, President, General Motors
8. Donald K. David, Dean, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University.
10. Benjamin F. Fairless, Chairman of the Board, United States Steel
12. R. G. Follis, Chairman of the Board, Standard Oil Company of California
13. Henry Ford II, President, Ford Motor Company
16. Crawford H. Greenewalt, President, E. I. duPont de Nemours and Company
18. Fred G. Gurley, President, Santa Fe Railroad
21. Paul G. Hoffman, Chairman of the Board, Studebaker Corporation
22. K. T. Keller, Chairman of the Board, Chrysler Corporation
26. John J. McCloy, Chairman of the Board, Chase National Bank
29. Edward L. Ryerson, former Chairman of the Board, Inland Steel Corporation
40. Sidney J. Weinberg, partner in Goldman, Sachs and Company
41. Ernest T. Weir, Chairman of the Board, National Steel Corporation
46. Charles E. Wilson, President, General Electric Company
47. R. W. Woodruff, Chairman of Executive Committee, Coca-Cola Company
50. J. D. Zellerbach, President, Crown, Zellerbach Corporation

Letters

(Continued from inside front cover)

learn that twentieth-century facts have outrun nineteenth-century theories and that more is at stake today than the simple platitudes which the Brothers Dulles learned at their Princeton preceptors' knees.

London

GEORGE RUDISILL, JR.

Which Is Which?

Dear Sirs: The other evening I heard a newscaster report a claim by the North Korean Communist radio that the Republic of South Korea is a puppet of the United States and that therefore the United States is responsible for the actions of Syngman Rhee. I laughed. This, of course, was nonsense; everyone knows that the United States is a puppet of Syngman Rhee.

DAVID SCHWARTZ

University Heights, Ohio

Complete Circle

Dear Sirs: The use of caves has been suggested in the event of an H-bomb attack. Historically, the circle is now complete—from cave dwellers to cave dwellers. And from the time man put fire on the earth to the time man put the earth on fire.

La Mirada, Calif.

GARNET HELFEN

Intercultural Program

Dear Sirs: The Southland Jewish Organization is an educational and intercultural service organization, with headquarters at 5725 Melrose Avenue, Los Angeles 38, and membership chapters in Southern California. Now entering our twelfth year, we are interested in contacting organizations of a similar nature in different sections of the country for the mutual exchange of ideas, bulletins, and program planning. Our own activities fall into four main departmental committees—legislative, education, intercultural, and Jewish affairs. These are implemented through an active volunteer membership, operating through regular chapter meetings.

We feel there has been a wholesome resurgence of liberal and progressive thought within recent months which we hope is an encouraging sign for the future. Perhaps there are ways of channeling this sentiment into useful activities. At any rate, we believe it would be profitable to explore these thoughts farther through the interchange of ideas and material with other groups whose aims and purposes are similar to ours. Correspondence and suggestions are invited.

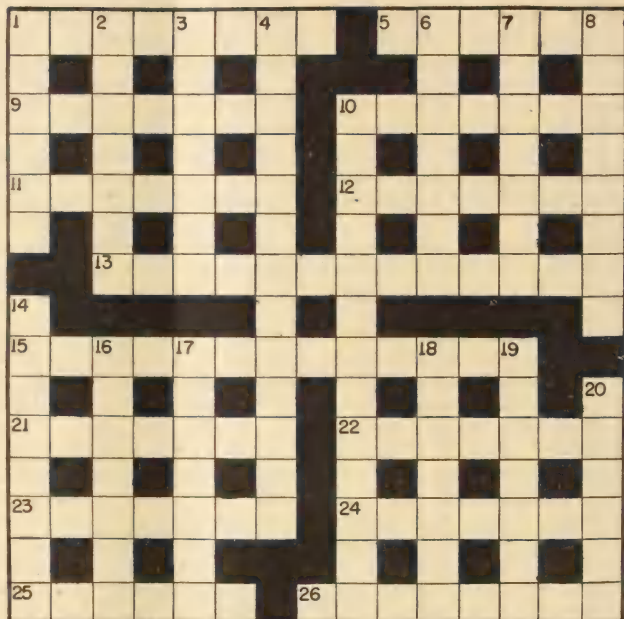
(MRS.) MITZI ROSENBLATT,

Corresponding Secretary

Los Angeles, Calif.

Crossword Puzzle No. 581

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 A few rulers have this as a unit. (8)
- 5 See 18 down.
- 9 A tale of medieval France. (7)
- 10 Where half a hundred might be within reason, more or less? (7)
- 11 Cause to be dead set about it? (7)
- 12 Melted, if ice-cream contains it. (7)
- 13 Not exactly Omaha or Utah, but if you come right down to it you're lucky to walk away. (6, 7)
- 15 Was Mann referring to a heap of tricks? (5, 8)
- 21 Col. Calverley had one for a heavy dragoon. (7)
- 22 A good deal of restriction on profits! (7)
- 23 Associate. (7)
- 24 Rages on in beastly fashion. (7)
- 25 Lodge. (6)
- 26 Twisted and also tied by itself? (8)

DOWN

- 1 Piscine and aloof? (6)
- 2 Fibrine method of court presentation. (2, 5)
- 3 A feather might make a wood-cutter sick with a third of classical education. (7)
- 4 Not the palace gossip! (5, 8)

- 6 A big hotel in Estonia. (Revel there, say the Russians.) (7)
- 7 Does one swallow make a drink? Quite the opposite! (7)
- 8 There's one in process! (5, 3)
- 10 One of these isn't a treatise on witchcraft. (8, 5)
- 14 It isn't nice, and one might catch the devil for it. (8)
- 16 Do they carry the game? (2-5)
- 17 Rocked, perhaps, like a cinder. (7)
- 18 and 5 across. Their fixation implies high-flown words. (3, 4, 6)
- 19 Next thing to an eastern variety. (7)
- 20 With 5, they probably haven't been licked. (6)

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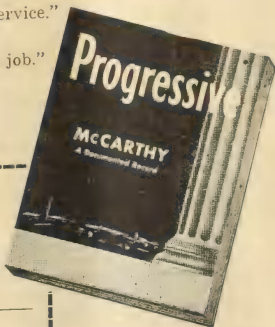
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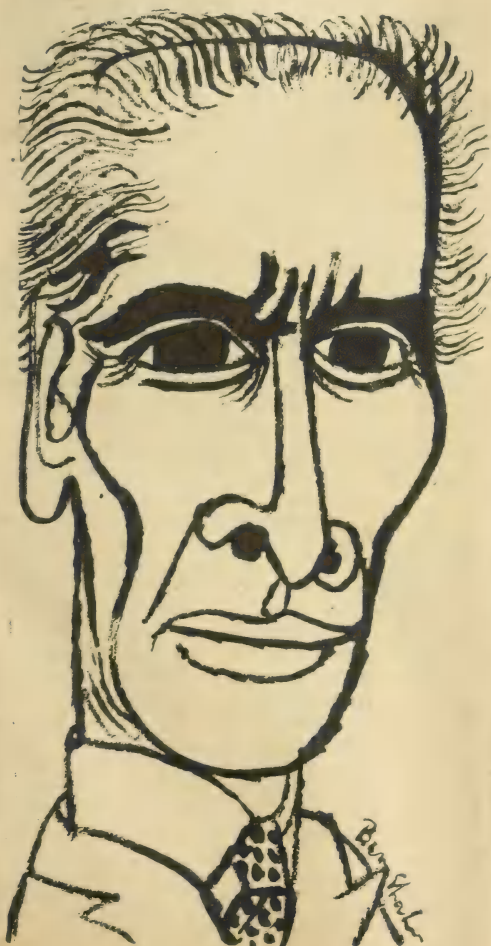


THE *Nation*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

August 28, 1954

20¢



Krishna Menon

Architect of Peace

by Sam A. Jaffe

New York

Discovers Crime

by Leslie Slote



The Case of David Hyun

Los Angeles

A DEPORTATION order that is equivalent to a death sentence has been issued by the United States Immigration Service against David Hyun, a Los Angeles architect born in Korea. In effect, the order asks the South Korean government to perform an act legally and morally forbidden in the United States, where an alien cannot be executed on the ground that he is or was a Communist.

As the son of one of Syngman Rhee's principal opponents, as a vocal critic himself of the Rhee administration, and as a Korean national judged to be a Communist by an official United States agency, David Hyun will be in triple jeopardy if his deportation to South Korea is carried out. He will face certain torture and death. Yet the Department of Justice has pressed relentlessly for his deportation.

Only the face of the oppressor has changed since 1920, when David Hyun's family—he was then a child of two—fled from the Japanese police during the fight for Korean independence. For five years David's father, a Methodist missionary, his mother, who still suffers from tortures inflicted by the Japanese, and their eight children lived in Shanghai, where the Provisional Government of the new Republic of Korea was set up. The father became Minister of Interior in this government and was

chosen to represent the independence movement in the outside world.

As a special envoy to the United States seeking recognition of Korea's independence, the Reverend Hyun aroused the hostility of Syngman Rhee. For the next twenty years the personal enmity between the two men sharpened. Hyun was marked as an enemy of the Rhee regime, his life was threatened, he was forcibly removed from office, and two associates who had opposed Rhee's terrorist methods were assassinated.

DAVID, the Hyuns' youngest son, grew up on the island of Kauai, Territory of Hawaii. He disliked attending Korean schools, learning the Korean language, and being a Korean, and he regarded his family's annual celebration of Korean Independence Day as an empty observance. He had shown no interest in labor or politics when he entered the University of Hawaii in 1936 to study mathematics and physics.

In 1943, when he was employed by the United States Army Engineers, young Hyun led his first crusade—a campaign to abolish the 25 per cent wage differential which mainlanders enjoyed over native workers. The demand for equal pay was granted, and the easy success of the campaign launched David in the Hawaiian labor movement. He became active in the Federation of Architects, Chemists, Engineers, and Technicians, then a C. I. O. affiliate, and helped organize the sugar workers in 1946. By then he was a member of the executive board of the Political Action Committee of the C. I. O.

David brought his wife and two young sons to the United States in 1947 and became a licensed architect. In October, 1950, four months after the outbreak of the Korean war, he was arrested as a "dangerous alien" and charged with being a member of the Communist Party of the United States, which is ground for exclusion. He was denied bail and held for six and a half months on Terminal Island. While the matter of bail was still pending he was released, then arrested again in July, 1953, and held in custody for another five months. He is now free on \$2,000 bail while his case is on appeal.

The deportation order was based on testimony taken in Honolulu while David was in custody in California, and

is being tested in the courts. The separate issue of physical persecution now rests with the Commissioner of Immigration and the Attorney General in Washington. On this point the government's case should collapse under the weight of evidence introduced.

More than one hundred affidavits and exhibits from reliable eyewitnesses, army officers, religious leaders, and eminent war correspondents for the New York *Times* and *Herald Tribune* and the Chicago *Sun-Times* tell of the grave dangers in South Korea "not only to Communists . . . but to quite conservative people," of "drastic steps against political opponents," of "persecution and brutality against political critics," of Rhee's "pendant for jailing critics of his government's corruption," and of the systematic silencing of opposition to the Rhee government "by methods so barbaric . . . as to revolt the most hardened individuals."

THE Internal Security Act of 1950, under which David Hyun was arrested, provides that "no alien shall be deported . . . to any country in which [he] would be subjected to physical punishment." Even the Walter-McCarran Act of 1952 contains a watered-down provision granting the Attorney General discretionary power to withhold deportation to countries where punishment is anticipated. However, in a similar deportation case involving a Korean national, the Attorney General chose to rely on the word of the Korean ambassador, who gave his assurance that the alien, Sang Ryup Park, would not be persecuted so long as he obeyed the country's laws. This assurance, the courts held, was not enough to support Park's deportation. "It is not the sort of evidence," said United States Judge Louis E. Goodman in quashing the deportation order, "upon which a solemn finding, involving human life, should depend."

Under present immigration laws the Department of Justice serves as a go-between, delivering the victim into the hands of the would-be executioner. So far only the courts have been able to prevent the government from playing such an infamous role.

HANNAH BLOOM

[Hannah Bloom is The Nation's correspondent in Los Angeles.]

The Shape of Things

Mendes-France and E. D. C.

Perhaps M. Mendès-France tried to do too many things at once: sanction German rearmament—since he believes it cannot be avoided; open the way for new negotiations with Moscow and for a review of the European army treaty if Germany should be unified by agreement; postpone indefinitely military integration under supra-national control, thus leaving France—but Germany too!—free to maintain national armies; and give every member state the right to suspend decisions of the administrative body of the community, thus destroying its political authority. One can understand why the signatory states meeting at Brussels rejected the French protocol. Some of them even suspected that it had been deliberately framed to be turned down.

This is not at all likely. It would be contrary to the character and technique of the French Premier. No doubt he sincerely believes, and hoped he could convince his European colleagues, that the French Assembly will go no farther than his plan provided in the surrender of sovereignty, and that he cannot close the door to a German settlement with the Soviet Union.

As the week began, the French Premier was conferring with Churchill, apparently in an effort to find out whether a new kind of Anglo-French alliance could be substituted for E. D. C. which would meet with the approval of the French Assembly, the United States, and, presumably, Chancellor Adenauer. From this distance we cannot help wishing that Mendès-France had gone about all this another way—by insisting that talks with Russia precede a showdown on E. D. C. Nor is it too late. He could still press for a four-power conference on Germany and European security, as proposed by Moscow early this month. Here is a project which Churchill, considering Britain's domestic political situation, might find it difficult to disapprove.

Trouble on Cyprus

There are times when Britain's Tory government appears, by comparison at least, to be a model of enlightened conservatism. But no sooner do we begin to cheer than it kicks up its heels and displays the cloven hooves of Bourbonism. Thus on the very day when, despite opposition from its diehard supporters, it won approval of

the House of Commons for the Egyptian agreement—a victory for realism—it disclosed its intention of embarking on an idiotically reactionary course in Cyprus.

That island, with its predominantly Greek population, is destined to become the chief British base in the Near East. It is also promised a new constitution, one that will provide it with less self-government than most of Britain's crown colonies. Moreover, in announcing this dubious concession, the Minister of State, Mr. Hopkinson, indicated that British sovereignty would be permanent: never could the inhabitants hope for independence or, what most of them want more, *enosis*—union with Greece.

This statement, which was sharply attacked by Labor spokesmen, naturally led to strong protests in Cyprus itself. The island authorities tolerated these for a few days until the summer adjournment of the House of Commons dispersed their most potent critics. Then the governor promulgated a new anti-sedition law making publication of demands for independence or union with Greece, or even of criticisms of government policy, a crime punishable by imprisonment and suspension of the offending organ for three years. This "monstrous restriction on the liberty of the press," as the Manchester *Guardian* terms it, would seem an infallible recipe for raising Cypriot nationalism to fever-heat and insuring as hostile an environment for the British garrison as that suffered in Egypt.

Coexistence or No Existence

The recent resumption of talk about a preventive war—General Van Fleet's statement in New Orleans ("The only good Communist is a dead one"), General Mark Clark's testimony before the Jenner committee—has been interpreted out of context. This time the preventive-war talk is being used to counter the talk of coexistence. The main tactic seems to be to marshal sentiment against a policy of coexistence by urging support for S. R. 247, introduced by Senators Jenner and McCarran, which calls upon the Administration to break off relations with the Soviet Union. In recent hearings—notably those of May 18 and 27—the Jenner committee has emphasized that peaceful coexistence is a "suicidal formula" which can best be scotched by severing relations with the U. S. S. R. Great emphasis has been placed, in these hearings, on the necessity of upsetting the Soviet Union's trade offensive before the idea of trade and other sorts of

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coexistence becomes too attractive both among our allies and here at home.

Much the same motivation is implicit in the interim report of the Select Committee on Communist Aggression (the Kersten committee), which recommends that the Administration seek a concerted withdrawal by free nations of diplomatic recognition of all "Moscow-controlled governments." Any attempt to mobilize sentiment here for a severance of relations with Russia would necessarily involve pressure on our allies against expanding trade relations with the Soviet bloc.

War of Statements

The timing of these statements is interesting and perhaps significant. On August 5 the President issued his "Good Partner and Good Neighbor" statement in Washington. The implications were quickly noted. Wrote James Reston in the New York Times (August 7):

There is a new sound in Washington. The government has lowered its voice. After the thunder-like percussion of its statements on Indo-China it seems to have decided after all that the only realistic alternatives in this unsatisfactory era are either coexistence with the Communists or no existence.

The reaction was prompt. On August 10 former President Hoover, speaking at West Branch, Iowa, characterized recognition of Soviet Russia as the major diplomatic mistake of the Roosevelt Administration. On the same day General Clark, testifying before the Jenner committee in Washington, said that if he were a member of Congress he would vote for S. R. 247. (It is interesting to recall in this connection that it was Mr. Hoover, as chairman of the Congressional Commission on Federal Reorganization, who designated General Clark to conduct the survey of the Central Intelligence Agency.) On August 9 the interim report of the Kersten committee was released. The President's statement on August 11 that he would not listen to talk of pulling out of the U. N. or severing relations with Russia or launching a preventive war was obviously based on a recognition that talk of this sort was one way in which his critics on the right were attempting to pressure him. For the Republican right-wingers are acutely distressed by the President's recent statements. As they see it, he has come dangerously close to giving at least passive acceptance to the idea of peaceful coexistence.

Informers Are Not Experts

Under sharp criticism largely set in motion by The Nation's special feature of April 10—The Informer by Frank Donner—the Department of Justice now seeks to justify its continued use of discredited political informers. In a recent speech Assistant Attorney General War-

ren Olney III, a protégé of Chief Justice Warren and a former counsel for the California State Crime Commission, has replied to the department's critics. "What is being challenged," he states, "is not the accuracy or credibility of any particular witness." But the department has been asked to investigate the informer Paul Crouch on precisely this ground. The testimony of another informer, Manning Johnson, has been directly challenged by Dr. Ralph Bunche and a score of equally reliable witnesses. Recently accusations by Louis Budenz were denied by Dr. Ralph Barton Perry and Dr. Ernest Watson Burgess, bringing to nearly two dozen the number of highly reputable witnesses who have made similar denials under oath. By continuing to use discredited witnesses the department has placed itself in a very dubious position. Yet Mr. Olney ignores these facts and rests his defense on the proposition that the department cannot obtain "witnesses with better qualifications" to testify on Communist history, doctrine, and practice. Is this really true? Have American political scientists wholly failed to study these matters? If the department had relied on expert witnesses it would not be embarrassed, as it is today, by the growing public realization that most of the convictions obtained in political prosecutions to date rest on the discredited testimony of ex-Communists and other paid informers.

"A Can of Worms"

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

THE FINAL action of the Senate and House in adopting a measure to outlaw the Communist Party along with Senator Butler's bill to deny collective-bargaining rights to "Communist-infiltrated" unions fulfills our painful prediction of last week. We said then that the tactic of Senators Humphrey, Kennedy, and Morse, if it was a tactic, of attempting to defeat the Butler bill by offering the Humphrey substitute was bound to fail. Neither party will permit the other to out-bid it in the current competition in demagoguery. Somewhat chastened by strong editorial condemnation of the unseemly panic, disorder, and display of partisanship which characterized its earlier action, Congress did agree to drop the proposal which would have made mere membership in the Communist Party a criminal offense but the measure finally approved is nearly as mischievous and hardly less dangerous.

What should be of most serious concern about this disgraceful episode in the history of an undistinguished Congress is the behavior of the liberal Democrats in the Senate. (Out of kindness I do not place the word liberal in quotation marks as Arthur Krock did in a recent scornful column in the *New York Times*.) If Sena-

tors Humphrey, Kennedy, and Morse, and the others, sponsored the outlaw measure as a tactic to defeat the Butler bill, then they were forewarned by a similar experience in 1950 (see comment last week) that the tactic would not work. Judged at the level of expediency, their action, to coin a phrase, might be characterized as infantile Machiavellianism.

But in at least one case a different conclusion must be drawn. Senator Humphrey will not permit this more charitable interpretation to be placed on his action; he insists on getting into the same bed, on this issue, with Martin Dies. It is now clear, for example, that he wanted to introduce such a measure in 1950 and was only kept from doing so by pressure from the Truman Administration. His action, therefore, in offering the substitute proposal from the floor had only the appearance of expediency and haste; it had been carefully thought out well in advance. More surprising is the admitted fact that the key provision in his bill was lifted bodily from a similar proposal which Representative Dies had worked out with Judge Michael Musmanno. It will be recalled,

MR. SMATHERS: We live under a government of law.

Duly enacted laws govern our lives. A man's rights, or privileges, are not taken from him without due legal action. However, today we condemn persons with Communist leanings or beliefs. We have been throwing them out of the teaching profession. We even make it difficult for Communists to work in ordinary industry. We are surely driving them out of all social, professional, and industrial life, and yet while we so proscribe these people there is no hard and fast law that says it is wrong or illegal to be a Communist or that a Communist cannot work in these fields of endeavor. So today without benefit of law, we pick at them, hold them up to bad publicity and ridicule, punish and persecute them, and finally we throw them out; but not by benefit of law. Mr. President, to conduct ourselves in this way—without benefit of law—is to practice the grossest type of discrimination. We are discriminating against them for their thoughts and acts, when under present law, what they think and do is completely legal. If we are going to be a government of law, why do we not meet the problem head on and say, "We do not like communism; we fear it; it is opposite to what we believe in; therefore, anybody who believes in it, advocates it, or who belongs to a political party which itself advocates or believes in communism, is guilty of a crime against the United States"? If we take this step then we will have a legal basis on which we can proscribe them in our society. The way to face this issue, Mr. President, is to meet the problem head on.

—Congressional Record
August 12, 1954, p. 13567

MR. MULTER: What is the burning rush about this? Why must it be done today in the closing hours of this session, with 40 minutes of debate and no opportunity to amend it? No one has suggested that any possible harm can come from waiting until next January to pass this bill. Permit me to suggest that your action here today borders on hysteria, born of fear that you cannot prove you are 100 per cent American.

—Congressional Record
August 16, 1954, pp. 13844-5

too, that the Butler bill itself may be traced back to the hearings of a subcommittee which Senator Humphrey chaired in 1951. Mr. Humphrey can hardly object, therefore, to the comment of William V. Shannon in a dispatch from Washington to the New York *Post* that "the voice was the voice of Humphrey but the hand was the hand of Dies." The Humphrey proposal was stupid as a tactic; it was also politically immoral. Playing politics is one thing; unhinging constitutional guarantees for cheap partisan and personal advantage is something else again.

As finally approved, the measure to outlaw the Communist Party is certain to be troublesome and hazardous. Throughout the world, it will be regarded, and quite properly, as an ominous manifestation that this country is in danger of succumbing to the totalitarian virus. The banning of political parties has consistently indicated that the forces moving toward the eclipse of representative government have entered a one-way street. Other symptoms have proven misleading or inconclusive; this one has seldom failed. To ban a political party by name

MR. DIES: Section 3 of the House bill, which outlaws the Communist Party, was taken from H. R. 8912, a bill which I introduced and which was later introduced by my distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania (Mr. Graham), and which was written largely by Justice Musmanno as an eminent authority on this question. Justice Musmanno spent a great deal of time and he prepared what I conceived to be an effective bill.

—Congressional Record
August 16, 1954, p. 13843

betrays a basic distrust of the electorate and has usually been the prelude to government-by-decree.

Outlawing the Communist Party is an example of the illusion of logic. It is the result not of "twenty years of treason" but of twenty years of nonsense—about communism as a domestic menace. Once enough people have come to accept the dogma that the Communist Party must for all purposes be regarded as a criminal

conspiracy, then the demand that it be banned becomes quite logical. The Communist Party may well have conspiratorial aspects but it is also a political party, functioning as other political parties. Nor is it easy to understand how a political movement, numbering 25,000 members at a minimum, can be regarded as a criminal conspiracy. Ten can conspire or even a hundred perhaps; but when the number reaches into the thousands, the conspiracy theory becomes patently absurd. In any case, banning the Communist Party will not quiet the troubled nerves of the red-baiters or the uneasy consciences of erstwhile liberals. On the contrary, it will only lead to demands for more drastic action. Logically, how can we continue to maintain diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union which directs "the criminal conspiracy".

MR. CELLER: I believe when you seek to outlaw the Communist Party, to use the language of the President, you are "shooting from the hip." The President opposed its outlawing. If we can outlaw the Communist Party, there is no reason why, if the Republicans are in control, they could not outlaw the Democratic Party. And, vice versa, if the Democrats were in control, they could outlaw the Republican Party. I don't like that part of the bill which outlaws the party. It is palpably unconstitutional.

—Congressional Record
August 16, 1954, p. 13836

which is the Communist Party of the United States? If the Soviet Union is indeed the chief conspirator, then it should not be permitted—under the illusion of logic—to retain membership in the United Nations. And we now know that the gravediggers in Washington are not to be trusted; they will, in all likelihood, give panicky approval to measures even more extreme than the one they have just adopted.

President Eisenhower should be urged to veto the measure which now awaits his signature. True, he hinted that he favored such a measure in his state-of-the-union message but the President has not hesitated to reverse himself nor has he hesitated to "veto" the mistakes of his assistants. He has vetoed Mr. Dulles on several important occasions and he vetoed Mr. Brownell's campaign of slander against Mr. Truman. More important, the President has indicated in recent statements, particularly those of August 5 and 11, that he now favors a live-and-let-live policy, the policy of the good partner and the good neighbor. If he does, then he should veto this bill forthwith. If he fails to veto it, he too will fall victim to the illusion of logic. For he will then be asked to sever diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and having said A, he will find it difficult not to say B, and after B, comes C, and D, and somewhere along the line

of this illusory logic is the ultimate, an H-bomb war with the Soviet Union. According to Arthur Krock, the President is said to have referred to this latest anti-Communist legislation as "the worst can of worms I ever received." It is that. Let him return the can to

the Senate without delay, worms and all. And let the responsible Democratic leadership, specifically Mr. Truman and Mr. Stevenson, make it clear that Senator Humphrey acted without their knowledge or approval in engineering this putsch against civil liberties.

A MURDER A DAY

New York Discovers Crime . . . by Leslie Srote

"THIS city is on the verge of becoming a community of violence and crime." It was New York's Police Commissioner, Francis W. H. Adams, who made this grim appraisal of the situation after he had been in office only six months. In a television appearance on Sunday, August 1, Commissioner Adams calmly predicted that before the day was over one New Yorker would be murdered and another would have died as the result of criminal negligence; 27 persons would be feloniously assaulted, 3 women would be raped, 140 New York homes and businesses would be burglarized, the cars of 40 New Yorkers would be stolen, 69 grand larcenies would take place, and 31 citizens would be held up and robbed on the streets. According to Mr. Adams, this was "an average day." What disturbed him more was the fact that in the first six months of this year major crimes increased 11 per cent over the first half of last year.

Crime is so rampant, if one is to believe the Police Commissioner, because there are not enough policemen. In 1932, he pointed out, there were 19,315 uniformed police, 500 fewer than today; but since 1932 the city's population has increased by more than a million. Moreover, the reduction of the police work week since 1932 is equivalent to the loss of 4,000 men. To make up the deficiency of man-power Mr. Adams has asked for 7,000 more men. This would cost the city about \$28,000,000. He has also asked for salary increases for all policemen. Attempting to account for the city's failure to provide adequate police protection, Mr. Adams said, "Over the

last two decades there have been enormous popular pressures on government for expansion of social services. This expansion has inevitably been at the expense of the basic community requirements like police service."

Public reaction to the Adams speech was immediate and sympathetic. Official reaction was another thing. Mayor Wagner was occupied the next day with a reception for Syngman Rhee, and not until 6:45 that evening were City Hall reporters able to phone their papers that the Mayor too was against crime and intended to do something about it. On Tuesday the newspapers reported mass arrests of "undesirables" in Times Square and other trouble spots. Both the Mayor and Mr. Adams then left town for a week's vacation.

Taking off from the Adams speech, the tabloids now began to feature "crime." The staid New York Times broke a long tradition of playing down crime by devoting columns to local crime news. The Associated Press sent out a box-score to determine the accuracy of Adams's predictions. Four leading clergymen praised the Police Commissioner for his "candor and courage." With the exception of the *Post* and the *Daily Worker* newspaper editorials supported his demand for more men.

Acting Mayor Abe Stark, president of the City Council, expressed apprehension that the Adams speech might create "public panic which could do irreparable harm to the greatest city in the world." He politely noted that perhaps the Police Commissioner had painted too melodramatic a picture. What was needed, he said, was more boys' clubs, not just more police—Stark founded the Brownsville Boys' Club in a section of Brooklyn that spawned several members of the

now defunct Murder, Inc. The *Daily News* remarked, "Let's have less of this fuzzy thinking and talking for awhile."

The practice of rounding up "undesirables" was attacked by the New York Civil Liberties Union as a "violation of the due-process provisions of the Constitution." Adams replied that the arrests were "in no sense indiscriminate and were well founded." The New York Times had previously reported that five youths arrested by the police in Times Square during a round-up proved they were members of a baseball team who had come to see a movie.

An analysis by reporters showed that of 131 persons arrested during one round-up, 21 were fined, 23 committed, 34 given suspended sentences, and 4 acquitted; 17 cases were adjourned and 19 dismissed. At the end of the first week of raids the New York *Post* reported that the police had "bagged a regiment of beggars"—more than a thousand men had been pulled in for a

Making the Community

Men require two things, not one, for the full life as we conceive it today: (1) commodities and (2) communities. In the emphasis on producing the commodities, we have forgotten that it also requires thought and effort to make communities. It may have been true once that healthy communities just grew—although evidence casts doubt on the suggestion—certainly it is not true now. The task of every society, then, is twofold: to produce commodities and to develop communities.—Jerome F. Scott and R. P. Lynton in "The Community Factor in Modern Technology," a report for UNESCO.

LESLIE SROTE has covered various departments of the city government as a reporter for the past seven years.

variety of petty offenses—but failed to come up with a single arrest for a serious crime. While the headlines screamed about hoodlums, the police made the biggest haul of bootblacks in years.

On August 12 the *Daily News*, the newspaper with the largest circulation in the country, ran the first of two articles headed "Pinks Help Punks to Nip Cop Drive." The article began, "Underground forces are already at work to sabotage the police drive to end the terror in the streets." It went on to quote "a high police official" as saying, "Right now the people are frightened and feel the police should take drastic action, but already there is some reaction—the Civil Liberties Union is complaining because we picked up a few loiterers on suspicion, the *Daily Worker* has big headlines attacking the clean-up." Upon inquiry no high police official cared to take credit for the *News* statement. The second article accused Mr. Stark of "parrotting the liberal line" by advocating boys' clubs instead of police clubs.

By the time the Mayor got back from his brief vacation he was on the spot. Ever since taking office last January he has been claiming that there is no "fat" in the city's \$1,600,000,000 budget to provide new services. Every dollar was allocated, he asserted. If he suddenly "found" money now to employ 7,000 more policemen there would be no end of embarrassment. But if he did nothing

to increase police protection, he would have an aroused public to contend with. He had to act.

First he placed the blame for the inadequacy of the police force on the failure of Dewey's Republican-controlled state legislature to grant the city greater taxing powers. Dewey immediately branded the charge "politically motivated" and cited a report from the state comptroller showing that the city had adequate reserve funds to hire more policemen. Next Wagner announced that he would propose a \$125 uniform allowance for policemen. This would cost the city about \$2,500,000 to be obtained through "belt-tightening" and the transfer of funds from other municipal activities.

STRANGELY silent through all this crime excitement has been the Mayor's chief adviser, City Administrator Luther Gulick, whose \$30,000-a-year salary is second only to the Mayor's on the city pay roll. Wagner's first major appointee, Dr. Gulick is on leave from his post as director of the Institute of Public Administration, the acting director being Bruce Smith, acclaimed as an international police expert. Dr. Gulick left the institute several years ago to direct the \$2,200,000 study of city agencies for the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey, a study carried on through the O'Dwyer and Impellitteri administra-

tions. Two years ago Smith conducted a survey of the police department and at that time saw no need to enlarge it. In fact, he hinted that the force could be cut down by proper utilization of personnel. But all this is now forgotten, as is the \$85,000 check Smith picked up for his work.

Also silent is the usually vociferous Citizens' Budget Commission, whose counsel, Harold Riegelman, was the Republicans' unsuccessful candidate for mayor last November. The commission has hinted darkly that the city can save \$50,000,000 through "economies," in this context a euphemism for "layoffs."

No matter from what angle you view the police situation in New York, it is cause for serious concern. Adams has had the courage to do what no police commissioner before him ever did—admit that the crime problem is on the verge of getting out of control. No one doubts his sincerity. He has already instituted long-needed reforms in a department whose procedures date back to 1845, when it had a force of 800. But the crime problem is too big to be solved by simple enforcement of the law. The aid of city planners, housing experts, educators, and sociologists must be enlisted. It will take great vision on the part of the Wagner administration to effect any improvement. The Police Commissioner has thrown down the gauntlet.

KRISHNA MENON

Architect of Peace . . by Sam A. Jaffe

AN ELDERLY woman embarking recently on her first trans-Atlantic flight, asked the stewardess if the plane carried anyone of importance. "Why, yes," the stewardess replied, pointing toward a tall, lean gentleman with a bushy head of hair, "that's V. K. Krishna Menon, India's representative at the United Na-

tions." Two years ago, before Krishna Menon assumed his United Nations post, he would not have been considered a celebrity, but in his comparatively short term of service he has come to the forefront of international diplomacy. If his acid tongue and his unfriendly manner have made him more enemies than friends, his most severe critics admit that he has a keen mind, a compassionate heart, and a single purpose—to establish peace among men.

Only a few weeks after taking his seat in the U. N. General Assembly, Krishna Menon presented a plan to that body which ultimately brought peace in Korea. His plan for Indo-China, announced by Nehru shortly before the Geneva conference opened, is believed to have helped break the deadlock of the earlier sessions. A New York Times dispatch spoke of the "notable behind-the-scenes role" he played in the Geneva talks. He was also India's representative at the

SAM A. JAFFE, New York writer and editor, recently returned from four years in the Far East.

New Delhi conference of the three nations named to supervise the armistice in Indo-China—Canada, Poland, and India.

For all his brilliance and idealism, Krishna Menon is probably one of the most difficult men to get along with in world affairs today. He is disliked even by most high officials in his own government. He has no political following in India, but he may shortly be named Minister without Portfolio in Nehru's Cabinet and will head India's delegation at the coming session of the U. N. Assembly. He has been in Parliament only since 1952. His recent rise is apparently due largely to the backing of the Prime Minister. It is well known in India that since the two men first met in London in 1935, Nehru has insisted that Menon reflects the spirit of Indian foreign policy more faithfully than anyone else. The bond between the two is said to be an intellectual one. Nehru admires Menon's dialectical skill and his ability to expound the essential elements of a vital issue. Some say that Krishna Menon is Nehru's "brain trust." But Nehru also sees Menon as an Indian revolutionary of the 1920's, a man who has renounced material things, a true follower of Gandhi.

Both men maintain that diplomacy is not a matter of silk hats and protocol but of straightforward language based on facts. As Nehru said in an address before the Indian Congress, "International affairs are not the concern of a select coterie of diplomats today. They must be understood . . . by the general public—not perhaps all their intricate details but the policies that lie behind them."

Though Nehru considers Menon particularly gifted in analyzing international problems, he too is sometimes displeased by his bluntness. On a Philadelphia radio show Menon made the statement—and resolutely defends it to this day—that by bombing power plants along the Yalu River in North Korea the United States had sabotaged his Korean peace plan. He also charged that the United States was responsible for bringing Red China into the Korean war by crossing the Thirty-eighth Parallel. Washington lodged an informal protest over the incident with the Indian government, and from Nehru came word that "Krishna Menon does not

speak for India on every occasion." Nehru undoubtedly agreed with Menon. What he objected to was the timing of the remarks, which indicated a lack of discretion on his representative's part.

There is a good deal of speculation in diplomatic circles as to the extent of Menon's influence on Indian foreign policy. Undoubtedly his ideas are taken into consideration and often acted upon. Persons close to Nehru say that Menon originates the ideas and works out the details, but that Nehru alone makes the final decisions. Menon maintains he acts only on instructions from Nehru. His friends say he could take advantage of his standing with Nehru but never does. Though the matter is rarely mentioned, many New Delhi statesmen feel certain that some day—but not in the immediate future—Menon will replace Nehru as Foreign Minister.

AMERICANS call Krishna Menon "pro-Communist," but the Russians believe he is in the Western camp. When he proposed his now famous Korean peace plan, the Russians accused him of speaking for the United States, and Henry Cabot Lodge called it "a splendid and sincere effort of peace." But when he asked the Assembly to consider outlawing atomic and hydrogen bombs, he was attacked for repeating Russia's proposal to prohibit atomic weapons. The truth appears to be that he thinks neither East nor West is right. He wants above all to bring the nations together and therefore feels he must stand in the middle, leaning slightly one way or the other as the situation demands. If he shows any partiality, it is for those who are oppressed and enslaved. He is often called a "man of mystery," perhaps because people think there must be some ulterior motive behind such single-minded devotion to peace.

Some persons say that if Menon were really sincere he would answer those who accuse him of being anti-American. "And why does he continue to criticize America and not Russia?" they ask. In a recent interview he did offer a partial defense. "If you honestly pursue a purpose, criticism is inevitable," he said. "Actually, I have never criticized the United States' internal policy. I have been asked, for example, what I think of the Negro problem in America. I refrain from answering. That does not

concern me. My job is to deal with questions which arise in the U. N. I am not here to correct the whole world. It's really a small matter who dislikes whom as long as the job gets done." "If I went around contradicting everything that is said about me I'd have time for nothing else," he once remarked. But he believes in setting the record straight when matters of importance are at stake. "If, for example, my entry into your country depended on my saying whether or not I was a Communist, I would of course say no."

What we Americans take as criticism, Menon calls "airing the facts." He admits he has made "excited observations," but says we must learn to take them in our stride. Confident of the correctness of his position he does not hesitate to speak his mind: "What I have to say is not meant for today, or for next year, but for a generation or more hence when people are ready to accept what today they criticize."

The force behind Menon's quest for peace can only be guessed at. He is far from a pious man, though his family were devout Hindus and he was undoubtedly influenced by the Hindu doctrine of non-violence. Nothing in his past explains his devotion to the downtrodden. Brought up in middle-class surroundings, he passed most of his youth in India. When he was twenty-seven he went to England and spent the next ten years absorbing Western knowledge. At the London School of Economics his teacher was Harold Laski, who is said to have had a tremendous influence on his political beliefs.

In 1929 he became secretary of the India League, a little-known organization which preached India's independence. With the help of Menon, friends recall, the League grew in prominence. In later years when it became a power, some persons tagged it a Communist front. Actually it was a thorn in the side of the Communists, for though it demanded self-government for India it wanted India to stay within the framework of the Commonwealth. India's Communists have repeatedly denounced this tie.

The friends Menon made during his years in London—Lord and Lady Mountbatten, Lee Smith, Lord Pethick Lawrence, and others—recall his ascetic way of living, which he still holds to.

He is a strict vegetarian, a teetotaler, and does not smoke. His only vice is his consumption of innumerable cups of tea.

In 1934, while writing for the India League and editing the Twentieth Century Library and Pelican Books, Menon was elected by the Labor Party to the Borough Council of St. Pancras, London. Five years later he was Labor's candidate for member of Parliament, but in 1940 he resigned from the party because of its refusal to back Indian independence. He rejoined four years later when it changed its stand.

One of Nehru's first acts as Prime Minister was to send Menon to the United Nations. A year later, in 1947, he was appointed Indian High Commissioner in London. With Nehru he took

part in the Hindu-Moslem talks with England. After the conference he visited the capitals of Europe establishing diplomatic relations for India. In 1949 he became Minister to Ireland, and in 1952 he was again assigned to the U. N. as a member of the Indian delegation.

THE KEY to Menon's future actions may be found in his belief that nothing is predetermined. He feels the world must try to make the best of its problems. Friendships can be developed among nations and thereby peace can be achieved. "But more than talk is needed," he says. "You must have a peaceful approach to problems. Through a peaceful approach you create peaceful conditions. You can't win friends by

giving advice: the only way to give advice is to set an example."

A recent visitor to the United Nations asked Menon if he believed in the theory of coexistence. "How else can you exist?" he replied. "Everything co-exists. The world is a compulsory society, of course. In so-called coexistence one must take into account a society of national governments. Divergences of opinion are only natural within that society. When a child grows up it has to have a separate room, but in the same house. This is a form of family coexistence. In international society the only alternative to mutual extermination is to learn to live together. Coexistence is a stilted expression for something the world has always known."

GLEN TAYLOR

Rides Again . . . by William G. Carleton



Boise, Idaho

THAT former Senator Glen Taylor, who bolted in 1948 to run with Henry A. Wallace on the Progressive ticket, could win the Democratic nomination for United States Senator in Idaho underscores the liberal trend which has manifested itself in many of the spring and summer primaries. Taylor had been away from Idaho since he failed to be renominated in 1950, working as a carpenter in California; he had virtually no money with which to wage a campaign; the Democratic organization in Idaho was strongly against him. He owes his victory to his supporters among the miners and lumber workers of northern Idaho, to the labor vote in industrial Pocatello, to his shrewd appeal to under-dog psychology, to his picturesque campaign methods, and to the fact that the conservative vote

against him was split between two candidates.

Although Taylor dwelt on the disadvantages of the Benson farm program to Idaho farmers, his chief emphasis was on American foreign policy, and it is this that makes his victory significant. In every campaign speech he castigated the Administration's foreign policy for being too conservative, asserting that it was alienating the world's liberal elements and even our traditional allies. In his view it should concentrate more on constructive programs of aid to underdeveloped peoples—long-term loans and grants for their agricultural and industrial development. That took courage in a candidate for high political office in the United States today.

In Montana the Republicans are planning an aggressive campaign against Senator James E. Murray, whose long record in the Senate has been consistently New Deal and pro-labor. Eisenhower, Nixon, Halleck, and other party leaders are expected to speak in the state for Representative Wesley D'Ewart, Murray's opponent. D'Ewart is running as an Eisenhower Republican, although his record in Congress is largely anti-Eisen-

hower and he is an advocate of the Bricker amendment. Instructions have gone down to the Republican county organizations to focus the campaign on Murray's alleged "softness" to Communists. However, Murray's Catholicism makes him virtually impervious to such an attack.

D'Ewart's record is almost 100 per cent anti-labor, and Murray is expected to carry Butte and other mining centers by big majorities. Murray is also expected to benefit from the farmers' opposition to the Benson program. A national poll shows more opposition to the Benson program among Montana farmers than among those of any other state. The large cattle men are split, the smaller cattle men are opposed, and the wheat farmers are overwhelmingly opposed.

Murray's main issue will be federal electric power. In Montana people consider Murray the father of the federal dam at Canyon Ferry and believe he saved from the power trust the Havreshelby transmission lines out of Fort Peck Dam. Murray is now fighting for additional federal power development at Yellowtail Dam in southeastern Mon-

WILLIAM G. CARLETON, professor of political science at the University of Florida, has been traveling through the West on the search for political trends. In last week's issue he discussed the decline of the reactionary splinter groups in the Southwest.

tana and at Libby Dam in the northwest, which he charges the Eisenhower Administration is blocking. Murray's lieutenants also claim that his defeat would be taken by the Eisenhower Administration as a go-ahead signal to turn over many federal transmission lines to private power companies.

All shades of opinion in Montana are predicting Murray's reelection.

IN OREGON, for the first time in decades, the Democrats have a chance to win a United States Senatorship. The Democratic candidate this year is State Senator Richard L. Neuberger. Because



Richard L. Neuberger

Berger

of his writings in national and local periodicals, Neuberger is actually better known over the state than his Republican opponent, incumbent Senator Guy Cordon. He has developed into an effective public speaker, which his opponent is not, and is sharply attacking Cordon as the Republican who is "masterminding the looting of our national resources in oil, timber, and electric power," Neuberger charges that "Cordon and the other red-dy-kilowatt twin, Secretary McKay, have conducted a bargain-basement sale of Bonneville transmission lines to the California-Oregon Power Company" and that as a result electric rates in the Klamath Falls area have already jumped 14 percent. He is also hitting the Cordon-

Ellsworth timber bill as "a shameful raid on our national forests."

Republicans are fighting hard to save Cordon. He is being given credit for all federal patronage and for projects allocated to the state by the Eisenhower Administration. Secretary McKay is scheduled to make many campaign speeches in Oregon, but observers believe he has little prestige in his home state, even among Republicans. The A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. have endorsed Neuberger.

The political future of Senator Wayne Morse is much discussed. It is generally felt that Morse can be reelected in 1956 if he can obtain a party nomination. His problem is to get such a nomination. He is still registered as a Republican in his home town of Eugene, but it is very doubtful that he can win a Republican nomination. The consensus is that he will be nominated by the Democrats and then win reelection with the help of his personal following in the Republican Party. Meanwhile Neuberger and Morse are drawing closer together personally and politically, and in Oregon many are predicting that if Neuberger wins the senatorship this year and thus breaks the ice, Morse will later announce himself a Democrat.

IN WASHINGTON, where there is no election for governor or United States Senator this year, Democrats hope to elect their Congressman-at-large and to regain their pre-1952 Congressional seats in the Everett district and in the Seattle-Bremerton district, where liberal Hugh Mitchell is seeking a come-back. In the Seattle district the Democrat will be pitted against a liberal Eisenhower Republican Congressman who is credited with having obtained important shipbuilding contracts for Bremerton. The campaign of Alice Franklin Bryant in the First District is attracting considerable interest. Mrs. Bryant is running on a straight-out peace program. Both Democrats and Republicans are more conservative in eastern Washington, where there are many prosperous fruit and specialty farmers. (Spokane is as conservative as Seattle is liberal.) Nevertheless, even in eastern Washington, the Democrats are using to apparent advantage the Benson program as it affects wheat farmers and the emasculating of federal electric-power projects.

Stop the Giveaway!

SOME idea of the disproportion which often exists in campaign funds may be gained from the state of Oregon, where prominent liberals have just completed a detailed study of the money spent by the two major political parties in the elections of 1948, 1950, and 1952.

The Democratic Party spent in behalf of all its candidates and causes in these three campaigns a total of \$285,033. The Republican total was \$1,315,734.

This year the financial contrast in Oregon is even more noticeable. Richard L. Neuberger, the Democratic nominee for the Senate, is a well-known liberal. He is opposing Old Guard Republican Guy Cordon, the man who sponsored the offshore-oil giveaway. Cordon also led the fight against the Hill oil-for-education bill. The funds available to the Cordon forces in such a contest can only be imagined.

The theme of Neuberger's campaign is opposition to the giveaway of our timber, oil, water-power, and atomic resources. Lyle F. Watts, ex-chief of the United States Forest Service, is chairman of the Neuberger committee. Bernard DeVoto is trying to enlist financial support for Neuberger among the conservationists of the nation. The buttons worn by Neuberger's adherents carry the message: "Stop the Giveaway!"

The Oregon contest between Cordon and Neuberger has been called by Watts "the most decisive for conservation principles in my thirty-eight years as a forester." Cordon has been promoting a bill (S. 85) to let the biggest lumber operators take over choice timber acreage inside the boundaries of the national forests. He also is the author of legislation to allow private power companies to install their generators in government dams. Neuberger is demanding a return to the program of federal development which Secretary McKay ended in 1953.

Cordon's headquarters has distributed anti-Semitic material about Neuberger which is so offensive that seven small-town daily papers, nearly all of them Republican in tone, have denounced the state's senior Senator for injecting religious bigotry into the campaign.

The address of the Conservationists for Neuberger Committee is 708 Mead Building, Portland 4, Oregon.

EDITORS THE NATION

MILESTONES FOR MINERS

Pensions, Welfare, Hospitals . . by Ben Pearse

[This is the second of a series of articles on some of the great American trade unions which have gone beyond their collective-bargaining function to service their members with welfare programs of tremendous scope.]

SINCE the war welfare and pension programs have become as much a part of collective-bargaining contracts as wages and hours. Most of those in effect before the war, some of them dating back more than half a century, were set up voluntarily by employers. The employees, whether they contributed or not, seldom had anything to say about their operation. They were managed by trustees named by the employer, and the benefits provided were usually subject to change without notice or employee consent, and might even be eliminated entirely at the employer's discretion.

Many of these systems were based on profit-sharing. In years when a company made no profit, or less than a stipulated amount, it contributed nothing to the retirement fund. Some were heavily weighted in favor of company officials and offered little to rank-and-file workers. A survey conducted by the United Steelworkers of America of more than seven hundred pensioners retired at sixty-five after thirty-five years' service found that their checks averaged about \$6 a month. Unions generally looked on pensions as pie in the sky.

During the war, when wages were frozen by war-time restrictions, union negotiators began to ask for a variety of "fringe" benefits, including the establishment or broadening of welfare and retirement plans. Competing in a tight labor market, the companies seldom objected. From 80 to 90 per cent of whatever these benefits cost would have been taken by the government anyhow

in excess-profits taxes. The right of unions to bargain collectively for welfare and pension benefits received government sanction when these contracts were approved officially by the Wage Stabilization Board, but it was not recognized legally until 1948, when the United States Supreme Court upheld a National Labor Relations Board ruling that those benefits were a proper subject for collective bargaining, just like wages and hours. Since the programs are established by collective bargaining, they cannot be changed or abolished without union consent, and the union has an equal voice with management in handling their finances.

THE United Mine Workers' Welfare and Retirement Fund, established in 1946 while the mines were under government control, was not the first of these bilateral plans, but it was the largest up to that time and certainly the most publicized. It was set up after an extensive government survey revealed deplorable health conditions in most mining areas. After the mines were turned back to the operators, a series of strikes, suits, and counter-suits culminating in fines against the union totaling \$2,100,000 spread word of miners' pensions to the remotest crossroads. What John L. Lewis ultimately won for his miners, other union leaders wanted for their members.

A Department of Labor survey shows that in 1943, before the U. M. W. A. fund was set up, only about one million employees were covered by welfare and pension agreements reached through collective bargaining. By 1950 the number had jumped to more than 7,600,000, and it is still rising. The Internal Revenue Service, which scrutinizes all employer and employer-employee plans carefully before allowing the tax deductions which finance them, recently reported that fewer than 700 had been approved in 1940 and more than 21,000 in 1953. New plans are being approved

at the rate of a hundred or two a month.

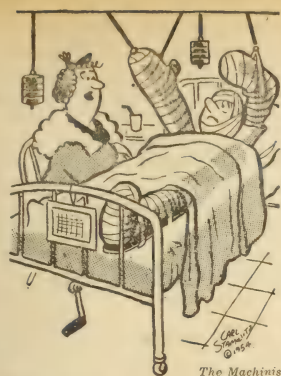
The U. M. W. A. fund was the first to pay a pension of \$100 a month in addition to social-security benefits. Almost all unions hope to achieve this ultimately, and several have already done so. But most plans still consider social-security benefits when reckoning pensions. The U. M. W. A. program was also the first industry-wide plan. Under most union agreements members must work for the same company for from twenty to thirty years to be eligible for a pension. Under the U. M. W. A. plan, a miner may work for a dozen or a hundred different companies and be earning credit toward his pension.

Other firsts include wide coverage for the miner's family and a policy of not limiting bills for hospital or medical care. Most plans pay a doctor's or surgeon's fee up to a certain amount or hospitalization for a stipulated length of time. U. M. W. A. coal miners, among whom serious injuries are only too common, are treated by the best specialists obtainable and hospitalized for six months, a year, or longer, if necessary, with all expenses paid.

Owing to declining production in the anthracite fields in recent years, many of these benefits have had to be discontinued by the Anthracite Health and Welfare Fund, which is maintained as a separate entity by the U. M. W. A. and the anthracite operators. Benefits to the anthracite miners are now restricted to the \$500 death gratuity and the \$50-a-month pension. But the anthracite fund finances a broad research project on silicosis, seeking a remedy for the dread lung disease that has long been a scourge in the mines. Under this program, carried on at the Barton Memorial Hospital in Philadelphia, more than 1,500 miners have received treatment.

The U. M. W. A. Welfare and Retirement Fund covers the bituminous miners, who make up nine-tenths of the union membership. It now serves more

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The Machinist

"It's nice that you're finally able to enjoy your union's hospitalization plan."

than a million men, women, and children—miners and their families—in twenty-two states from Pennsylvania to the Rockies. Its source is a royalty which started at 5 cents a ton and has been raised by stages to 40 cents. This has brought in more than half a billion dollars, approximately \$130,000,000 in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1953. Except for administrative costs of less than 3 per cent and a reserve of some \$92,000,000 in cash and government bonds, all the money has gone to miners and their families. Actual expenditures last year totaled nearly \$139,000,000, about \$7,500,000 more than receipts. The difference was paid out of the reserve, accumulated for just such emergencies, but in October, 1952, the royalty was raised from 30 to 40 cents a ton to bring the books in balance.

The three trustees of the fund are John L. Lewis, chairman, representing the miners; Charles A. Owen, representing the coal operators; and Josephine Roche, who until a few years ago was a coal operator herself with a long record of friendly relations with the union. Miss Roche is the "neutral" trustee chosen by the other two and also serves as director of the fund.

The largest single expense is the pension roll, which carries the names of 50,055 retired miners, more than 10 per cent of the U. M. W. A. membership. That is a relatively high proportion. The United Steelworkers of America has less than a third as many names on its pension roll though it has a much larger membership. Last year U. M. W. A. pensioners received about

\$59,000,000, nearly 45 per cent of the royalty revenues. The principal reasons are that miners can retire at sixty after working twenty years anywhere in the industry, while under most other systems employees cannot retire until they are sixty-five and have worked twenty-five or thirty years for one company.

But fund officials make no apology for the length of the pension roll. Many small companies, they explain, exist for only a few years, perhaps until a seam runs out. Without the industry-wide rule, retirement would be limited to employees of the large companies that have been operating for thirty or forty years. They also point out that coal mining is one of the most hazardous occupations and that twenty years of it is the equivalent of twenty-five or thirty years in almost any other. Despite the hazards and hard work, the \$100-a-month pension has induced only one miner in ten to retire voluntarily.

THE medical and hospital program takes the next largest slice of revenues, nearly \$56,500,000 last year. Medical services in the coal region, with a few exceptions, were pitifully inadequate when the fund's medical advisory board, then headed by Dr. R. R. Sayers, a former head of the United States Bureau of Mines and a Public Health Service specialist in industrial hygiene, undertook its first survey. Decades of neglect had caused almost unbelievable misery. Some miners had been bedridden for twenty years. Many paraplegics, amputees, and arthritics were so weak they had to be sent to local hospitals to build up their strength before they could be given rehabilitation treatment. The fund considers the money well spent if it can enable men to get out of their beds or wheelchairs and rejoin the circle of their families and friends. For many it does much more, providing training for new jobs that make them self-supporting again. Leonard A. Scheele, surgeon general of the Public Health Service, has paid the fund this tribute: "I know of no single organization in the United States that has had a wider and more successful experience in rehabilitation of the severely disabled during the past five years than the U. M. W. A. Welfare and Retirement Fund."

The medical service is now headed by Dr. Warren F. Draper, a former deputy

surgeon general of the Public Health Service, and is administered through ten regional offices, each in charge of a physician. The service does not include home or office visits, except for the severely disabled, but it covers practically everything inside the hospital, including specialists and medicines. Among the 250,000 cases handled last year were the mothers of 25,000 babies, who also received pre- and post-natal guidance.

The fund's administrative cost is the lowest among comparable voluntary health plans. A survey by the Social Security Administration showed that the U. M. W. A. fund spent 97.1 per cent of the money set aside for medical and hospital care on actual benefits to members and their families. In comparison, the survey showed, Blue Cross returned about 90 per cent of premium receipts in benefits to policy-holders; commercial group insurance, 89 per cent; Blue Shield, 84 per cent.

For miners' widows or surviving dependents there is a \$1,000 death gratuity. The fund spent \$10,500,000 on various benefits to 40,000 widows and survivors last year. About \$9,000,000 was paid last year to disabled miners in financial distress. These cash payments to widows and disabled miners, however, were discontinued last March.

Up to two years ago, this account would have covered an average year's activity for the fund. But dissatisfaction with the hospital facilities and medical care available in many coal-mining areas was growing, and the directors finally decided that instead of paying such large fees to inferior hospitals they would build their own. Accordingly the fund undertook to construct ten hospitals in Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky. Well-qualified physicians sufficient to meet the fund's needs could then be induced to practice in the vicinity. With a combined capacity of about 1,000 beds, these hospitals will cost ap-



U. M. W.'s Hospital Project

proximately \$15,000,000, probably more before they are completely equipped.

Fund officials calculated that they could obtain the advantages of mass purchasing power and advanced design that would insure the most economical operation by considering all ten hospitals as so many units of one regional project. So instead of retaining ten architects for ten different buildings, they selected three firms which had been closely associated with the latest developments in hospital design and con-

struction. Fund officials and architects then selected one contractor. The results of this client-architect-contractor team relationship proved so outstanding that they inspired a series of articles in the *Architectural Forum*.

The construction schedule calls for completion of the first unit by mid-1955 and of the others during the year. In the final analysis, the hospitals will cost the fund nothing. The \$15,000,000 borrowed from the reserve to build them will be repaid over a period of years

from the fees now going to the disreputable firetraps that serve the region. Patronage of these will be discontinued as fast as the new buildings are finished.

Since that first nickel dropped into the royalty box of the U. M. W. A. Welfare and Retirement Fund back in 1946, steady progress has been made in improving not only the lives but the life expectancy of coal miners and their families. Of all post-war developments in the labor world, welfare and pension programs are among the happiest.

END OF A CRAZY WAR

Indo-China's Morning After . . . by Ernest L. Zaugg

Saigon, Indo-China

THE war is over. It just sort of sagged to a sorry end, petered out like the shouting of a very tired, very intoxicated roisterer.

Saigon, in the south, remains unchanged. It still sleeps at noon. The broad, beautiful streets are deserted. Bamboo shades are drawn low before the sidewalk cafe of the Hotel Continental. Only a few Indian merchants peer lazily through the half-open doors of their shops.

Hanoi, the capital of northern Vietnam, with its twelve million tough little rice peasants, will soon be turned over to Ho Chi-minh. You drive from the airport over the long Doumer bridge to the center of town. The waters of the Red River, swollen with the summer rains, are a muddy red. At the French army press camp you get a last briefing in the usual dull monotone—nothing very interesting except that the Viets have attacked since the cease-fire and hung themselves as usual on the barbed wire of a French fort. There will be an official French protest.

It was a crazy war. Words were big and cheap. The tone was set by the propaganda machine of the French army built up at great expense by Marshal Latre de Tassigny. Diligent censors put

across the official version of events. The grim struggle of Dienbienphu, with all its real suffering and heroism, was built up to flashy Hollywood proportions. The white flags which on the last day of the siege waved in the breeze like Mrs. Murphy's wash were discreetly crossed out by a censor eager to save the honor of France.

THE big disappointment today is the new government of President Ngo Dinh Diem. About him, too, big words were used. General Giap, the Vietminh military leader, was quoted as saying, "There are only two real leaders in Vietnam. One is Ho Chi-minh. The other is Ngo Dinh Diem. There is no room in the country for both." Now it seems that there is only one leader after all—Ho Chi-minh. Governing is something that must be learned; President Diem and his men sulked in their tents throughout the war, waiting for more complete independence from France before joining the fight.

The Committee of Defense which President Diem appointed lasted twenty-four days. It came north before the armistice was signed, determined to fight on and save the north even if the French quit. With complete lack of realism it actually believed the Vietnamese army could fight on alone, and it persuaded President Diem to accept the presidency on the basis of this illu-

sion. The remoteness of these delicate-featured, well-educated men from the mud-caked peasantry seems the most obvious explanation. The committee found that it could not handle even the refugee problem, which was the only job left for it to do.

Nevertheless, all who wanted to see a strong, independent Vietnam free of French colonialist intrigues placed their hopes in the committee and the president, who under different circumstances could have been counted on to be firm with the French. One member of the committee, the ex-journalist and publisher Tran Trung Dung, had never pulled his punches in demanding reforms. The French secret police had blown up his presses and then interned him. With this background he could not get along with the French and had to resign.

The Diem government is a "puritan" government with an exquisite taste for moral subtleties. Every revolution has a tendency toward austerity and moral fanaticism. The Diem people among the Vietnamese nationalists represent this tendency. It would have been stronger if they had been allowed to take power earlier and if the influence of big money had been less corrupting. The government is a good ship of state, but the wind has not yet filled its sails. Ho Chi-minh is running straight down the wind in a spanking breeze.

ERNEST L. ZAUGG covered the Indo-China war for the *World Press Service*.

The government announced that over a million refugees would leave northern Vietnam for the south to avoid Ho Chi-minh's rule, in the "greatest mass migration in history." More big words! However, a lot of furniture and household equipment was out in the streets for sale in the better section of town. I did not realize the French had so many friends in Hanoi. These were the "gold-plated refugees," those who had made money during the war supplying the French army or administering the provinces. The rice peasants were reluctant to leave their homes or were foiled in the attempt by Viet intrigue or French indifference. The total number of refugees from the north could not have been more than one or two hundred thousand.

SO GREAT is the grief and resentment of the Vietnamese army, or at least of its politically conscious leaders, at the high-handed division of the country into two parts that the French for a while might well have expected to be attacked by their allies. At Tourane eleven French soldiers were killed in an anti-French outburst. The colonial mercenaries from Africa and the foreign legionnaires from everywhere so plagued the Delta population for eight years that they are thoroughly detested by the people. The methods used in this "pacification" have never been described adequately; their "success," however, provides an excellent commentary.

France's Vietnamese allies complain that they are more disliked by the French than are the Viets, the ex-enemy, and there seems to be something in this. The war between the French and the Viets has now been settled by treaties which in general will be respected. The allied Vietnamese, however, when not actually inserting the dagger in the back of the French, are complaining and criticizing. They always hated the French for controlling everything, and the French despised them for their puppetry and the readiness with which they could be won over with a trifling material advantage. Vietnamese students in Paris drank to the victory of Ho Chi-minh at Dienbienphu—but wrote their parents in Hanoi to sell everything and go to Saigon. No one wished to live under the stern discipline of Ho's system.

Vietnamese leaders are now turning with emotional impetuosity toward the United States. They take you aside and pour out their hatred of the French. The French, they claim, would never permit them to speak openly with Americans before. Only pro-French diplomats were allowed to go to Washington. Their relationship with the French was always a colonial one. The bitterness is so great that it makes one reluctant to see the United States play the correspondent in this sordid divorce case and take over France's responsibilities. The price may be high. The French will pay no alimony.

South Vietnam will demand greatly increased economic aid to enable it to compete with the Vietminh paradise of the north. This is a contest which the United States will not want to see lost. But the southern Vietnamese also dream of a united, independent nation, and that is not likely to be accomplished by the elections in prospect two years from now. Despite the treaty of Geneva, they want to build up a strong army with the aid of American instructors and American arms. The Viets in the north will continue to import arms across their long border with China; so the south too must get weapons.

To arouse American interest, Vietnamese leaders conjure up another lover—China. They say that of course they want no truck with China, but that China is eager to embrace them. Four divisions of Chinese, they insist, are in the Red River Delta, plundering the beautiful little Vietnamese villages. And they warn that China has moved down to the Seventeenth Parallel to organize from there an attack on the lush countries of Southeast Asia.

Nobody believes that Ho Chi-minh could ever have mobilized the nationalistic feelings of his people or could keep their loyalty now if he were the puppet of the traditional enemy. However, some disturbing facts support the Vietnamese claims. Ho Chi-minh seems to have developed a form of collaboration with the Chinese which is not too offensive to his people. Though anti-French, the Vietnamese are not anti-foreign. They reject colonialism, but co-

operation with foreign countries appeals to them.

From the evidence of the returned prisoners it now seems that there were many more foreign troops, especially Chinese, at the battle of Dienbienphu than was realized. There were probably enough Chinese to turn the tide of battle and to have given Mr. Dulles an excuse to carry out his threats. Like the East Europeans and Germans in the Vietminh army, they were there as Communists. Every soldier wore little badges displaying photographs of Malenkov, Mao Tse-tung, and Ho Chi-minh. Large posters of these leaders were prominently displayed. The Communist character of the Vietminh movement has become more pronounced in recent years.

It is doubtful whether Ho Chi-minh could persuade his people to collaborate closely with the Chinese in joint adventures in Southeast Asia. They remember too well the nationalist Chinese who were here in swarms after World War II. Those Chinese were out to make money. They took the doorknobs off the doors and sent crates of them back to China in airplanes. Are the Communist Chinese different? Or have they come back for the doors?

Only a few Vietnamese leaders talk of regaining the north by force of arms. And those who do, one suspects, would prefer to be somewhere else when the attempt is made. They aspire to posts abroad, especially in Switzerland. They certainly do not have the people behind them. The people are thoroughly sick of the war.

The present leaders will have all they can do to stabilize the situation in the south and prevent the Reds from taking over there. If they succeed, with the help of American arms and funds, they will probably be placed on ice like the South Koreans and the Nationalist Chinese for the eventuality of an all-out war with China and Russia.



BOOKS

Notes from 1900

BY MELVIN H. BERNSTEIN

JOHN JAY CHAPMAN is in unearned eclipse, the victim of a time cycle. Because he was born in New York City in 1862, published about twenty-five books before he died in 1933, and is remembered by a few people of sensibility—college teachers of American literature and editorial writers of *The Nation*—there will appear in 1962 a spotty rash of evaluative essays reminding the negligent reader of the worth of Chapman as a personality and artist.

But what is the critical mystique of a centenary? Or of a decade? Or of a *fin de siècle* assessment? According to a friend to whom I put the question, it is ritualism. I prefer to think that it is critical self-hypnosis and the traffic of ignorance between the generations. Do we need centenaries to realize that Thomas Jefferson and John Milton are doctrinal to our times? Shall we have a series of genteel cocktail parties, complete with cover articles in the Sunday supplements, recalling the birthday of Thoreau, who chose jail; of Whittier, whose editorial offices were burned by mobs; of Garrison, who came and went in the dark to avoid his ardent haters. Let us be done with artificial commemorations! Let us anticipate anniversaries!

Here are some Chapman observations from "Practical Agitation," published fifty-four years ago:

Every one condemns the independent because he violates the thumb rule which slovenly thinkers regard as a summary of all political philosophy: "Between two evils choose the least."

Words like "courage," "honesty," "independence," "pledge," "loyalty" pass current like clipped coin in the language of politics; and the keying up of words to their Biblical value brings out one man a thief and the next a hypocrite.

[Advice on fighting a political machine:] Do not think you are wasting

your time, even if no one joins. The prejudice against the individual is part of the evil you are fighting.

There is always great difficulty in this world as to who shall bell the cat; but conventions of mice do not further the matter. The way to do it is for a parcel of mice to take their political lives in their hands and proceed to do it.

An election is like a flash of lightning at midnight. You get an instantaneous photograph of what every man is doing. You see his real relation toward his government. But an election happens only once a year. Government goes on day and night.

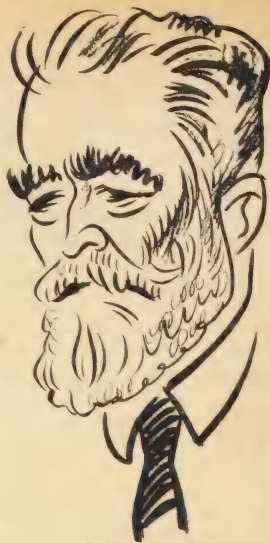
Our system of party government has been developed with the aim of keeping the control in the hands of professionals. Technicalities have been multiplied, and the rules of the game have become more and more complex. There exists, consequently, an unformulated belief that the corruption of politics is something by itself.

We have really found out two things: first, that in order to have better government, the talk and private intelligence upon which it rests must be going forward all the time; and second, that the individual conscience, intelligence, or private will is always set free by the same process—to wit, by the telling of truth.

Social punishment is the one cruel reality, the one terrible weapon, the one judgment against which lawyers cannot protect a man. It is as silent as theft, and it raises the cry of "Stop thief!" like a burglar alarm.

You must talk facts, you must name names, you must impute motives. You must say what is in your mind. . . . If you are not strong enough to face the issue in private life, do not dream that you can do anything for public affairs.

Such men as Wendell Phillips were not extravagant. They were practical men. Their business was to get heard.



John Jay Chapman

They used vitriol, but they were dealing with the hide of a rhinoceros.

The real injury to intellect is not done in the editorial sanctum. It is done in the mind of the writer who himself attempts to cater to the prejudice of others.

The newspaper trade, as now conducted, is prostitution. It mows down the boys as they come from the colleges. It defaces the very desire for truth and leaves them without a principle to set a clock by. They grow to disbelieve in the reality of ideas.

I have never heard any argument given against the wisdom of righteousness, except the existence of evil.

The business world is all one organization. It is a sort of secret society, a great web. No matter where you touch it, the same spiders come out.

"Use or lose," says Nature when she gives us capacities. What you condone, you support; what you neglect, you confirm.

People who love soft methods and hate iniquity forget this—that reform consists in taking a bone from a dog.

In a martial age the reformer is called a mollycoddle; in a commercial age, an incompetent; a disturber of values; in a fanatical age, a heretic. If an agitator is not reviled, he is a quack.

MELVIN H. BERNSTEIN is a member of the faculty of Alfred University.

Liberty and democracy are thought to be such worthy ends that we must obtain them by any means and all means, even by hiring mercenaries. Can we wonder that in the past men's minds were stag-

gered by the importance of a papacy or of some dynastic succession? Today everybody jumps to shield vice because it is called republicanism or democracy. The irony of history could go no further.

notes. More often the lines run short, 21 (13:151-52):

I am one who has no tale to tell:
I made myself a gibbet of my own lintel.
Or (17:43-45):

Their eyes burst with their grief; their
smoking hands
jerked about their bodies, warding off
now the flames and now the burning
sands.

English iambic as well as Italian will stand a great deal of hard handling, but the line should have elements in it which *respond* to slurring or lengthening. The above lines—and a surprising number like them have been let through—seem to me to have neither music nor character but to be simply awkward. Still, the pace throughout is good, and the whole poem-in-translation is better than its details. Ciardi is perhaps weakest in classical passages, like the lovely simile-including-metaphor which opens Canto 24; strongest where there is strong action or emotion to communicate. It is only fair to end by showing what he can do at his best (5:67-93):

As they whirled above
he pointed out more than a thousand
shades
of those torn from the mortal life by love.
I stood there while my Teacher one by
one
named the great knights and ladies of
dim time;
and I was swept by pity and confusion.
At last I spoke: "Poet, I should be glad
to speak a word with those two swept
together
so lightly on the wind and still so sad."
And he to me: "Watch them. When next
they pass,
call to them in the name of love that
drives
and damns them here. In that name
they will pause."

Thus, as soon as the wind in its wild
course
brought them around, I called: "O
worn-out souls!
if none forbid it, pause and speak to
us."

As mating doves that love calls to their
nest
glide through the air with motionless
raised wings,
borne by the sweet desire that fills each
breast—

Just so those spirits turned on the torn
sky
from the band where Dido whirls
across the air;
such was the power of pity in my cry.

The "Inferno" as an English Poem

DANTE'S INFERNO. Translated in Verse by John Ciardi. Rutgers University Press, \$4.50.

By Richmond Lattimore

M^R. CIARDI'S new translation of the "Inferno" is accompanied by an introduction by Archibald T. McAlister. Each canto is preceded by a fairly full précis of the contents and followed by two or three pages of notes. All such supplementary material is useful and well placed.

The translation itself is in plain, simple English, meant to reproduce an original style which is seen as "sparse, direct, and idiomatic." The rhyme represents a compromise. Instead of either attempting to reproduce *terza rima* in English (like Binyon) or forgoing rhyme altogether (like Longfellow), Ciardi leaves the middle lines of each tercet entirely unrhymed, but rhymes the first and third lines with each other. Also, as he explains in his prefatory note, he has "not hesitated to use a deficient rhyme when the choice seemed to lie between forcing an exact rhyme and keeping the language more natural." Nearly all translators who use rhyme in English have done this, but few say so. The metrical line is, of course, five-beat iambic, but like his original, Ciardi is very free with slurred unstressed extra syllables.

Such are the main principles of form. As for matter, Ciardi does not feel restricted to "word-for-word equivalents." "What must be saved . . . is the total feeling of the complex, its *Gestalt*." His statement here, a difficult one to make, is not altogether illuminating, and in practice there are times when he lapses by being too free. For instance, at 18:1-3 (I quote by canto and line) the translation reads:

RICHMOND LATTIMORE, professor of Greek at Bryn Mawr, has published translations of Pindar, the "Iliad," and several Greek tragedies.

There is in Hell a vast and sloping ground called Malebolge, a lost place of stone as black as the great cliff that seals it round.

Here he loses Dante's vital descriptive word *ferrigno*; the place was seen as colored with iron, not black. Nevertheless, this is a real translation, not a free version.

What we have, then, is Dante translated with reasonable fidelity into an English poem which swings along at a good pace, which is plainer than most English versions and easier to understand. The rhyme is unobtrusive but it is there, and helps. It does not make Ciardi stiff and tortuous, as Binyon's amazing triple-rhymed tour de force sometimes makes Binyon (but Binyon gains from his rhyme scheme more than he loses). Ciardi leans over backward to avoid forced inversions, and he abjures "poetical" words like Longfellow's "champaign," "aught," "yesternight," and the like. His translation is certainly the raciest I have seen, and his treatment of Dante's more ribald passages—like Malacoda and his minions, Cantos 21 and 22—is frank and forthright. Ciardi betrays some uneasiness over this (in a note, pp. 187-88), but his moderate use of four-letter words seems perfectly justified. There are, however, some unnecessary lapses into a truly prosaic tone, as (11:10-15):

Before we travel on to that blind pit
we must delay until our sense grows
used
to its foul breath, and then we will not
mind it,

my Master said, And I then: "Let us find
some compensation for the time of
waiting."

And he: "You shall see I have just that
in mind."

Ciardi's ear is by no means perfect. The line (5:58)

She is Semiramis of whom the tale is told
has six unmistakable beats; there is no way to read it as of five times plus grace-

"Tampering with Nature"

TOMORROW IS ALREADY HERE.

By Robert Jungk. Translated by Marguerite Waldman. Simon and Schuster. \$3.50.

By David Cort

WITH a ruffle of eschatological drums, this book describes the anti-human hell that applied science has created in modern America.

On first review, the reporting seems as honest as it is sensational: a rocket at White Sands, the Strategic Air Force headquarters in Nebraska, a jet-plane test, a uranium boom town, an atomic-project boom town, Los Alamos itself, the atomic ovens of Richland, and then such milder marvels as Imperial Valley and an artificial insemination station. Hardly anyone could fail to learn something here.

Only the book's thesis seems dubious at first: "The Americans today are concerned with bigger things than . . . the mastery of continents. America is striving to win power over the sum total of things. . . . The stake is higher than dictators' seats. . . . The stake is the throne of God." This vicarious boast must make any American say, "Who? Me?" even though it seems to flatter him. For, restated, it defines America's sin against the Holy Ghost as "tampering with nature."

This "strange and dangerous" sin is documented with material which wherever it is examined closely reveals a rich vein of error. Mr. Jungk says with assurance that Imperial Valley (below sea level) is menaced by an overland flood from the Gulf of California to the south. Actually, though the whole subject is still rather mysterious, the immediate threat seems to be the rise of the waters of Salton Sea to the north, presumably from subterranean sources.

In the brief atomic section an atomic expert quickly found about thirty misstatements, large and small. (Some of these may have been born in translation and editing, such as the mention—page

71—of beds of uranium with percentages of pitchblende. This is of course exactly backward, like Imperial Valley.) However, the whole subject of radioactivity is here bathed in a nightmare glare of exaggeration to the 100th power. The author seems unaware of the half-life feature of radioactivity. When he makes it "slave energies" for Buckminster Fuller's "energy slaves," one wonders whether everything is backward.

The final chapters on business-personnel tests and industrialization techniques are the best and most provocative in a book that is radioactive with satire. They deserve far lengthier discussion than can be given here.

The thesis that "tampering with nature" is evil, however, compels a word.

Milking a cow and boiling a potato are also "tampering with nature." America can no more scrap its new tools than the rest of the world can allow us to do so. The legitimate horror inspired by the atom bomb calls for the notation that death by arrows or crucifixion is neither more nor less moral than death by atomic blast. Indeed, Hiroshima can count itself lucky that it was not one of the cities of Kharemsia when Genghis Khan's horsemen rode off, leaving not one human being alive.

As an American one must have misgivings about the publication of this book this year in eleven countries.

Nevertheless, Americans at least should read and ponder it. Even its misinformation and sensationalism do not take it as far from the ascertainable truth as much that is published in respectable American magazines.

New Books in Brief

The Facts About Us

AMERICAN WAYS OF LIFE. By George R. Stewart. Doubleday. \$3.95.

In his popular "Storm," "Fire," and "U. S. 40" Mr. Stewart invented a sort of fictional analogue of the documentary film. The present book—based partly on Fulbright lectures given in Greece—does not exactly follow that formula but is again based upon lots of simple concrete facts. There is little or no "ideology," only an attempt to state in broad general terms how Americans eat, dress, house, and amuse themselves; what words they use, what churches they go to, and (of course) what their sexual habits are. In each case Mr. Stewart tries to indicate to what extent any feature of our *mores* has been determined by (1) what the colonists imported, (2) what was introduced by non-English groups, and (3) what the Indian and the special conditions of the North American continent are responsible for. A curious fact is that the influence of one or another of these factors has been so much more important in certain departments than in others. Until the comparatively recent trend toward informal costume travelers from abroad seldom saw anything in our dress to provoke comment. On the other hand our food, drink, and language took on national

characteristics early, and most of them have persisted. Mr. Stewart is descriptive rather than critical and draws no startling conclusions. His book makes entertaining reading none the less and will feed the modern appetite for facts about anything and everything.

Unmarried Mothers

THE UNMARRIED MOTHER IN OUR SOCIETY. By Sara B. Edlin. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$3.

Sara Edlin's story is a beautiful true tale of kindness, warmth, and tolerance toward those young women who give children to society, to us all, without benefit of marriage. Yet it is not a story to exact maudlin sympathy. It is told with a dignity, purpose, and helpfulness that reveal the author's deep understanding and rare personality. Miss Edlin recognizes her charges' need of protection during their stay in the Lakeview home for girls and regrets society's slowness to accept, whole-heartedly, the unmarried mother and her child. She answers straightforwardly the many questions that have been put to her during her forty years at Lakeview. What type of girl comes there? What does the average girl think about the man involved? Do the mothers want to keep the babies? What becomes of the babies? Miss Ed-

DAVID CORT has been foreign editor of *Life* and feature editor of the *United Nations World*. He is the author of "The Big Picture," a current *Nation's* Choice selection, and other books.

lin's answers to some of these questions, and to others, have changed through the years. Her present answers and her previous ones are well worth thinking about.

Guerillas in the Jungle

JUNGLE GREEN. By Arthur Campbell, M. C. Little, Brown and Company. \$4.

An account of the adventures of a British company of young soldiers engaged in hunting down Communist "bandits" in Malaya. The author, a professional British officer, is no great shakes as a writer and his stiff-upper-lip manner is sometimes unintentionally humorous. Nevertheless, his descriptions of marches and ambushes are often exciting and he succeeds in communicating something of the horrors of this kind of guerrilla warfare, in which the first and not the least deadly enemy to be overcome is the steaming, stinking, insect-infested jungle itself.

"Housebreaking" the Church

RELIGION BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN. By George N. Shuster. Macmillan, \$4.

The president of Hunter College of New York, a leading Catholic layman, provides a close look at the Communist war on religion. Since a good proportion of East Europeans are Catholic, the book deals primarily with the persecution of the Catholic church and its leaders. Its theme is that the church was doomed "not only because it professed a spiritual view of life at odds with dialectical materialism but also because it was an obstacle to the full and unrestricted use of human beings." This thesis is not wholly persuasive. The fact is that in East Europe the church in general—and particularly the Catholic church—has always been deeply involved in politics; it was at least economically interested in preserving the pre-Red status quo, and it fought the Communist regimes openly and sometimes effectively. No totalitarian regime could have ignored such a challenge, for instance, as that presented to the Hungarian Communists by Cardinal Mindszenty and the Catholic press. As a matter of practical politics, the Communists had to "housebreak" the church.

There are other flaws in the book. Granting that facts on Eastern Europe are hard to come by, there are still too many errors of fact, doubtful reports, presumably from émigré sources, and regrettable omissions. The author often lapses into sermonese which contains odd undertones. Intellectuals, for instance, might be fascinated by his declaration that "in many parts of the world some version of Marxism is all that the dominant intellectual caste is willing or able to peddle to the masses. . . . God departed from the room in which the professors, the research workers, the improvers, and the artists were talking—departed silently and ominously."

Light on the Psyche

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PERSONALITY. By Bernard Notcutt. Philosophical Library. \$4.75.

To the lay reader who cares to know what psychology has accomplished since the Germans in the nineteenth century tried to make it an exact science this little volume is warmly recommended. The pioneers—Wundt, Fechner, and their fellow-experimentalists—with a worshipful eye on chemistry and physics, strove to exclude from psychology everything which could not be mathematically measured. This meant eliminating intuition and the subjective; ruling out the human, hence non-mechanical and untrustworthy "observer" and indeed avoiding personality itself, since by definition personality is individual, incommensurate, and unique. Mightily, for several generations, this new science of measurement and statistics labored without its presumed subject—the living man and woman; and the mountain of unwieldy data gave forth a mouse of understanding. Professor Notcutt calls this mountain "scientism," which, he says, "is to science what the Pharisee is to the man of God." Finally, the effort to make psychology a science, by excluding all that could not be generalized in the same sense as the hydrogen and oxygen atoms of a molecule of water, ended in the caricature of behaviorism, which, in order to be true to its gods of exact measure, was forced to deny not only personality but consciousness and thinking.

Meanwhile Freud, his school, and

their dissenters, having been thrown out by the objective door, came in by the subjective window. The author makes clear their innumerable contributions to light on the mysteries of the human psyche; but he also observes that their own dominant aim, as *therapists*, dealing always with individual cases, has kept them from the strictly controlled classifications and simplifications required by a natural science. He seems to suggest that a convergence of the *Gestalt* school with psychoanalysis should set the foundation for an organic psychology—and that the work lies largely in the future. Professor Notcutt is conscious of the need of objective tests and rigorous controls; he gives fair accounts of the work of the laboratory discoverers. But he is not afraid of the unavoidable x and y of personality itself, and of the social vectors, and of what, for want of an analytical name, men still call "intuition" or "insight."

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and deepest of all the sciences. He writes well—better than most psychologists, better even than most writers. And he is the master of a wry humor which gratifyingly salts what might otherwise be a heavy dish.

Queen of Love

MADAME DE POMPADOUR. By Nancy Mitford. Random House. \$4.75.

The author of "The Pursuit of Love" now pursues the queen of love through 308 pages of a light and readable biography without ever quite capturing her as a credible human being. The difficulty lies in the fact that Miss Mitford, like the witless king, has succumbed to the Pompadour's charms. As a result she extolls her social graces while skimming over the disastrous political effects of her influence over Louis XV. Pleasant reading with fascinating sidelights on the court life of the period, but not to be taken too seriously as history.

Whims and Crotchets

PHILOSOPHER OR DOG? By Machado de Assis. Translated by Clotilde Wilson. Noonday Press. \$3.50.

The story of Quincas Borba, a rich and foolish philosopher, of Quincas Borba, his dog and namesake, and of Rubiao, the pathetic clown, who inherits the dog which bores him, the philosophy which he does not understand, and the wealth which he wastes. The novel has 201 chapters, some of them only a sentence in length; it has a mildly Shandean humor, full of whims and crotchets; and it has a rather silly ending which can be skipped since by that time the style has begun to grow tedious. Nevertheless, it is entertaining and worth reading, although decidedly less brilliant than the author's "Epitaph of a Small Winner."

Up from the Music Halls

FUTURE INDEFINITE. By Noel Coward. Doubleday. \$4.50.

This second instalment of Noel Coward's autobiography covers the years of World War II. His chatty personality comes through quite engagingly, and probably he is right when he implies that circumstances rather than his real temperament cast him in the role of sophisticated and cynic. Far from being a member of

any lost generation he found himself quite handily and rose from the music halls into a society which lived high, wide, and handsome. When the war came he was employed for a time first as a propaganda officer in Paris and then as a semi-official diplomat in Poland and the United States. Later he settled down to doing patriotic plays and movies and to entertaining troops in far-flung encampments.

His success in managing at the same time to maintain, at least sporadically, habits of expensive living may leave the reader a bit bemused but not necessarily resentful. Perhaps the most

amusing parts of the book are those in which he describes somewhat plaintively the less pleasant aspects of functioning as a celebrity on exhibit—especially when an articulate minority of Englishmen resented the publicity given a man who seemed to them to represent everything they didn't approve of and when the troops would sometimes plainly have preferred a less sophisticated entertainer. In Australia one reporter for a London paper confessed that he had been told to follow Mr. Coward around until the happy day when he could report that some soldier audience had hooted him off the stage.

Records

B. H. Haggin

AN EPIC record offers two infrequently played Mozart piano concertos: K.456, one of the masterpieces of the series, with a first movement of high comedy and an Andante in which a wonderfully beautiful and affecting theme is elaborated in several impressive examples of Mozartian variation-writing; and K.459, a fine work, but one that has never impressed me as much as it has other listeners whose judgment I respect. The soloist, Hans Henkemans, is an excellent pianist and musician, who plays with cleanness of execution, clarity of outline, continuity of tension, and other admirable qualities—his one deficiency being in the relaxed grace that one would like in the allegro movements, and without which they get to sound strenuous. This is especially true of the first movement of K.456, where the strenuousness is heightened by strident reproduction of the none-too-good sound of the Vienna Symphony under John Pritchard. K. 459 is more agreeably reproduced; but its first movement loses by the unprecedentedly fast tempo—an alla breve rather than an allegro 4/4.

Another Epic record offers Schubert's "Trout" Quintet for piano and strings, which has many beautiful pages, and a fine ensemble performance by the Amsterdam Piano Quintet in which again the piano-playing of Alice Heksch is especially impressive (the previous occasion was an Epic record of Mozart vio-

lin sonatas). I am unable at the moment to compare this performance with the Horszowski-Budapest Quartet performance; but I can say the new one is reproduced with more beautiful sound.

On a Bach Guild record are four Vivaldi concertos: the lovely Op. 12 No. 1 in G minor for violin, the equally lovely No. 3 in A minor for violin and No. 11 in D minor for two violins from "L'Estro armonico," and the charming Op. 10 No. 3 for flute, known as the "Bullfinch." Why No. 3 of "L'Estro armonico" is played in Nachez's arrangement and No. 11 in its original form, only the Bach Guild knows, and it doesn't say. The performances by the Chamber Orchestra of the Vienna State Opera with Jan Tomasow and Wilhelm Huebner as the solo violins, Ludwig Piersmann as solo flute, and George Harand as solo cello, are excellent; but I think the slow movement of No. 11 would be more effective in the largo tempo specified by Vivaldi.

Esoteric offers two engaging early works of Handel, a Sonata for cello and harpsichord and the Concerto à quatre No. 1 for flute, oboe, cello, and harpsichord, both played well by the members of the Harpsichord Quartet—Claude Monteux, flute, Harry Shulman, oboe, Bernard Greenhouse, cello, and Sylvia Marlowe, harpsichord—except for the occasional aggressiveness of the harpsichord. The Handel Concerto à quatre

No. 2 and the Bach Trio Sonata No. 1 on the same record I find uninteresting.

Remembering Byrd's wonderful Mass for four voices I listened to his Great Service, on a Vanguard record, first with anticipation, then with disappointment: the vocal writing is lovely, but unvarying, repetitious, and monotonous. And while the vocal writing is lovely, its realization in sound by the Chamber Chorus of Washington that Paul Callaway conducts is not.

The only performances of Debussy's "Nuages" I have heard that equalled the one Koussevitzky exhibited at his very first concert with the Boston Symphony in New York in 1924 were the ones he gave later; and I cannot understand why this great achievement of his was never recorded. The performance on an Epic record in which Fournet conducts the Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra is well-paced but is spoiled by the coarseness of the playing at the end—to say nothing of the poor quality of the horns even earlier. "Fêtes" suffers from the lack of the virtuosity our great American orchestras have accustomed us to—e. g., in the passage for muted trumpets with which the distant procession begins; and Fournet's tempo for this procession is too slow. "Sirènes," the seldom-played third of these Nocturnes, I again find uninteresting. On the reverse side is some Ravel.

WITH the University Diffusicone 12 speaker replaced by a Bozak B-207A combination (one 12-inch low-frequency "woofer" and one high-frequency dual "tweeter") my summer equipment now gives me very satisfying reproduction of records. Part of the good result comes from the treatment of the interior of the infinite-baffle (completely closed) cabinet in which the Bozak is mounted: for damping purposes the frame holding the speaker-cone is covered with strips of a material called Vibro-Damp; to break up and absorb the sound waves in the cabinet it is filled completely with folded strips of 1/2-inch PF-316 Aerocore Fiberglas manufactured by Owens-Corning. Filling the interior in this way instead of merely lining the panels reduces bass, and is therefore to be done only when the amplifier can compensate for the reduction. And the minimum size of the cabinet is 6 cu. ft.

Letters

Violence in Michigan

Dear Sirs: I have lived in this community as a responsible citizen since coming here in 1927. I have an unchallenged record as an employee at Chevrolet Manufacturing Company for twenty years. I served for three and a half years as a soldier in World War II and was decorated with the Bronze Star. I fought in North Africa, Italy, Corsica, France, and Germany. I am married and the father of two daughters.

Since the hearings of Representative Kit Clardy's Un-American Activities Committee in Flint I have worked only two weeks. I was severely beaten on returning to work and was placed under a doctor's care for thirty days with broken ribs and contusions. Again on August 4 I was viciously beaten by a gang of hoodlums at the factory gates.

I have had police protection for two nights on leaving work but expect to meet more violence on entering and leaving the plant unless a real effort is made to establish order on the streets of Flint.
Flint, Mich.

HOWARD FOSTER

Books Wanted

Dear Sirs: There is a great need for books on the social sciences at Hislop College, Nagpur University, India. Hislop College operates on a budget so limited that it is unable to provide adequate library references. Magazines are also very welcome: *Time*, *Newsweek*, *World Report*, *Business Week*, *Nation*, *New Republic*, *Progressive*, *Life*, *Collier's*, etc.

I hope your readers will send us what they can at their own expense, by cheapest post, addressed to me, Law College Building, Nagpur University.

DR. EDDY ASIRVATHAM, Director,
Department of Social Sciences
Nagpur, India

Comics and Communism

Dear Sirs: A recent issue of *Horror*, a so-called "entertaining comic," contains the following stories:

The Vault of Horror, in which a brutal, sadistic, rapacious sea captain is done in by a lass who is really a witch who becomes an octopus.

The Crypt of Terror, in which a grave-robbier has his blood drained by vampires.

The Catacombs, in which a thief lures a fellow-thief into the catacombs to murder him, then gets lost and perishes following his companion's trail of blood instead of a trail of red wine.

The Witch's Cauldron, in which an oaf, victimized by a circus mental marvel known as The Brain, turns on the latter

when egged on by a shimmy dancer and does him in. When pressed to produce The Brain, the oaf produces The Brain's brain.

In addition to this delectable fare for impressionable minds and some horrible puns ("the morgue the merrier," "no ghoul like an old ghoul," etc.) *Horror* contains an editorial which reads in part: "Are you a Red dupe? The group most anxious to destroy comics are the Communists. So the next time some joker gets up at a P. T. A. meeting jabbering about the 'naughty comic books,' give him the once-over. Some of these people are no-goods. Some are do-gooders. Some are well-meaning. And some are just plain mean. We're not saying he is a Communist. He may be a dupe."

Los Angeles, Calif.

PHIL HAZEN

Liberalism's Aims

Dear Sirs: We would like to attempt to set forth explicitly our ideas about the meaning of liberalism. To us liberalism is a social attitude characterized by interest in increasing the welfare of the masses without drastic changes in the structure of society. It is an attitude of intellectual tolerance; selfish considerations and bias play no part in the formation of its economic, political, and social policies. Liberals abhor tyranny, inhumanity, and undemocratic processes in any form. It would not be far wrong to say that we aspire to a middle-class economic prosperity for all Americans.

We believe in enlightened capitalism, with cooperation between labor and management in the formation of economic policy. As for the Communists, we would rather see their reformation than their extermination. We believe that the Communist rulers, with the increasing sophistication of their peoples, will sooner or later be forced to institute the democratic processes that they now suppress. The general aim of liberalism is to enlighten rather than manipulate, to make the populace healthier and happier rather than submissive.

MR. AND MRS. LEO J. BARANSKI
Princeton, N. J.

Beauty Is Democracy

Dear Sirs: If Americanism is synonymous with democracy, the democracy of Thomas Paine and Patrick Henry and Jefferson and Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt, then patriotism is loyalty to people and to ideas. Patriotism is not platitudes nor is it jingoism.

America is not beautiful for its sparseness.
(Continued on inside back cover)

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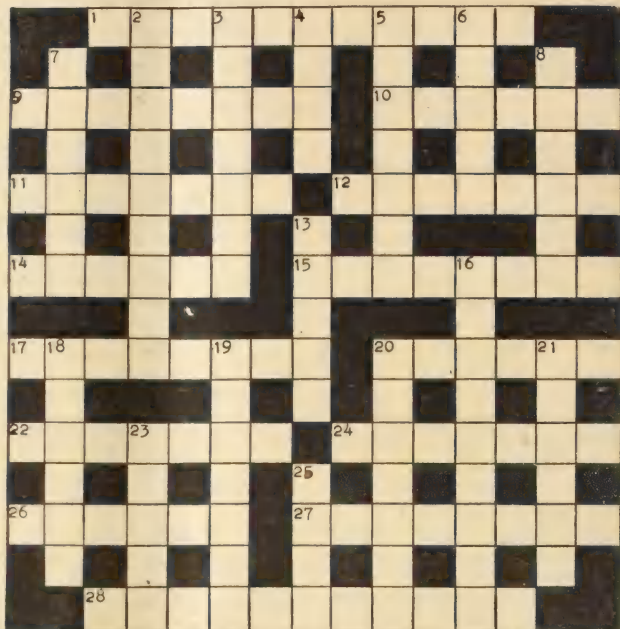
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Crossword Puzzle No. 582

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Perhaps one doesn't like El Caudillo either! (11)
- 9 Study certain passages for leads. (8)
- 10 The dearer sort should be gone over again and again. (6)
- 11 The enemy might be, and what else? Nuts! (7)
- 12 Books which sound somewhat projected. (7)
- 14 Exist only to affirm — very eagerly? (6)
- 15 The way the Reds went when they were scattered. (8)
- 17 Proving a parcel is a place of inspiration. (8)
- 20 See 25 down.
- 22 See 3 down.
- 24 Sepals. (7)
- 26 About to cut loose, the cad! (6)
- 27 You might have seen it at once, (11, 5)
- 28 and 13 down. The best of writers are cornered here. (11, 5)

DOWN

- 2 Where the Russians never had it so good? (3, 6)
- 3 and 22. Unclear? (7, 7)
- 4 Sort of cereal used for malting. (4)
- 5 They're bombastic, and certainly not prosaic. (7)

- 6 and 8. Buildings lie in the mud, like a passerine. (4, 7)
- 7 The woe of a distant relative of the preceding. (6)
- 8 See 6 down.
- 13 See 28.
- 16 Fortunately, the barons won out here. (9)
- 18 5 and 7, but not 9. (6)
- 19 Sounds like the carriage is for the birds! (7)
- 20 Evidently Diana is associated with a sign of the zodiac. (7)
- 21 Turns inside out. (6)
- 23 Fish on ice, perhaps, not necessarily cheap. (5)
- 25 and 20 across. Ticket taker who shouldn't have any trouble with the meter. (4, 6)

• • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 581

ACROSS—1 OLIGARCH; 2 PABLAU; 10 SALERNO; 11 SKILLET; 12 EMBICE; 13 FORCED LANDING; 15 MAGIC MOUNTAIN; 21 RECEIPT; 22 BARGAIN; 23 PARTNER; 24 ONAGERS; 25 RESIDE; 26 ISOLATED.

DOWN—1 OFFISH; 2 IN BRIEF; 3 ANILAR; 4 COURT REPORTER; 6 TALLINN; 7 MARTINI; 8 STONE AGE; 10 SPELLING BOOKS; 14 IMPROPER; 16 GO-CARTS; 17 CATRINE; 18 and 5 AIR MAIL STAMPS; 19 NEARBY; 20 UNUSED.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

Letters

(Continued from page 179)

cious skies; over every country in the world the skies are spacious. America is not beautiful for its amber waves of grain; the grain is just as amber in Canada, Argentina, and Soviet Russia. America is not beautiful for its majestic mountains; we have no mountains so majestic as the Himalayas.

America is beautiful for its democracy—and beautiful to the degree that democracy is practiced by everybody. Platinums be hanged—let's get down to principles: may the good things here be enjoyed by every single soul! M. ALICE ROSS
Los Angeles, Calif.

Fatal Inconsistency

Dear Sirs: Is the United States encouraging the spread of communism? What a question, one may say. Are we not noted as the world's greatest battlers against communism? What is all this stir down at Washington if not to protect ourselves from communism? Can it be possible that the White Knight who jousts so recklessly and even hysterically against his arch foe in our homeland is aiding and abetting the spread of communism in other parts of the world?

Take British Guiana, for example. A vestige of British imperialism, the colony is controlled by less than one per cent of the population. Nevertheless, the masses have been slowly and painfully working their way toward freedom. By April of last year they were in sight of enacting a labor law almost identical with one that is used and taken for granted in the United States. At that juncture, a battalion of soldiers and two battalions were hurried to the colony. Civil rights were abrogated and elected officials jailed.

But, you ask, what did this have to do with the United States? Just this. Washington lost no time in announcing to the world that it was in sympathy with the action of Great Britain. And people all over the world could not but fear that the great democratic nation, which has a lighted statue of liberty far out in its chief harbor, was tinged with imperialism. Is it unreasonable to think that such actions can cause millions of people seeking a better life to cuddle up a little closer to communism? J. W. REED
Portland, Ore.

Ready to Help

Dear Sirs: If you know of any worthy individuals who are suffering extreme financial hardship due to investigating committees, loyalty oaths, and so on, please let me know about them. Though I am an ordinary factory worker, I would gladly help out courageous defenders of our civil liberties. ROBERT FODOR
Wayne, Mich.

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SEX OFFENDERS AND THE LAW: BERNICE ENGLE



THE *Nation*

September 4, 1954

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The Vargas Story

by Carleton Beals

Committee on Horrors

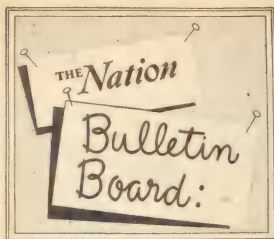
The Kersten Show

by Carey McWilliams

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

Iron Maiden for Labor *Bernard Nossiter*

The Rights of Man *J. Alvarez del Vayo*



WHEN our book club, The Nation's Choice, was born some nine months ago, we took out our rabbit's foot, turned a deaf ear to assorted murmurings of gloom and doom from assorted prophets in the publishing industry, and took to whistling while walking by graveyards.

Today I'm happy to report that The Nation's Choice is experiencing some of the very nice problems which accompany success. In a relatively short time we developed a group of subscribers who purchased books regularly.

During this same time, subscribers began to suggest improvements for our club. It was suggested, for instance, that we set up an automatic notification system. Some asked why we didn't extend the club beyond our subscribers, as a means of furthering the growth of *The Nation*.

We mulled over these and other suggestions and we have come up with a project which has the staff pretty much excited. Beginning next week *The Nation's Choice* will become a nation-wide book club. This has necessitated certain changes in our method of operating—all of which will be spelled out in next week's issue.

We believe that there is a definite market throughout the country for a liberal book club. We also believe that by expanding the club we will be in a better position to secure better buys on books, hence in a better position to pass the savings on to you.

Be sure to look for next week's issue which will contain the full story of the new book club and how you can become a member.

EARLIER this year, when Samuel Harris Cohen, New York labor attorney, wrote on the Eisenhower Administration and its position on the Taft-Hartley law for us, the author warned he didn't really have enough space to say everything that needed saying. Well, he finally did get the space: the *Labor Law Journal* published a study by him analyzing the Taft-Hartley law and various proposed changes which runs to forty-seven pages. It is just about the most comprehensive study of the law, its economic and political effects, that has yet been written. Reprints are available from Mr. Cohen at 1776 Broadway, New York City.

LAST July 17 when I mentioned that one of our subscribers had some back files of *The Nation* to give away I was inundated with requests. Among them was this from Frederick Jaeger in Western Germany:

"I happened to read your kind offer in *The Nation* and I would be only too glad if you or one of your readers could help me and friends over here in Western Germany to read your outstanding publication regularly. . . . Your splendid interpretations of today's problems and events will bring a better understanding on all issues which Germany, Europe, and the world face at present.

"Other people may hunt for material things only, but I am happy to tell you that there are still people in Germany who long to read (if they could afford it) a publication like yours. That is because we wish to see another Germany arise out

of the ashes of a shameful past, a Germany that sincerely works for a peaceful understanding with all nations of goodwill, for democracy's and mankind's sake."

Normally we have a fund to accommodate such requests; there have been so many, however, that it is exhausted. If any of our readers would like to pass their weekly copy on to Mr. Jaeger I'd be happy to send along his address.

COUPLE of weeks ago William G. Carleton reported in *The Nation* on the resurgence of a more liberal spirit in Texas. His report was a bit too early to catch the results of the primary in the Twelfth District which helped confirm Carleton's conclusions. Wingate Lucas, anti-labor Congressman, was defeated in his bid for reelection by Jim Wright, a labor-supported candidate.

MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

Senator Watkins on S. A. C. B.—and Some Contra Arguments

[In view of the additional responsibilities placed upon the Subversive Activities Control Board by certain provisions of the recently enacted bill outlawing the Communist Party (see Bernard Nossiter's article in this issue) the following two communications are especially timely. Senator Watkins, Republican of Utah, a member of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, is chairman of the ad hoc Senatorial panel which is bearing the charges against Senator McCarthy. Norman Redlich, an occasional contributor to The Nation, was co-author with Loren Frantz of Does Silence Mean Guilt? Mr. Redlich's letter was received before Senator Watkins's.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Dear Sirs: Permit me to raise a pertinent point of grammar with respect to the argument between Professor Frederick L. Schuman and Editor Carey McWilliams over the operations of the Subversive Activities Control Board in your May 1 issue. Mr. McWilliams contends that the S. A. C. B. was set up to prey on liberalism while Dr. Schuman maintains that the agency exists only to control communism, but Mr. McWilliams insists that future history will bear out his fears.

If the future is the past in profile, should we not, in appraising the S. A. C. B., turn first to such of its history as is already written? I submit that on the record of the controversy in which the agency originated, and on the record of its performance, liberalism stands in no

more jeopardy from the S. A. C. B. than it did from President Truman, who, after the overriding of his veto of the Internal Security Act which established the agency, named the first five members to the board.

It is true that, in interposing his veto, Mr. Truman, although not alarmed over the proposed control of Communist action, expressed grave doubts about the precision of the language that defined the Communist fronts which, along with Communist-action organizations, were to be controlled. Singling out the last of four criteria for a front, that is, the one which makes the parallels between an organization's policies and those of a Communist-action organization a test of front activities, Mr. Truman argued that by this standard labor unions and liberal organizations could be branded fronts (unions advocate higher wages and so does the Communist Party, whence a labor union could be stamped a front).

Standing alone, this fourth criterion might indeed have been mischievous, but there are three others: (a) the extent to which those managing the alleged front are active also in a Communist-action organization, (b) the extent to which the alleged front gets financial aid and other support from a Communist-action organization, and (c) the extent to which the funds, resources, and personnel of the alleged front are used to promote Communist action [Int. Sec. Act, Sec. 13 (F)].

It is hard to see how the definition could be made more explicit and precise. As to the point of grammar, each criterion is joined to the next by the conjunction "and," wherefore the board, in passing on front cases, must consider not

(Continued on page 199)

The Shape of Things

The Irreconcilables

The French National Assembly began its great debate on E. D. C. in an atmosphere strained by the incessant efforts of the Government and its supporters to reconcile the irreconcilable: the opposition to German rearmament and the desire to avoid a major break in the Western coalition. Churchill, to whom Mendès-France turned after Brussels, was in no position to offer help. The British continue reluctant about involving themselves in E. D. C. beyond the extension of general support. Churchill was doubtless equally reluctant to irritate the Americans by going out of his way to help the French Premier.

Some London officials shared the American view that the Brussels débâcle was unnecessary; Mendès-France, they were convinced, could have forced the National Assembly to accept E. D. C. had he thrown the full weight of his popularity behind it. But the very first hours of the Assembly debate proved how little foundation existed for this belief. There is no majority for ratification. The Premier had shrewdly refused to submit the issue to a confidence vote—a refusal predicted by Mr. del Vayo three weeks ago in the columns of this journal.

As the week began Mendès-France and his followers were maneuvering to win the Assembly's endorsement of the E. D. C. changes for which the French Premier had sought and failed to win support at Brussels. Should the endorsement be forthcoming, Mendès-France could attend a proposed second E. D. C. meeting with a far stronger hand.

The Sound Alternative

Many realists are writing off E. D. C. and turning their attention to possible alternatives. One would be to make West Germany sovereign and rearm it as a member of NATO. A second plan envisages the creation of a "little NATO" within the larger organization which would consist of the E. D. C. states—Benelux, Italy, and Bonn—with the addition of Great Britain. Mendès-France is believed to favor this second formula.

But neither of these plans, nor Mendès-France's protocol amending the E. D. C. text, serves to keep Germany

disarmed, a consummation devoutly sought by millions of people throughout the world. This could be accomplished only through negotiation with Russia, possibly by way of another Big Four conference. Such a course would be based on the assumption that the Soviet Union, in order to avoid German rearmament, would be ready to concede enough to make possible the creation of a unified, neutralized, and permanently disarmed Germany.

The ultimate test for Premier Mendès-France is whether he has the strength, as he unquestionably has the will, to put through such a project.

Formosa: The Risks Are High

The hit-and-run raid of the Chinese Communists on the island of Quemoy, following so closely in the wake of Secretary Dulles's statement that American forces would be justified in defending Nationalist-held islands, adds point to the recent warning of Albert Ravenholt, a correspondent with expert knowledge of the Far East, that the risk of a general war in the Pacific over Formosa is greater than any we encountered in Korea or Indo-China. In the Formosan Straits, the United States and China are brought into a direct face-to-face relationship; the Nationalists lack even South Korea's limited claim to independent status. Even so, Chiang has a dangerous capacity and talent for mischief. Alarmed by tensions which have developed within his own regime and faced with a build-up of Chinese Communist military power along the coast, Chiang is anxious to induce Washington to advance our air-and-naval screen, heretofore limited to Formosa and the Pescadores, to include the off-shore islands now in his hands. At the same time, he is trying to worm his way into whatever Southeast Asian military pact emerges from the Manila conference which convenes on September 6. Annoyed by the marauding expeditions of General Chennault's Civil Air Transport along the south China coast and by the efforts of Nationalist naval craft to harass coastal shipping headed for Chinese ports, the Communists are determined to drive Chiang from the off-shore islands.

As tension has mounted, the need for clarification of American policy has increased but the decision-makers have been divided. The raid on Quemoy was doubtless intended to test the meaning of Mr. Dulles's statement. But if the Chinese Communists are uncertain what the

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statement means, so are the American people. Does it mean, as some have said, that a decision has been actually reached in Washington to defend the Tachen Islands, fourteen miles from the mainland, which Admiral Stump inspected recently and which were visited for the first time by four American destroyers? If the Joint Chiefs have reached a decision it has yet to be announced. In the meantime, the ambiguity of Mr. Dulles's statement is itself a dangerous factor in an inherently dangerous situation.

No Comment Necessary

The following item appeared in the Monterey (California) *Peninsula Herald* last month:

Battle Creek, Mich. (U.P.).—An unemployed lodger who claimed to be an F. B. I. agent shot and killed his landlady because "thought rays" told him she was a Communist.

Mrs. Beulah Pontius, forty-year-old mother of six children, was shot three times early Sunday, and police arrested Robert Roscoe for investigation of murder. "I just shot the biggest Communist in the world," said the twenty-eight-year-old lodger as he handed the gun to police.

Police said Roscoe, who rented an upstairs apartment in the Pontius home, told them he also planned to kill the woman's husband, Chester, forty-two. However, the husband had just left for his bakery job when Roscoe broke down a hallway door leading into the family's section of the house. "I knew they were Reds because of thought rays that penetrated into my room from their quarters," police quoted Roscoe.

Police said Roscoe was not an F. B. I. agent. Nor was there any reason to indicate Mrs. Pontius and her husband were subversives, police said.

End of a Chapter

Not with a bang, surely, and hardly even with a whimper, a hectic chapter in American foreign economic policy came to an end when the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted to liquidate the Foreign Operations Administration next June 30. It seems ages ago—it was only seven years—that General Marshall, then Secretary of State, first proposed large-scale foreign economic aid as a post-war reconstruction measure. In the intervening period such aid has been one of the major instruments of American policy, particularly in Western Europe.

When the program was first launched those who suggested that it might have some military significance were not infrequently denounced as "fellow-travelers," "dupes," or worse. Yet as early as 1951, well before the European Recovery Program had run its course, the NATO countries were warned that further economic aid would be directly related to, and even conditioned on, the degree to which they devoted their resources to

military preparations. And when the Senate committee recently approved three billion dollars for 1954-55, the lion's share was earmarked for purely military purposes. "The only resemblance of the present program to General Marshall's original program," commented the *Wall Street Journal* on July 14, "is that it involves billions going to foreign countries."

With F. O. A. scheduled to close down a year from now, economic aid should be terminated by June, 1956. What type of foreign economic policy will Congress adopt to take the place of the various schemes and hopes of the Marshall Plan period? Will the alarmist "anti-communism" of this period abate now that the need to wangle large "economic-aid" appropriations from a doubting Congress has ceased? To what objectives will we attempt to harness the unused productive potential of American industry? Obviously the time has arrived for an agonizing reappraisal of our foreign economic policy, which implies, of course, a reappraisal of American foreign policy.

The Sweezy Case

BY H. H. WILSON

WITH public attention distracted by federal legislation and the antics of Congressional committees undermining civil and political liberties, there is a tendency to ignore measures and actions by the states which are even more repressive. State legislatures enact extreme versions of federal statutes and minor league imitators of Congressional practitioners strive to perfect their demagogic skills so that they too may move into the big time. For the political morale of the nation the activity at state level is often more serious just because it attracts neither national attention nor organized resistance. Illustrative are the current New Hampshire proceedings involving Paul M. Sweezy, co-editor of the *Monthly Review*, and Dr. Gwynne H. Daggett, associate professor of English at the University of New Hampshire.

Last year the New Hampshire legislature passed a resolution directing the Attorney General to inquire into violations of the state's Subversive Activities Act of 1951. This measure states the Communist Party to be part of a foreign-controlled conspiracy dedicated to the violent overthrow of the United States government and defines a subversive to be one who teaches or advocates the overthrow of constitutional government by force and violence. In April of this year, in the case of Elba Chase Nelson, the State Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the 1951 act and the resolution of 1953.

Paul Sweezy first appeared at a closed hearing on January 3, 1954. At that time he stated that he had never been a member of the Communist Party, had never attended any party meetings, did not know any party mem-

bers in New Hampshire, and had never advocated the overthrow of constitutional government by force and violence. But he declined to answer questions concerning ideas, beliefs, and associations which "could not possibly be pertinent" to the New Hampshire law. On June 3, this year, Sweezy was again interrogated by the Attorney General in a closed three-hour session. Again he refused to answer questions "outside the scope of your inquiry," including questions about the Progressive Party and the content of a lecture on "socialism" which he had given by invitation in a Humanities course at the University of New Hampshire.

On June 28 a court hearing was begun before Justice Robert F. Griffith in the Merrimack County Superior Court of New Hampshire. Sweezy and Professor Daggett, who had also been twice questioned in closed hearings and had taken the same position, were now ordered to answer the questions or be cited for contempt of court. Under New Hampshire practice the penalty for contempt of court is jail until the individual chooses to answer the questions! In accordance with contemporary standards of integrity, courage, and devotion to democratic principles, Governor Hugh Gregg had previously stated publicly that if Daggett did not respond to the court order he would be dismissed from the university. With the issue identical there was nothing to be gained by both men being penalized. Assured that Paul Sweezy would continue to test the legality of the statute, Professor Daggett reluctantly answered the questions and the case against him was dismissed. On June 30 Paul Sweezy was declared to be in contempt of court and sentenced to jail by Justice Griffith. Despite the opposition of Attorney General Louis C. Wyman, whose standards were revealed when he assigned an assistant to record the license plate numbers of people who attended the hearing, Mr. Sweezy was released on \$1,000 bail and the case has been appealed to the New Hampshire Supreme Court.

THIS is an important case deserving the broadest public support. Paul Sweezy is a private citizen, not a government employee or a teacher in a public institution. Here again is a bald abuse of official power, for the nominal purpose of New Hampshire's law is to provide for prosecution of those who promote the violent overthrow of constitutional government. But in this instance both individuals testified under oath that they did not believe in or advocate the use of violence. Once again it is made apparent that investigations sanctioned to defend constitutional government are being utilized to deny political freedom to those who may hold unpopular views, or any opinions at all. Freedom of speech, press, and association become devoid of meaning when their exercise may provoke official investigation and the threat of prosecution for perjury or contempt.

THE VARGAS STORY

Nation in Transition . . . by Carleton Beals

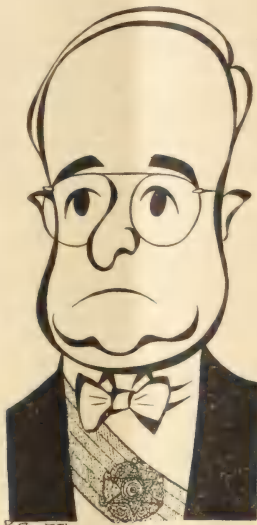
THE initial phase of the Brazilian presidential pre-election campaign of October, 1955, is over. Its dramatic climax is the suicide of elected President Getulio Vargas in the early dawn of August 24. The generals who crowded him to his death are in the saddle. Bets are on as to how long they can ride out the storm.

Vargas was a 1930 depression product. In that year he led the cowboy *vaqueiros* of Rio Grande do Sul, his native state, and the miners of Minas Gerais against the political domination of the São Paulo coffee barons. He dies in the midst of a "prosperity depression," amid skyrocketing prices, national unrest, and the stresses of the old war and international finance.

Vargas came into power in a prostrate country, weighted under nearly three-quarters of a billion dollars of foreign debt, when the smog of burning coffee, the only important export those days, hung over the land. He took the reins in a country larger than the United States, the greatest store-house of raw materials on earth, but with a coolie standard of living and less education than the more backward banana countries of the Caribbean.

In 1930 Brazil was buying less than \$30,000,000 worth of goods from the United States. Today, next to Canada, it is this country's leading market by a wide margin; it has absorbed more than a billion dollars of United States private capital, nearly as much Canadian capital.

During Vargas's quarter-century rule, broken only by a five-year interlude, great factories rose, new crops were grown, new metals were mined, new roads and railroads were laid down. A transcontinental line reached on to the Pacific. Air travel linked Brazil to the outside world. The Amazon basin is to-



Getulio Vargas

day laced with air lines. Even model cities were dropped from the skies into jungles never before trod by white men. His public career spanned the industrial revolution in Brazil. Much of this growth must be credited to Vargas's policies: his promotion of basic government and private steel industry against incredible odds; his ability to blackmail the United States for money by alternate threats of nazism or communism; his clever manipulation of Brazilian raw products to get higher prices on the world market; his boldness in facing up to foreign capital and diplomatic pressures when he felt the interests of Brazil were at stake. He set Brazil on the road from backward colonialism to modern national independence.

In spite of this magnificent material growth, the promotion of better health (much of it with the aid of the United States), and the building of fine new technical and agricultural schools, educationally Brazil is still one of the more

backward countries in Latin America. And Brazil is still a country of coolie labor. Industrial wages in 1938 were only \$11 a month; they average little more than \$50 a month even now, and the gains in the standard of living have been wiped out by runaway inflation. Already reduced purchasing power is beginning to drag on the roaring march of new industry, to block the modernization of agriculture, and pinch the growing urban centers for food.

The rapid industrial revolution has set up social stresses: a struggle for control by feudal and new industrial groups, labor and peasants, the new middle class, the army. On top of this have come constant international pressures, both economic and ideologic: the days of the Nazi-Fascist drive when a million armed marching Green Shirt Integralistas, backed by the great German, Italian, and Brazilian industrialists of São Paulo and by Catholic Action helped Vargas establish his Estado Novo (November 10, 1937) which wiped out all local and state government and made Brazil the pawn of his personal whims. In 1935 the Communists revolted and again, in 1946, 800,000 Communist votes piled up. There was also the pressure of the United States: for defense, private capital investment, for freer trade, for oil and other concessions, and against communism, and also against the diseases of the slums and the jungles.

VARGAS was ousted in October, 1945, by the head of the army, General Eurico Gaspar Dutra. Smarting from a public speech of censor by Ambassador Adolph Berle, Vargas laid the blame not on his own suppression of civil rights and sudden flirting with the Communists, but on "international finance" and "foreign capitalists." "Trusts and monopolies could not forgive my government for having taken away from a foreign syndicate the Rio Dolce Valley iron mines . . . to incorporate them into the national patrimony."

CARLETON BEALS, author and lecturer, spent many years in Latin America. Among his books is "Rio Grande to Cape Horn."

He staged a comeback as candidate of the Labor Party in the elections of October, 1950, winning out over two army candidates.

Ousted by another military coup this year, he left a suicide note: "A subterranean campaign of international groups, joined with national groups, revolting against the regime of workers' guarantees" had blocked his "law of excess profits" and had raised "a storm of hatred" because of his upward revision of the minimum wage. They had fought his government oil monopoly, Petrobras, and his government hydroelectric development, Electrobras. He accused foreign companies of taking out profits of 500 per cent a year and of defrauding the government of more than \$100,000,000 on false declarations of imports. Those "birds of prey" had forced him to give up efforts to defend coffee prices.

THE immediate instrument for Vargas's downfall and suicide is the army, particularly the air corps. In 1930 he had purged the army to weld it into an instrument of his own will. His Labor Party victory in 1950 brought on a coalition of rival military elements against him, deriving their financial support from the industrial concentration of São Paulo, and their popular support from a new middle class fearful that Vargas might again seize absolute power and alarmed by his efforts to improve the economic condition of the masses.

Serious difficulties began early in January, 1953, when the police began cracking down on opponents to the proposed Brazilian-United States defense pact—an opposition due partly to Communist propaganda, but also to strong nationalist elements and to fear, among business groups, of American competition. The opposition was so vigorous even though all protests were banned and the jails were filled to overflowing, that ratification had to be postponed. Vargas may have desired this delay. Not until loans of over \$300,000,000 were extended was the treaty ratified on May 1, 1953.

Bitterness continued. The coercive ministers had to resign from the cabinet. The courts began acquitting persons falsely accused of Communism, including four career diplomats. Coincident with Dr. Milton Eisenhower's goodwill visit, the newspapers from Left

to Right criticized the loan features, the efforts of American oil companies and American policies, and the conservative *Correio da Manhã* charged that the United States had reneged on its loan promises. Eisenhower pledged himself to getting more aid. July 30, 1953, the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development made \$152,000,000 available and a few days later the terms of the Export Import Bank were eased.

BEFORE the year was out, the pressures against labor, tax, and other legislation, caused Oswaldo Aranha, traditional friend of the United States, to denounce foreign capital and loans with considerable heat. New regulations curbing foreign capital were put into effect. In September *Ultima Hora*, leading Vargas paper, proposed recognition of the Soviet Union and trade. Cabinet Minister Lins de Barro announced there was real possibility of renewal of such relations. Hints were thrown out of a possible rapprochement, political and economic, with "neutralist" Argentina.

Definitely a new trend had set in, partly due to the urgency of Brazil's economic situation, a year of freezes and drouths that had brought peasant rioting in the North (blamed on the Communists, of course), terrible inflation, and misery in the midst of the most extraordinary prosperity in history.

Minister of Labor João Goulart announced concessions to labor and set about actively to promote new unions. The very next day Ambassador Kemper publicly warned against the foes of freedom. Vargas ordered a 50 per cent increase in the minimum wage and persisted in his efforts to impose an excess profits tax. The army reaction against Goulart was intense. Eighty-two army officers, chiefly from the air force, drew up a criticism of Vargas's concessions to labor and at the same time demanded an increase in army pay. Both Goulart and the Minister of War were forced to resign.

In spite of the increased income of nearly half a billion dollars from higher coffee prices, the economic situation deteriorated rapidly. Brazil announced it could meet repayments on the April, 1933, loan only if it drastically curtailed commercial payments and blocked imports of goods from the United States. Alarmed by the growing signs of social

unrest in the country, the United States hastened to reduce payments to a third.

But Vargas was squeezed from two sides—by the São Paulo industrialists, by the demands of foreign companies, and by diplomatic pressures on the one hand, and on the other by the strong resurgence of communism, which had been outlawed by President Dutra. The dickering in the army of who would succeed Vargas in October, 1955, grew more intense. Fears of his concessions to labor and the evidences of lack of harmony with the United States increased the nervousness. The killing of an air officer by unknown assassins when he was accompanying Carlos Lacerda, a prominent newspaper editor, provided the spark for army revolt. Lacerda, an ex-Communist, a bold and bitter anti-Vargas editor, was a close supporter of General Eduardo Gomes, the leading opponent of Vargas in the 1950 elections. It provided the opportunity for Gomes to advance his presidential aspirations by a bold stroke. The unknown assassins were accused of being members of Vargas's personal Catete Palace guards and instigated by Vargas's own son. For a short time the army wavered, but finally joined with the air force. Faced with the combined demand of fifty-eight generals that he resign, deprived of all armed support, Vargas put a bullet through his heart. In his statement he did not blame the army but the elements manipulating it:

I have fought month to month, day to day, hour to hour, resisting constant aggression. . . . I was the slave of the people. . . . But this people to which I am a slave no longer will be a slave to no one. . . . When hunger beats at your door, you will feel in your hearts the energy for the fight for yourselves and your children.

Vargas's death has not cured the inflation or solved any of Brazil's economic or international problems. It is likely to precipitate division in the armed forces, and it means that General Gomes now can never assume power except by further violence or faked elections. Whatever the inconsistencies and the abuses of Vargas, and they were many and terrible, his accomplishments are majestic. He laid the basis for a greater Brazil. And whatever charges may be leveled against him by his enemies or by history, his death represents no victory for justice, decency, or freedom.

COMMITTEE ON HORRORS

The Kersten Show . . by Carey McWilliams

OF the various free-wheeling Congressional committees that will be roving the land, competing for headlines, between now and November 2, the Kersten committee is the least known but most likely runner-up to McCarthy's for top publicity billing. Indeed it promises to be the biggest show of all. Other committees have staged dramatic and turgid performances but the Kersten group specializes in raw melodrama, with blood and torture, rape and murder. Counts, countesses, and even a king or two have appeared before it. Ladies with beautiful voices have testified, from behind screens shielding everything but their shapely legs, to multiple rapes by lecherous Soviet soldiers. Other committees have ferreted out subversive activities in almost every corner of these United States but the Kersten committee is perhaps better known in London, Munich, and Berlin, where hearings have been held, than in New York, Chicago, and Cleveland. One of its next hearings will be devoted to Guatemala and tomorrow it may well appear in Tokyo or Rio de Janeiro. Its European junkets have cost the taxpayers a pretty penny, for a retinue of hangers-on, staff members, and wives have been taken along, for the ride and the fun.

LONG curious about the committee's work, I sat in on last week's New York hearings of a subcommittee on Hungary headed by Congressman Alvin Bentley and came away convinced that the committee was cunningly conceived and that its direction is skillful and astute.

The committee has an interesting history. Originally it was known as the Baltic committee or more properly the Select Committee to Investigate the Incorporation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia into the U. S. S. R. The House so thoroughly relished its first interim report that it was enlarged and its jurisdiction extended to include "all other areas controlled, directly or indirectly, by world communism"—a sizable juris-

diction, all of it outside the United States, its territories and possessions.

At last week's hearings a parade of distinguished Hungarian refugees, with the familiar Budapest elegance, suavity, and mock servility, recited a collective saga of Communist torture, repression, rape, theft, and assorted crimes and misdemeanors, none of which were committed on American citizens or on American soil or were in any way subject to American jurisdiction. Most of the witnesses were former Hungarian officials—members of parliament, ministers, cabinet officers, police spies, "jurists"—full of hate, embittered, and, quite naturally, eager to have someone restore them to their former eminence. One had the feeling that here was a kind of government-in-exile counting the days until it could be returned to power. But there was something pathetic about them as there is, no doubt, about all exiles and refugees who still feel that they should be recognized for what they once were but are no more. The hearings were well covered by the press but for most of the time the hearing room was nearly empty, with the refugees, a solidarity of the dispossessed, pooling their hopes and dreams and hates, lonesome for the old Budapest, listening to one another.

Then Miss Ilona Massey, Hungarian-born actress, took the stand and regaled the Congressmen with the story of her "hungry, unhappy" childhood during World War I and under the short-lived Communist regime of Bela Kun. "I was always hungry, dirty, and bedraggled," she said, voice, manner, and appearance giving an ironic shading to the words which James J. McTigue, subcommittee counsel, promptly sensed. "Sort of an ugly duckling?" he inquired, and the lovely princess smiled her assent. "She was wearing," to quote from a newspaper colleague's description, "a pink and white Gibson Girl gingham dress, with a petticoat-padded bouffant skirt. Her costume was studded with brilliants

and she carried a white straw bag, topped by a spread of imitation fruit." Of course, Miss Massey had left Hungary fourteen years ago, but only a cad or a Communist would want to question the relevance or competence of her testimony.

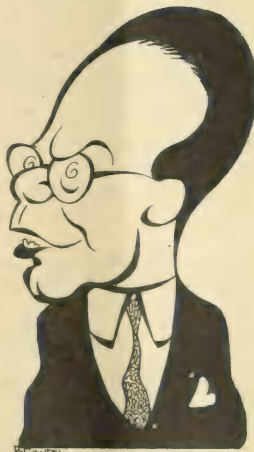
NEXT day Madame X, "member of an aristocratic family," testifying from behind a screen, told of being raped by seven Soviet soldiers while her mother, her father, two maids, their father, and "a Jewish lady" and her husband were in adjoining rooms. Later the seven rapists asked the husband to play the accordion and the maids to dance, and all obliged. The next day "two or three" of the soldiers returned and raped Madame X again: "I don't know how many times." Asked by Congressman Bentley—an unassuming, agreeable young man with pleasant voice and manner—if this experience was not perhaps the exception rather than the rule, she vehemently insisted that it was wholly unexceptional. No effort, of course, was made to test her credibility or to fill in obvious gaps in her story. Indeed throughout the hearings the committee was obviously trying to create impressions, not to sift facts. Most of the questions were either loaded or leading. At the close of the hearings, I heard Congressman Bentley record a summary for the Voice of America—for broadcasting to Europe—in which he said that the sole purpose of the committee was to expose the nature of communism. But with so many committees doing just that, one got the impression that this one was as much interested in East European as in American opinion. The hearings, I should say, were pure propaganda. Not that the facts were necessarily false but in the sense that the committee was obviously more interested in organizing a holy war than in putting together a realistic pattern, in perspective, of Communist aggression.

But the hearings also had a more immediate objective. Earlier in the proceedings witnesses had casually "fingered" Bishop John Peter of the Hungarian Reformed Church, then attending the World Council of Churches meeting in Evanston, as a Communist sympathizer. In the final session it became apparent that the Evanston meeting was the real focus of the current hearings. At one point Congressman Bentley remarked that the committee was trying to gather all possible information "about the people in Evanston." Aided by leading questions, other well-rehearsed witnesses trained their guns on the absent John Peter.

Later, at a press conference at the Warwick Hotel before newsreel and television cameras, Congressman Bentley read a wire which he had just sent to Bishop Albert Bereczky, of the Hungarian delegation at Evanston, inviting him to testify "under oath" before the committee in either Cleveland or Chicago on whether religious freedom exists in Hungary. In accordance with current standards of public manners, the wire was read to the press before it had been communicated to Bishop Bereczky. Just what legislative recommendations could the committee make on such an issue? one reporter innocently inquired. Well, Mr. Bentley said, it might call upon the Administration to urge the United Nations to take some action or it might take the matter up directly with the World Council of Churches. Besides, the committee was interested in the idea of an International Juridical Council of some sort which might conduct trials, in the Nuremberg manner, to punish crimes of the kind that had been described to it. At one point I heard Mr. Bentley say that the committee had no evidence that four of the five members of the Hungarian delegation to the Evanston meeting were anything other than what they purported to be, namely, acknowledged religious leaders.

IN commenting on Mr. Bentley's wire to Bishop Bereczky, the Reverend Franklin Clark Fry, vice-chairman of the World Council's Central Committee and president of the United Lutheran Church in America, for the first time disclosed that he had had a conversation with Bentley earlier in August. At this conference he had received the "distinct

impression" from Bentley that none of the churchmen from Iron Curtain countries would be subpoenaed or otherwise harassed. He then went on to characterize Bentley's subsequent action as "entirely unwarranted, highly improper, unfair, and beyond his rights to ask a foreigner to appear before the committee." This earlier conversation of Dr. Fry with Bentley makes it clear that the subcommittee was trying to intervene in the internal affairs of the World Council and to discredit its deliberations. Delegates at the Evanston meeting affirmed their belief in coexistence although



Representative Bentley

specifying certain conditions "to be met by both sides." But coexistence is the dirtiest word in the Kersten committee's vocabulary. "Coexistence," to quote from the committee's second interim report, "is a poisonous formula distilled by communism—it can lead only to our destruction."

The work of the Kersten committee reduces to its ultimate absurdity the quaintly old-fashioned notion that committees of the Congress are supposed to inquire only in aid of legislation. There is hardly even a pretense, in this instance, that the committee is interested in legislation. It is interested in propaganda; in beating the drums for a Holy War against communism. As such the composition of the committee is quite logical: it is overwhelmingly Catholic. Members Kersten, Feighan, Machrowicz, Madden, Dodd, Bonin, and Hillings are all Catholics; so is the

committee counsel, James J. McTigue. The only non-Catholics are Messrs. Bentley and Busbey. Mr. Bentley, a former career officer in the State Department who served, incidentally, two years in Hungary, resigned from the service in 1950 in order "to tell what is happening behind the Iron Curtain and to alert the United States to the menace of communism." Like Mr. Busbey, he sees eye-to-eye with the other members of the committee. The Catholic issue might be irrelevant were it not for the fact that the committee is making an issue of religious freedom. If it is a proper function of a Congressional committee to inquire into the world-wide ramifications of this problem, then conditions in Spain, Italy, and Colombia are just as relevant as conditions in Hungary. There was, of course, no Catholic participation in the Evanston meeting. In the context it is hard to avoid an uneasy feeling that the committee was as much interested in the Protestant World Council of Churches, and what it might say on such issues as coexistence and peace, as in Bishop John Peter.

THE Kersten committee is, in effect, a McCarthy committee. Kersten represents the Fifth Congressional District in Wisconsin, one of the Milwaukee districts. It is said that he is somewhat envious of the fame of the state's junior Senator; but he is a friend of McCarthy's and follows his lead. Congressman Bentley is also a close friend of McCarthy and contributed, together with his former wife, to McCarthy's "anti-Communist" fund. Currently Kersten has a tough election campaign on his hands. His is a schizoid district, almost evenly divided between conservative well-to-do suburbanites on the North Shore and working-class areas. In the last election Kersten defeated Andy Biemiller by a vote of approximately 112,000 to 105,000; in the previous election, it was Kersten 76,000, Biemiller 71,000. This year Kersten will probably face Henry Reuss, who has run for mayor of Milwaukee and was a candidate for the Democratic Senatorial nomination in 1952. He is well known and well liked in Milwaukee and should give Kersten quite a race. There is, therefore, a clear political motivation to the work of the Kersten committee.

But domestic politics as such is not,

I think, its main business. In effect, the Kersten group is a kind of Georgetown committee on foreign affairs, that is, a committee that can flank, if need be, the standing House Committee on Foreign Affairs, which is larger and more representative. It is difficult to imagine a committee that is more directly concerned with foreign policy than the Kersten panel; its jurisdiction extends from the Iron Curtain to China. Currently we are joining with our allies in removing various items from the list of goods which cannot be traded with Iron Curtain countries. McCarthy has made it clear that he intends to tie into this issue the moment he is free to do so. Harold Stassen will be an immediate target; but McCarthy's fire will also be aimed at Dulles and the President. What he wants to do, of course, is to disrupt East-West trade before it really gets started and thereby to reverse any tendency toward the acceptance of coexistence and a general

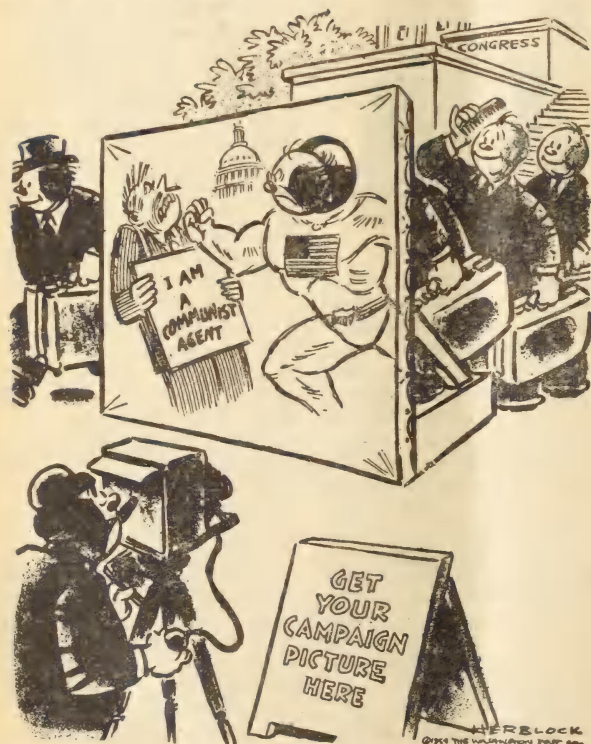
East-West *deleste*. The Kersten committee is an auxiliary in this campaign.

I have already noted examples of the committee's biased, propagandistic techniques. There are others. For example the committee's second interim report placed particular stress on the testimony of Karl Selter, who was Estonian Foreign Minister in 1939; but the identification of Selter was, to say the least, inadequate. In "The Baltic Riddle" (1943) Gregory Meiksins has an interesting chapter on The Baltic Vichy Governments from which one learns that Selter flew to Berlin in 1939, at Hitler's bidding, to conclude an agreement with Germany. The chapter has some fascinating detail about Selter's political views. "The Baltic diplomats," writes Meiksins, "played 'va banc,' and the card on which they bet was a Hitler victory." Is Selter, therefore, a reliable advisor regarding the Baltic states?

On April 14, 1954, Mr. Kersten made a personal attack on Dr. Samuel L.

Sharp, the well-known expert on Poland and Polish-American relations. An associate professor at American University, Dr. Sharp is the author of a most readable and illuminating book, "Poland: White Eagle on a Red Field," published in 1953 by Harvard University Press. In his attack on Dr. Sharp and the book, Kersten tried to make it appear that Dr. Sharp's visit to Poland in 1948 was somehow arranged by Jacob Berman, referred to as the secretary of the Politburo of the Communist Party in Poland. But Dr. Sharp met Berman for the first time after he had arrived in Poland. As part of this attack on a scholar who is not a government employee Kersten placed in the Congressional Record, at the request of the Polish American Congress, two derogatory reviews of the book, one by Edmund L. Zawacki and the other by Dr. Jan Karski of the graduate school, Georgetown University.

Or take another case. At last week's New York hearings, Laszlo Varga, a Budapest lawyer, testified, as he put it, on three issues: how personal liberty, political liberty, and freedom of speech had been curtailed in Hungary. In testifying to these restrictions, Dr. Varga clearly implied that they were Communist innovations, previously unknown in Hungary. Yet Hungary abandoned parliamentary government in 1921, and Admiral Horthy will not be remembered as a friend of civil liberties. As early as May, 1938, Hitler disclosed his war plans to Horthy. What were these former officials, who would now advise us on East European policy, doing when Hungary signed the Anti-Comintern Pact in February, 1939, and joined the Axis in September, 1940? One can put up with a certain amount of history rewritten but the attempt, by eloquent silence, to suggest that the Hungary of Horthy—"the last foothold of the Middle Ages," "the country of counts," with its National Front and Arrow Cross and other anti-Semitic fronts—was a model of parliamentary democracy is too large a pill to swallow. Must we take this, too, as part of the reeducation that is being forced on us by Congressional committees? Obviously neither Congress nor the people can hope for an objective analysis of political trends, past, present, or future, from this committee.



Next! Next!

RIGHTS OF MAN

An Old Debate Reopened . . by J. A. del Vayo

A VERY serious discussion has been going on for some time among European political theorists and practical politicians. The question at issue is whether classical parliamentary democracy is still an adequate instrument for conducting the affairs of a modern nation-state. The controversy should have more than an academic interest to Americans. This country is involved beyond retreat in the affairs of other nations, particularly those of Western Europe. Their political institutions and practices affect the decisions of Congress. France's parliamentary instability, for instance, has been a continuous source of concern to Washington. And in the long run the United States will not be able to ignore the fact that many European leaders are increasingly doubtful that "free elections," advocated by the West for Germany and by the East for Indo-China, will in themselves constitute a faithful reflection of the people's will in all areas and under all circumstances.

The debate takes on additional significance for Americans because it comes at a time when the United States, for the first time in its history, has outlawed a political party.

Senator Léo Hamon, one of the most intelligent parliamentarians of the Catholic M. R. P. in France, put the question of "free elections" in the baldest possible terms: "In the eighteenth century it was believed that the verdict of the voters represented the will of the majority according to the dictates of reason and had therefore to be obeyed. But who would thus interpret universal suffrage today?" Professor Toynbee, writing of the Ataturk revolution, has observed that "it would have been difficult indeed for the Turks to 'get by' during those ten hectic years under a democratic parliamentary regime."

The whole controversy has been particularly lively in France, where a sense of dissatisfaction and frustration, followed the bitter experience of the betrayal of the war-time resistance. Men

and parties which were discredited by their collaboration with fascism before and during the war are now resurgent and participate in the political leadership. But the controversy is not at all limited to the disappointed Left. The question being raised concerns the parliamentary system as such, and particularly its capacity to represent accurately or efficiently the interests of the whole nation.

In this connection the overriding issue is perhaps that of achieving a true majority in a parliamentary democracy such as France, for instance, with its multiplicity of parties. Since the last war governments have been sustained, for their usually short lives, by synthetic "majorities" comprising parties or factions temporarily held together by limited common interests. These frail coalitions have ceased to represent actual human majorities unified around broad national programs. Their shifting components fall apart easily, bringing down the Cabinet they support, which promptly makes way for another of similar instability. As a consequence the viability of government itself is demolished, with a loss of public confidence and national strength. It was partly the desperation of the French people with this situation that brought Mendès-France to office and assured him the powers he needed to negotiate the Indo-China truce and effect internal reforms. But it is significant that it required a great national crisis like that of Indo-China to achieve this result.

MODERN parliamentary rule is a relatively recent institution. On the continent it found its beginning in 1791, the year in which the Rights of Man were proclaimed by the French Revolution and the French Constituent Assembly was elected by universal suffrage. But even in France the suffrage was restricted by subsequent amendments of the electoral law. A distinction was established between *active* and *passive* citizens; the latter enjoyed the benefits

of natural and civil law, but had no share in choosing their legislators nor could they sit in parliament. The parliamentary franchise was limited to citizens who paid a certain tax called *cens* and the democracy established in France became known as *democratie censitaire*. Under this system, the French electorate consisted of 4,298,000 voters out of a population of 24,000,000.

This qualification of the right to vote was not effected without protest. Mighty voices were raised against it: those of Marat, Robespierre, Camille Desmoulins, Condorcet, and—above all—the Abbé Grégoire. The Abbé was particularly violent in denouncing the financial requirement for voting. And Marat exclaimed: "What have we won by destroying an aristocracy of the nobles if it is replaced by an aristocracy of the rich?"

BUT even when the *cens* clause was abolished in the second election of the Revolution—that of the Revolutionary Convention—the system of representation was still burdened with an element of discrimination. In any case the voter did not directly participate in or continuously control the process of legislation. He exercised his legislative right through his parliamentary deputy who represented him for the period for which parliament was selected—four or five years. Much as in the American system the legislator had *carte blanche* in passing laws.

In theory a deputy who failed to carry out the program on which he was elected, or voted for measures opposed to it, was subject to recall and replacement through a by-election. In practice the recall provision was ineffective. It was easily evaded by means of parliamentary maneuvers. During the Revolution, however, the same result was sometimes achieved by more direct measures. The people of Paris compelled the deputies to do their duty and carry out their electoral promises by invading the legis-

lative assembly in force and making their will prevail through tumultuous demonstrations. But that would hardly be defined as correct parliamentary behavior.

Nobody denies today that the spread of universal suffrage represented a great historical advance. It gave all men above a certain age the right to choose periodically those who ruled them. In 1848 the European revolutionary movements were united in demanding suffrage for everyone. This demand was on the banner-head of all declarations of the Rights of Man. In spite of many defects, democrats hailed the French electoral law of 1850 as a great victory because it embodied at least the principle of universal suffrage. This principle was also the foundation stone of the constitution of Switzerland, a country often cited today as a model democracy. The constitutions of all the European countries, except for Czarist Russia and a few other autocracies, soon followed suit.

THE first doubts as to the efficacy of the parliamentary system were expressed after World War I. That war, like other great wars, challenged accepted economic and political ideas and brought new demands into the open. The state was confronted with increasingly bitter social problems. The national unity of opposing interests, temporarily created by foreign aggression, was broken at the end of the war and the social struggle was resumed with new intensity. In the less stable democracies the traditional parliamentary system was unable to cope with this challenge.

Fascism offered the solution of violence followed by dictatorship and the cult of the "strong man." It suppressed the elected parliament, together with other democratic institutions, and replaced it by "legislators" nominated by the despot to give his program an automatic approval. But when the fascist regimes finally collapsed in World War II, their naive admirers in foreign countries were shocked to discover that the imposing structure of the corporate state had left the economic and social problems—not to mention the administrative—more acute than before.

Countries that resisted the fascist plague sought other ways of adapting their political systems to the revolutionary situation which had emerged from

the first World War. In many European states the power of the executive was greatly enlarged. The French political scientist, François Goguel, discussed this change in his essay on *The Deficiencies of the Parliamentary System*, published last year in *Esprit* as part of a broad inquiry into the question of "Political Power and Economic Power." Summarizing the experience following both wars, he wrote: "It is no longer parliament that makes the gravest decisions of our national life. Parliament still has the monopoly of questions with which the state occupied itself in the nineteenth century. But this is not the case with most of the questions the state has had to deal with in our century"—a direct reference to the shift of powers to the executive.

The principles upon which the parliamentary system could be reconstructed so as to fit it for the tasks confronting the state—in an era when the complexity of economic problems has been augmented by the mounting pressure of the masses—form the center of the current controversy in Europe.

SEVERAL long-range solutions for the problem are being discussed in France. One is a further improvement in the mechanics of holding elections in two stages when the first ballot fails to produce a clear majority. Another is the grant to the government of broader powers to dissolve parliament. The first reform would create more stable parliamentary majorities by eliminating splinter parties; the second would establish a better balance between the executive and the legislature. Another suggestion frequently heard is the abandonment of many traditional parliamentary rules and procedures, inherited from an earlier period, which now impede the effective handling of urgent issues.

Another much-discussed method of making parliament feel the impact of the popular will, is an old one—the right of petition. It has been often used lately where its exercise has not been interfered with by the government. Petitions may serve as an informal substitute for official plebiscites, or referendums, which in the more populous states could be carried out only with considerable difficulty—even if authorized by law. When public participation is on a big scale, a petition campaign becomes

a popular demonstration, dramatizing the contrast between the views of government and those of the people in a way that may force a change of policy. In many current discussions the right of petition is considered as a corrective for one of the most serious faults of parliamentary democracy.

But advocates of such reforms warn against simplifying the problem by instituting a legislature representing only economic and social interests. Bismarck was the first to experiment with such a "corporative" parliament. His obvious intention was to bring into existence a Reichstag he could control. Fascist Italy perfected the system with its "National Council of Corporations" and Nazi Germany later developed the "Reichs chamber of Economy" to supplement the spectral Reichstag. Some people may still imagine that the defects of the parliamentary system can be overcome by replacing it with a more restricted body, in which technicians or representatives of special interests pretend to govern for the national benefit. The experience of the United States is frequently cited in the course of this discussion to show how "pressure groups" intervene to affect or control policy. André Berthiot, in an interesting essay published in the *Revue Française de Science Politique*, makes a minute analysis of "lobbying" techniques and shows how big business influences Congress as it does the press and the radio.

THE increasing skepticism with which some European political theorists regard the principle of "free elections" has been deepened by the infringements on the practice which have recently been put through in certain Western countries. Apart from the primary requirement of universal suffrage, the electoral process to be genuinely free must take place under circumstances that permit an uninhibited choice, and also without legal restrictions that qualify the result. Otherwise "free elections," so called, can be used to put a Hitler in power, or a Perón. Since the end of the war both France and Italy have changed their electoral laws for the express purpose of insuring continued strong right-wing majorities. These changes can only be justified in political terms and they were in fact defended on that ground by their sponsors. But in France at least this "re-

form," which has excluded the Communists from any possible parliamentary majority although they represent one-fourth of the electorate, obviously destroys the very basis of representative government. It also violates traditional democratic principles, which rules out discrimination on grounds of ideology.

In practical terms the European defenders of a limited franchise, in contrast to the situation in the United States, have steadily lost ground as the fear of Russia subsidies and the Communists develop their policy of the "outstretched hand." More and more the validity of permanently excluding from government a party with so strong a mass following has become a central topic of the discussions with which we are concerned. It is generally accepted that much will depend on the future increase or decrease in international tension. Paul Fraisse touches upon this in an essay on *The Withdrawal of Fear*: "An international policy of peaceful coexistence among nations may permit the peaceful coexistence of the Communist Party and other parties in a democratic game, among the conditions of which would be a pact insuring, for a certain period, respect for the present regime in France, without a hidden intention to infiltrate it in order to change it."

In Italy a third rather than a fourth of the electorate supports the left parties: in the 1953 election they collected 34.32 per cent of the popular vote. In the next election they will get still more; for every year 300,000 recruits enter the

Italian labor market and the majority of them will vote for the Communists or the left-wing Socialists. The present Scelba government is ruling with an infinitesimal and insecure majority—11 votes in the Chamber and 9 in the Senate. The difficulty of excluding the left parties is becoming greater every day, all the more so since the Italian Socialist Party (P. S. I.) has adopted the position expressed in a recent speech of its leader, Pietro Nenni: "We pledge our support in the country and our votes in parliament to any government, formed of one party or of more, which, without entering into relations with ourselves and much less with our Communist comrades, will prove capable of basing its policy on an effort to decrease the tensions prevailing at home and abroad."

BUT if the expedients adopted by the Right to maintain its dominance are being challenged, political thinkers in Western Europe, especially those of left or liberal views, generally agree that the urgent necessity of social change both in Europe and in the less developed areas of the world calls for modifications of a different sort. Many agree with the English philosopher, Alfred North Whitehead, who said in his "Dialogues": "We English and Americans are singularly unimaginative in our interpretations of the term 'democracy'; we seem unable to admit under our definition any form of society which does not conform closely to our own." The directors of the

study group designated by *Esprit* to tackle the problem (Alain Berger, Jean-Marie Domenach, and Paul Fraisse), analyze the question of a shift to a socialist economy and conclude that "some strengthening of the central political power is indispensable to prevent an attempted restoration of the evicted capitalist interests, especially inasmuch as the well-being of society would require the adoption and the functioning of a planned economy." None of the members of the group is a Communist. A similar if less drastic view was expressed by D. W. Brogan, professor of Political Science of Cambridge: "The French Revolution," he wrote, "is still psychologically going on. It is hard for Americans to realize this. France needs a new revolution in another sense. It needs to be made into a modern industrial power if it is not to decline to the status of Spain. Many Frenchmen think that this cannot be done in the terms of traditional democracy, that the United States, deliberately or not, is bolstering up an economic system that needs a complete reform which no parliamentary system is likely to produce." The economic and financial powers demanded by, and granted to, Prime Minister Mendès-France show that even the present National Assembly recognizes the need of a stronger executive if orderly change is to occur at all.

In France the discussion has spread to the universities, to centers of specialized political studies, and into the political parties themselves. It is not only the case of countries with a long democratic tradition, such as France, that is being considered. Another aspect under discussion is how the principle of majority rule and present-day parliamentary methods can be made to apply to peoples recently freed from colonial rule or to those whose institutions and liberties have been destroyed by prolonged dictatorships.

THE first question relates particularly to Indo-China and certain areas of Africa. But the second arises when one considers the future of a country like Spain. Though there is no question that the great majority of the Spanish people are against Franco, fifteen years of fascist dictatorship have so thoroughly destroyed the democratic fabric in Spain that to hold elections immediately after



The Coexistentialists

Weltwoche of Zurich

the fall of the Franco regime could easily endanger the democratic government that will succeed him. The central authority can change, yet the survivors of the fascist power in the church, the army, the police, the administration, and the Falange, entrenched in every institution, every town and village, would still exercise such pressure on the people as to

make general elections a farce. Democracy would be better served by a period of time during which a strong executive would reestablish normal conditions. Then the democratic process could be installed without destroying democracy itself, and the most urgent reforms could be initiated without parliamentary obstruction or sabotage.

These basic issues form part of the great debate. And although the participants in the controversy are European, and the subject is parliamentarianism as it has developed on the continent, much that is being said obviously has great relevance not only to the foreign policy of the United States but also to its domestic policy.

THE BUTLER BILL

Iron Maiden for Labor . . . by Bernard Nossiter

WHILE an enthralled nation watched Congress debate whether to outlaw Communists or merely their party, a crushing blow was dealt almost unnoticed to free trade unions. The scramble by frightened Congressmen to record their loathing for Communists actually developed as an afterthought to consideration of a labor bill. All the speeches, conferences, key votes, and newspaper attention were focussed on the afterthought. But the labor measure, after a feeble pigeon-holing attempt by "liberal" Senators, sailed through every vote without opposition.

The new law enables the Administration to wipe out trade unions it does not like and to tame all others. Amendments to the Subversive Activities Control Act contained in the measure add a new category to the list of proscribed groups: "Communist infiltrated." The definition of "Communist infiltrated" is broad enough to cover any organization left of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Nominally the bill affects employer as well as labor groups, but its real objective is made plain in the sizeable portion of its text which describes the penalties awaiting unions that fall under the ban.

The law deprives all "tainted" unions of the services of the National Labor Relations Board. They cannot be certified as collective bargaining agents; they

cannot prefer unfair labor practice charges against employers; their members presumably could be fired from their jobs for union activity as such. Employers can void contracts with them, need not bargain with them, and can open their plants to new labor elections in which the proscribed unions cannot participate.

IN one form or another this crack-down on "infiltrated" unions has been in the legislative hopper since last year when Senator Butler, Joe McCarthy's Maryland creation, introduced a measure much like the one finally approved. A year earlier Senator Humphrey had suggested the bill's main ingredients in an interview with *U. S. News and World Report*. (This is the same Humphrey who has been represented in some quarters as having sponsored the bill to outlaw Communists merely as a trick to defeat the labor law.) The immediate impetus for its passage came from the Administration's frustration over the N. L. R. B.'s inability to use Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavits as a club to destroy unions considered "tainted." Less than a month after the Supreme Court had refused to sanction N. L. R. B.'s withholding of certification to unions whose officers were under indictment for filing false affidavits, Attorney General Brownell introduced a bill of dubious constitutionality aimed at liquidating "infiltrated" unions. Brownell reportedly did not consult Butler. Possibly out of pique, Butler had the Senate Judiciary Committee report out

his own version on July 6. Except for delaying the application of penalties until after court review instead of upon accusation, this was essentially the bill which *The Nation* of November 28, 1953, discussed under the title H-Bomb for American Labor.

The labor federations, suddenly roused to action, succeeded in getting the House Judiciary Committee to refer Brownell's liquidation bill to a study commission. They then sank back, assured they were out of the woods. But Senator Knowland crossed them. He called up the Butler bill for debate on August 12, with Congress panting for adjournment. The "liberal" Democrats, plus Senators Ives and Cooper, moved to send the measure to a study commission, too. Defeated 56-31, they then sprang their outlaw-the-reds surprise as a substitute. By parliamentary jockeying the substitute and the Butler bill were lumped together. All the shouting was over the substitute tail, the Butler dog was forgotten, and with some modifications both measures were approved.

Entrance requirements for the "Communist-infiltrated" club are easy: A union need meet only two conditions. It must be

... Substantially directed, dominated or controlled by an individual or individuals who are, or who within three years have been actively engaged, in knowingly giving aid or support to a Communist-action organization, a Communist foreign government, or the world Communist movement. ... [Emphasis added.]

and it must be found that the union

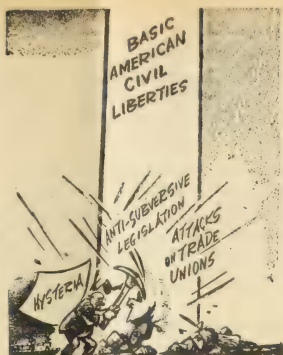
BERNARD NOSSITER, a New York journalist and a frequent contributor to *The Nation*, has just won a Christopher Award for literary craftsmanship.

... Is knowingly serving or within three years has knowingly served as a means for (1) the giving of aid or support to any such organization, government or movement, or (2) the impairment of the military strength of the United States or its industrial capacity to furnish logistical or other material support required by its armed forces. ... [Emphasis added.]

Note that it does not need an officer to damn a union; any individual member will do, provided he is found to exercise "substantial" control, whatever that may mean. The three-year retroactivity provision broadens the dragnet; an articulate ex-Communist who recently departed the party could conceivably wreck a union merely by joining it. This fact should encourage enterprising employers who find unions a burden to hire party deserters and plant them in the shop local. Moreover a union can become "Communist infiltrated" even though it harbors not a single Communist, past or present. Might not a labor leader who expressed concern over H-bomb tests be charged with aiding "the world Communist movement"? Or consider what the definitions have to say about strikes. Surely in a cold-war era any strike anywhere impairs our military strength. As Dr. Oppenheimer has learned, disagreement with the air-force doctrine of offense is now tantamount to damaging our armed might.

THE law provides that the Attorney General may sponsor an organization's admission to the "Communist-infiltrated" club whenever he has "reason to believe" it is eligible. He can cite one or more unions at once. This is a kind of ten-strike provision which would seem to permit the naming of Harry Bridges' longshoremen and the independent International Longshoremen's Association on one petition. Should the petition against the Bridges union be upheld, the way would be open for knocking off the I. L. A. on the ground that it received a few thousand dollars from its West Coast colleagues during New York's recent waterfront elections.

The Attorney General's petition that an organization is "Communist infiltrated" will be considered by the Subversive Activities Control Board, which is to be guided in its judgments by seven criteria. The law does not require that a union meet all seven specifications to be found "Communist infiltrated."



Walt Parzymiller in *New York Gazette and Daily Chip* by Chip

The S. A. C. B. is merely instructed to consider "to what extent" the criteria apply.

The guides largely repeat the language of the definition of "Communist infiltrated" and add two jokers. One requires the board to consider whether the union's resources have been used at any time in the past three years to "promote the objectives of any . . . Communist organization." Communists, sincerely or not, have always urged racial equality. A union that demands anti-discrimination clauses in its contract can be deemed to be promoting a Communist objective. The second joker demands that the board consider whether any union member is concealing his affiliation with Communist movements. Thus any unionist who pleaded an amendment before a Congressional committee could taint his organization.

The bill's language is so fuzzy and its provisions so broad that its full import will not be grasped for a long time. However, some strange possibilities suggest themselves. For example James Carey, strongly anti-Communist president of the C. I. O.'s electrical workers, recently succeeded in winning over Leo Jandreau, leader of General Electric's Schenectady local, from the left-wing United Electrical Workers. If U. E., sure to be one of the new law's first targets, is declared "Communist infiltrated," Mr. Jandreau will have to bear the onus at least for three years. Should Mr. Carey's union then strike at a plant doing defense work (and what electrical plant isn't?), it will be vulnerable to prosecution on all counts of the new law. The supposition is not far-fetched. A Gen-

eral Electric spokesman told Senator Humphrey's labor subcommittee two years ago: "Even though Mr. Carey may think that joining the I. U. E.-C. I. O. automatically converts a poor security risk into a good one, it is hard for us to accept that opinion as anything other than a good example of Mr. Carey's convenience and expediency hard at work." The spokesman added: "It is incontrovertible that the strikes in our critical industries are presently having the effect of 'giving aid to the enemy.'"

Since the S. A. C. B.'s findings are subject to court reviews some time may elapse before any union can be cut off from the N. L. R. B. It is expected that the measure will be applied first against the unions which have been expelled from the C. I. O. In the report which accompanied the bill Senator Butler named the independent U. E. and the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, among others, as "Communist controlled." These unions are in competition with C. I. O. internationals, a fact which may account for respectable labor's failure to wage a stronger fight against the law.

BUT if the law passes court tests it could also destroy the orthodox unions. As long as the cold war continues, and we have been promised generations of it, any group that criticizes a government policy or calls a strike is open to charges of "Communist infiltration." This is not to imply that this Administration is seeking a return to an open shop. What the business men behind the Administration want are docile unions that give workers the illusion that they are being represented. This kind of trade unionism, as the Soviet Union demonstrates, leads to far higher production than none at all. The law merely encourages respectable unionists to get rid of militants, be wary of strikes, and stay away from "political" questions. It offers the leadership an easy excuse to eliminate rank-and-file opponents.

Of course all trade unions denied the N. L. R. B. could follow John L. Lewis's post-Taft-Hartley advice and simply ignore the board, backing up their representation and contract demands by the basic weapon, the strike. But whether in this semi-garrison state the workers, mostly employed and mostly earning a better-than-survival wage, would support such a policy is another question.

BOOKS

Asia's "Little Wars"

THE SWORD OF GOD. By René Hardy. Translated from the French by Humphrey Hare. Doubleday and Company. \$3.95.

SHOW ME A HERO. By Melvin Voorhees. Simon and Schuster. \$3.50.

BLAZE OF THE SUN. By Jean Hougron. Translated from the French by Mervyn Seville. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$3.75.

By Stanley Cooperman

WAR has shaped much of the world's fiction for two generations. The recent "little wars" in Asia, however, coming after a decade of genocide and bearing the threat of atomic annihilation, have produced a new literature of shifting realities. The essentially romantic nihilism of the First World War no longer exists, and even the horror of the second has become obsolete.

As reflected in fiction, three primary positions remain to men within the frame of "little war." The first of these, seen in "The Sword of God," René Hardy's novel of the struggle for Indo-China, is not so much despair as waiting—standing aside for someone or something to control the juggernaut of events. The second is one of baffled rage at the absence of any defined goal for efforts, such as the Korean action, which bring death to hundreds of thousands of human beings. In "Show Me a Hero" Melvin Voorhees, the controversial ex-army officer turned novelist, attempts to recreate the tragedy of an "old-school" American general caught in the maelstrom of Korea—a war whose political implications he cannot understand. In "Blaze of the Sun" Jean Hougron presents a third solution (very like Hemingway's "A Farewell to Arms")—an attempt to reduce and conquer chaos by the power of love between man and woman.

Readers expecting simple judgments will be disappointed in "The Sword of

God," for violent as it is, it is of small comfort to partisans. The most striking portrait is that of Tah, the Asian revolutionary who personifies the whirlwind of counter-racism sweeping the Far East. The bitterness of Asian leaders like Tah is not limited entirely by political dogma; nor does it make exceptions for ideological bedfellows. It remains, even when combined with expediency, a tremendous outpouring of emotional and race pride blocked or degraded for centuries.

Despite a powerful, if frequently overwritten, narrative, Hardy becomes unconvincing when he deals with individual relationships. But from this inadequacy, however, he gives us a vivid portrait of a war in which—as he sees it—the ideal, the "honorable thing," the pocket-book, and the appetite merge into a sprawling and fever-ridden pastiche of horror.

In "Show Me a Hero" Melvin Voorhees gives the Korean conflict a slick and rapid treatment. Voorhees's story is contrived, and his method—the alternating point of view—is simply beyond his technical reach. There are some valuable

close-ups of the American G. I.'s plight in Korea and some biting remarks on press coverage of the war. The Koreans themselves, however, exist as little more than faceless and anonymous victims. The inner conflicts of the chief protagonists are potentially moving but lose much of their effect under the omniscient preconclusions of Voorhees himself.

LOVE rather than war is the theme of Jean Hougron's novel, set in Indo-China. His prose in "Blaze of the Sun" is facile but deceptive, containing implicit rather than explicit emotion. Like Hemingway's "A Farewell to Arms," the book is primarily concerned with one hero, his death-in-life, his redeeming love against a background of war, his stoicism, and final isolation. Taut structure and drive reinforce this resemblance, while jungle heat and sun replace Hemingway's rain as a symbol of evil.

Hougron, however, is unable to maintain the quality of either his idyl or the tapestry of violence against which it takes place. He falls back, finally, on melodrama. What emerges beyond the central love story of the book is a new picture of the revolution in Indo-China—a picture of tough, well-trained jungle fighters whose military strength—it is now apparent—Hougron estimated correctly.

The Sense of Political Pitch

THE ROOSEVELT FAMILY OF SAG-

AMORE HILL. By Hermann Hagedorn. The Macmillan Company. \$5.
THE REPUBLICAN ROOSEVELT. By John Morton Blum. Harvard. \$3.50.

By Charles A. Madison

Mr. Blum's book concentrates on Theodore Roosevelt as citizen and politician; Mr. Hagedorn's volume depicts him chiefly as a human being and family man. The two books offer a striking contrast in approach and method of treatment. Mr. Hagedorn's work is full-bodied, informal in style, deliberately limited in scope; it gives evidence of intimate personal knowledge rather than of assiduous research and is almost inspirational in its uncritical admiration of the Roosevelt family. The setting is

Sagamore Hill from the time Theodore Roosevelt made it his home with his second wife in 1887 till his death in 1919. The emphasis is on the home life of the growing family—the physically robust and consciously energetic parents and their ebullient and uninhibited six children. Roosevelt is portrayed as an extremely strenuous and intensely moral male, a model boy-scout leader with a genius for politics.

"I love all these children," Roosevelt wrote, "and have great fun with them; and I am touched by the way in which

CHARLES A. MADISON author of "Critics and Crusaders" and "American Labor Leaders," is completing a book on twentieth-century liberalism to be entitled "Dynamic Democracy."

they feel that I am their special friend, champion, and companion." He was also their zealous teacher and inculcated in them the virtues and moralities by which he lived. By precept and example he taught them the advantages of the strenuous life and the glory of patriotism. He urged them over and over to enjoy life to the full and above all "to do something worth while."

Mr. Hagedorn also takes up Roosevelt's political achievements and disappointments—with notable lack of critical discernment—but this aspect of his hero's career is made of secondary importance. The sketches of the family—and of a host of visitors—are vivid.

MR. BLUM, the associate editor of *T. R.'s* eight volumes of letters, presents in the terse essays of this small book an intimate if in part familiar interpretation of the former President's character and career. He projects fresh light on certain of Roosevelt's motives and maneuvers, thereby showing a clear connection between the eminent politician's professions and performances. For instance, his conspicuous strenuousness is explained as the result of having early been influenced by the doctrine of social Darwinism. More than most men of his time he believed that the struggle for survival dominated not only primitive society but also the most advanced civilization. Governed by a strict morality, he exalted "common sense, courage, and common honesty"—traits which he possessed to a marked degree and which he made the yardstick for his fellows.

Perhaps the best essay in the book delineates Roosevelt's drive for power which culminated in his renomination in 1904. For all his professed political ethics, he no sooner assumed the Presidency than he began to devote all his ingenuity to divest Mark Hanna of his control of the Republican Party. In state after state he made full use of his power over federal patronage to place his own followers in key positions. Yet in all his shrewd maneuvering he kept satisfying his conscience that in no instance was the man he appointed underserving of his office; it was his firm belief—largely justified—that in choosing his office-holders he was combining character and capacity with loyal partisanship.

Until near the end of his career Roosevelt possessed "an absolute sense of political pitch." He was able intuitively to sound the notes that reverberated naturally in the hearts of most Americans. Like them he "displayed a morbid fear of social violence"—accusing Bryan, Debs, and Haywood of Jacobinism and giving them no quarter—and considered the "malefactors of great wealth" economically obnoxious. Like them also he welcomed social change when it was orderly and within the bounds of morality. It was only in 1912 that his renewed quest for power, blocked by political chicane, caused him to plunge into genuine insurgency. Thereafter failure turned him into a shorn Samson tugging petulantly at the pillars of the Philistine temple.

Spanish Canvas

THE PAINTINGS OF FRANCISCO DE ZURBARAN. By Martin S. Soria. Phaidon Publishers. Distributed by Garden Books. \$12.50.

By S. Lane Faison, Jr.

ZURBARAN ranks with Georges de La Tour and Piero della Francesca among old masters whose art was so austere that it took the twentieth century to rediscover them. In Zurbarán's case the very austerity which led to his early recognition as the most significant of all purely Spanish painters prior to Goya seems to have caused his eclipse. From about 1645, when he was nearly fifty, he

was gradually overshadowed by Murillo in Seville. Zurbarán made the fatal mistake of trying to adapt his solemn art to his rival's cloying sweetness. Failing in this competition in the city where he had risen to fame, he moved to Madrid in 1658 and in the final six years allotted to him tried to bring his work into line with the Italianate overtones which Velasquez (d. 1660) had so successfully blended with a native Spanish gravity. Fortunately, however, there were occasional returns to the style of the 1630's, in which Zurbarán, at least to our modern eyes, was at his zenith. One of his finest works, a full-length

portrait of a Doctor of Law (Fenway Court, Boston), painted soon after his arrival in Madrid, holds up well against what Christian Zervos has called Zurbarán's "dryness and precision, through which . . . a human soul seems ready to break."

Although the best of Zurbarán is in Spain—and, by the vicissitudes of fortune, at Grenoble—American collections are rich in his art. The list begins with the superb early St. Lucy (c. 1625, National Gallery, Washington) and continues with four masterpieces of around 1630 (the St. Serapion at Hartford; the St. Peter Nolasco recovering the Image of the Virgin, Cincinnati Mu-

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seum—perhaps America's finest; the St. Peter Thomas at Boston; and the St. Francis at St. Louis). It continues with important works of around 1640 (the Battle of El Sotillo at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the St. Rufina at the Hispanic Society in New York, the St. Jerome at San Diego, and the superb colloquy between St. Jerome and two sainted nuns recently acquired by the Kress Foundation). Among the late works in American collections are the Doctor of Law already referred to, a large Annunciation at Philadelphia which rivals Poussin, and a Murillo-esque Madonna at San Diego. On the crucial question of Zurbarán's still lifes, in which he continues a theme established by Caravaggio, Soria includes a composition of Pears and Flowers at the Chicago Art Institute but rejects a better-known Still Life with Oranges and Lemons at St. Louis, which he considers a later copy of the wonderful painting in the collection of Count Contini-Bonacossi in Florence: "lacking mysticism, it [the St. Louis picture] is conceived as a naturalistic still life, not as a religious picture."

I have given the foregoing list partly to indicate what opportunities to experience Zurbarán's art at first hand are available to the American public and partly because the list itself indicates what a dozen years of research by Dr. Soria have achieved. This is the first consequential study of one of the world's

great masters, and it is likely to stand as the definitive one. The *catalogue raisonné* is its chief contribution, though the thirty-page introductory essay is useful in showing Zurbarán's evolution from mannerist beginnings and from Spanish polychromed sculpture and in tracing the unfolding of his career. The one hundred full-page plates are up to the high standard set by previous Phaidon monographs, and the nine color plates are better than usual in this series, partly because Zurbarán's use of large flat color areas with high value contrasts lends itself to reproduction.

After reading this book and studying its profuse illustrations—nearly two hundred smaller cuts appear in the catalogue—one cannot escape the conclusion that the art of Zurbarán's great predecessor, El Greco, was only partially Spanish in character, and that his great contemporary, Velasquez, left a Spanish base in favor of an internationally oriented production. Another great contemporary who influenced Zurbarán, Josepe de Ribera, lies much closer to the Italians, as, his life-long residence in Naples would seem to suggest.

The Phaidon Press is to be congratulated in continuing to provide monographs of the highest quality by scholars, like Martin Soria, of the greatest competence. One looks forward to the author's more general book on Spanish painting on which he is at work for the Pelican History of Art.

social structure that the Civil War had disrupted. On the one hand, the Freedmen's Bureau was at work; on the other Reconstruction was dying. Indeed, the Reconstruction acts of 1867 were nullified by Hayes himself when, in the very year of his tour, he withdrew from the South the troops stationed there to see that the acts were obeyed. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments were everywhere disregarded. The former slaves, often as misguided as they were ignorant, were being pressed back into a condition differing little from slavery. By 1895 the nadir had been reached, and Booker Washington, as self-seeking as the rankst carpet-bagger, could make his infamous Atlanta Exposition speech to much applause from North and South.

That speech gave substance to the claims of those who believed in the Negro's inherent inferiority and laid down principles that would keep the Negro inferior. White reactionaries were jubilant. They proclaimed Booker Washington the Negro leader, and from then until his death Washington worked assiduously to suppress every forward-looking Negro effort. Disfranchisement, exclusion from even the simpler benefits of citizenship, gross discrimination went on apace. By 1900 the Negro had resigned himself to third-class citizenship.

Dr. Logan's book is almost painfully enlightening. It is proof of the author's scholarship that the facts are set down objectively and that the conclusions based on them are not only sound but temperate. No reader can miss the significance of this brilliant first volume of a projected—and long needed—reevaluation of an important aspect of American history.

Lee Nichols's book tells how Negroes obtained equality of treatment and opportunity in the armed services. The effects of race discrimination on the Negro in particular and the American social order in general have long been recognized by an intelligent minority, but it took the necessities of the Second World War to produce an atmosphere conducive to legislative action on the legislative level, and even then the action was meant to be only mollifying. Few people took seriously the clause in the Selective Service Act of 1940 barring racial discrimination in the armed forces. About the only immediate result

Up from Reconstruction

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LIFE AND THOUGHT. By Rayford W. Logan. Dial Press, \$5.

BREAKTHROUGH ON THE COLOR FRONT. By Lee Nichols. Random House, \$3.50.

By Saunders Redding

THERE can be little doubt that when President Rutherford B. Hayes made an official tour of the South in 1877 he was laboring under a misapprehension. There is also little doubt that his was

a "conducted" tour. The misapprehension was that his gesture of good-will could persuade the former slave-holding states to respect the rights of the freedmen—rights that had been written into the Constitution by amendment and supposedly safeguarded by mandatory legislation, the latest being the Civil Rights Act of 1875. The tour was conducted by carpet-baggers.

But though the carpet-baggers were Hayes's political friends, they were the enemies of his broad social hopes, and they had already defeated his purpose. Hayes had been elected by a temporary coalition of Northerners interested principally in economic exploitation and Southerners interested principally in politics and a return to the tripartite

SAUNDERS REDDING, professor of English at Hampton Institute, is the author of "Americans from Africa" and a forthcoming book, "An American in India," a report on the Indian dilemma.

it had was to force the navy to accept more Negroes than formerly. Secretary of War Stimson and General George Marshall were themselves opposed to the integration of Negroes in the armed forces. Illogical attitudes were encouraged in the lower echelons of the army, since it was believed that segregation had "proved satisfactory . . . and to make changes would produce situations destructive to morale and detrimental to the preparations for the national defense." Against this opposition the Negroes William Hastie, civilian aide to Stimson, Colonel Campbell B. Johnson, special aide to General Hershe, Director of the Draft, and Colonel Benjamin O. Davis, hastily elevated to Brigadier General, were helpless.

Stories from the battlefronts supported those who argued that the Negro did not make a good fighting man and that he should be segregated in non-fighting battalions. The men of the Negro 92nd division were accused of "drifting to the rear" in the fighting in Italy and of "excessive straggling and disorganization. Early reports from Korea said that Negroes of the 24th infantry "fled like rabbits.

But by now there was a sizable minority that knew that if these things were true, they were true for the very reason that Negroes were segregated. In 1948 President Truman determined to do something about it. He set up the Fahy committee whose function was to explore ways of "overcoming segregation in the armed forces. How earnestly and well that committee worked—aided by many individuals on many levels of policy and administration—and how it finally achieved its goal is the substance of "Breakthrough on the Color Fro."

But also, as Mr. Nichols himself vs. his book "is the story of the coming of age of the American Negro" in the armed services; "of Negroes who battled through nearly two centuries for the 'right to fight' for their country; of Negro men and women who, despite grave abuses, generally kept their sense of national loyalty and dignity."

NEXT WEEK

The Treason of the People
by Ferdinand Lundberg

Reviewed by H. H. Wilson

Sex Offenders and the Law

THE SEXUAL OFFENDER AND HIS OFFENSES. By Benjamin Karpman. The Julian Press. \$10.

THE AMERICAN SEXUAL TRAGEDY. By Albert Ellis. Twayne Publishers. \$4.50.

By Bernice Engle

AN ENCYCLOPEDIA 743-page book, "The Sexual Offender and His Offenses," is intended for professional persons and adult students in the biologic and social sciences. Doctor Karpman has practiced psychiatry, including much work with criminals, for more than thirty years. He is chief psychotherapist in St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, which not long ago opened an entire floor for treatment of sex offenders committed under the District of Columbia's sex-psychopath law.

BERNICE ENGLE is engaged in research into sex crimes at the Langley Porter Clinic, Department of Mental Hygiene, State of California.

The author divides the book into two parts. In the first he reviews the literature on sex offenses for the past quarter-century. In the second he formulates his own notions, reports verbatim discussions of them by psychiatrists and other specialists whose opinions often duplicate the review of the literature, and includes chronological summaries of the bibliography. This makes for verbiage and repetition.

Certain problems, though some agreement on them exists, remain unresolved. Take exhibitionism and voyeurism, for example. Karpman reviews the subject at length, citing case histories, and explains his view of the perversions or paraphilias, but discusses exhibitionism and voyeurism specifically in less than a page. A social worker seeking information would find general agreement that these nuisance offenses are committed by timid, heterosexually immature individuals but would get no clear idea of practical methods of treatment and prevention.

YOUNG PEOPLE! ASK YOUR TEACHERS, PASTORS, PARENTS

(Beyond selling space for publication of the accompanying material, The Nation is not to be held responsible for statements contained in the material)

Ask respectfully why it is that in High School and College you can learn what scholars have to say about the history of many countries, but that our educational system gives you no corresponding scholarly instruction about the history of the Hebrew nation.

According to the first five books of the Bible, our ideas about God were given as a revelation from heaven upon Mount Sinai in the wilderness of Arabia. But a new translation of the Bible has just been made by scholars from our leading institutions of higher learning, who do not accept the story of revelation in the first five Scriptural books.

Scholars today, in Harvard, Yale and other great universities, teach that our ideas about God, instead of being given on a mountain in the desert, were developed through a very intriguing process of evolution in the land of Canaan, or Palestine. But young people are completely shut out from this new and highly interesting way of teaching Hebrew history and the Bible.

Our educational system, then, is actually a party to your exclusion from the results of modern scientific research into Hebrew history and the Bible. And as long as this appalling situation remains unchanged, you should not be criticised if you are bored by orthodox religious exhortation. But bear in mind, when raising the question with your teachers, pastors and parents, that they are carrying serious burdens, and are more solicitous for your welfare than you fully realize. Friendly discussion and not controversy is what we need today.—Suggestions will be found in a circular which will be forwarded to young people, from eighteen to eighty, in return for a three cent stamp to cover postage. (Requests without a stamp will bring no result.)—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

The sections on homosexuality and on the sex-psychopath laws are among the best in the book. Karpman considers overt or latent homosexuality a sign of retarded emotional development that often begins in infancy, so that the individual cannot be held responsible. Exactly as in heterosexual crime, the most serious homosexual crime is seduction of the young or any form of coercive sexual activity. To call homosexuality a threat to national security merely puts a premium on blackmail, because homosexuals are quite as heterogeneous as are heterosexuals, and the type that turns into a security risk is rare. Homosexuality is a most complex condition that sometimes responds to psychotherapy if it is earnestly wanted. Therefore, until a cure can be found, Karpman would recognize homosexuality as a fact and remove discriminatory laws as the best way to cut down blackmail.

Karpman's criticism of the many defects and injustices in the sex-psychopath laws is important. As analyses contained in the final report of the California Sexual Deviation Research Commission show, at least twenty of the forty-nine United States jurisdictions have special sex legislation, the sex-psychopath laws. Most psychiatrists agree that the concept of sexual psychopathy cannot be exactly defined for effective judicial use. Penalties for sex offenses also differ widely. Sentences for sodomy vary from thirty days in one locality to life in several states. One result is confusion in diagnosis and commitment; so that a persistent exhibitionist draws an indefinite commitment, while a serious sex offender gets off with an ordinary criminal sentence. Karpman recommends a multi-disciplinary research program as the best approach to these vexing problems.

Albert Ellis, formerly chief psychologist of the state of New Jersey, is now in the private practice of psychotherapy and marriage counseling in New York City. His earlier book, "The Folklore of Sex," explored sex attitudes and superstitions as expressed in magazines, movies, and other materials directed to mass audiences early in 1950. The present book, "The American Sexual Tragedy," using similar materials, sprinkles in brief case histories and ambitiously attempts to draw up a popular "blueprint for a better sex-marriage life."

Ellis attributes most of the difficulties in family life to American glorifying of flawless female beauty and dress, teasing courtships, virginal weddings. The result is either frigid-impotent marriages and children damaged by momism, or shame and guilt for those who challenge the popular sex codes.

The Ellis blueprint allows men and women, both in and out of marriage, the greatest sexual freedom to indulge in masturbation, petting to orgasm, homosexual relations, other so-called perversions, and coitus; without making monogamous coitus the be-all and end-all of sex life. Homosexual relations are considered abnormal only if the individual simply cannot ever have any

type of heterosexual relations. No sex, love, or marital act is to be banned or frowned upon "unless it specifically, needlessly, gratuitously, and forcibly results in one individual's harming another individual or individuals."

Ellis points out many confusions and unnecessary contradictions in contemporary sex mores but overlooks or barely mentions the many other cultural factors—for example, the drive to financial success—that affect sex habits. He gravely underestimates the many difficulties presented in linking sex, love, marriage, and child-raising, although he recognizes "the desirability, perhaps, of intertwining such functions in certain (and perhaps most) instances."

Records

B. H. Haggin

FIVE of Rameau's Six Concerts en Sextuor played by the Hewitt Chamber Orchestra on a Haydn Society record were—we are informed on the record envelope—"transcribed (either by Rameau or by one of his disciples) from the *Pièces en concert avec violon ou flûte et second violon ou viole*" (1741); while the sixth is a transcription of some of the pieces for harpsichord alone (1731). All six offer the most charming and lovely music by this composer that I can recall hearing, with the middle pieces of Nos. 1, 3, and 5 and the Menuet of No. 6 standing out even among the rest. Excellent performances too.

Another Haydn Society record offers disappointing performances of Mozart's Clarinet Concerto K.622 and Clarinet Quintet K.581. What is disappointing is the playing of the clarinetist F. Etienne with the Hewitt Orchestra and the Vegh Quartet—his loud tone in the concerto, his less loud but no more beautiful tone in the quintet, and in both works the absence of anything that could be called inflection of this tone in musical phrasing.

A Columbia record offers one of Handel's most beautiful instrumental works, the Sonata Op. 1 No. 13 for violin and figured bass, usually referred to as No. 4 in D major, together with Tar-

tini's engaging Violin Concerto in D minor and less interesting Violin Sonata in G, and Bach's Violin Concerto in G minor as reconstructed by Gustav Schreck from the Clavier Concerto in F minor, a work I don't care much for in either form. These are played by Szigeti—the concertos with an orchestra under Szell, the sonatas with Carol Buscotti at the piano. Szigeti's tone is not entirely steady in the sustained phrases of the opening movement of the Handel sonata, but it is agreeable, and elsewhere it moves with unusual freedom and expansiveness; and this is only one of the ways in which these are good performances.

Spa offers what we are assured is Beethoven's own rewriting of his Violin Concerto as a piano concerto, played by Helen Schnabel with a Viennese orchestra under F. Charles Adler. The rewritten piano part does come off; but the tone of the violin lends itself to a greater expansiveness in the work's lyrical passages than is possible with the piano. Once more I am impressed by the qualities of Mrs. Schnabel's playing that remind me of her great father-in-law's.

A-900 was incorrectly given me as the number of the U. S. Rubber Company Royal shock mountings that I used with my Rek-O-Kut motor (*The Nation*, July 10). Inquiry of the company re-

sulted in my being sent some A-301 mountings, which look like the ones I used. They can be obtained from the U. S. Rubber Company's Mechanical Goods Division.

ARTHUR BERGER has written an excellent book on Aaron Copland and his music (Oxford, \$3.50), of which one valuable feature is a detailed discussion and analysis, well illustrated with quotations in music-type, of Copland's works, and an explanation of them in terms of the development of Copland's language and style. This is something one wants to have; but there is, I find, the same point to make about it that I made once about Gerald Abraham's excellent book "This Modern Music." I said then that having the principle of organization in a passage of Schönberg explained to me by Mr. Abraham did not cause the passage to make coherent sense as heard; and I can say now that having the language, syntax, and structural organization of Copland's Piano Variations (1930) explained to me by Mr. Berger did not cause the piece to say any more to me as music when I listened to Webster Aitken's recent recorded performance than it had said on previous occasions when I had listened without the "understanding." Mr. Berger can show how elements in the Variations and other abstract works of Copland are a development of the jazz elements in the earlier "Music for the Theater"; but that doesn't make these abstract works enjoyable to listen to, as "Music for the Theater" is.

And that brings me to another point. We had Copland writing years ago—notably in his book "Our New Music" (1941)—about the "fantastic notions" with which "newspaper writers and radio commentators who ought to know better" had misrepresented modern music, prejudiced the public against it, and kept the public from hearing in Schönberg and von Webern, in Riegger and Sessions, an "enriched musical language" that made it "our music," as natural and acceptable to our ears, as interesting and significant to our minds, as people a hundred and two hundred years ago found *their* music. But we now have Berger telling us that accessible and engaging works like "Billy the Kid" (1938) and the film scores represented Copland's decision to stop writ-

ing esoteric abstract works for a small special public and write instead music that would interest the large general music public; and we have him quoting Copland himself:

... I began to feel an increasing dissatisfaction with the relations of the music-loving public and the living composer. The old "special" public of the modern music concerts had fallen away, and the conventional concert public continued apathetic or indifferent to anything but the established classics. It seemed to me that we composers were in danger of working in a vacuum. Moreover, an entirely new public for music had grown up

around the radio and phonograph. It made no sense to ignore them and to continue writing as if they *didn't* exist. I felt that it was worth the effort to see if I couldn't say what I had to say in the simplest possible terms.

And so it turns out that Copland was making those statements about "our music" in 1941 several years after he had recognized that this was *not* music we could be expected to find as natural and acceptable to our ears, as interesting and significant to our minds, as people a hundred or two hundred years ago found *their* music.

Letters

(Continued from inside front cover)

one but four criteria, a point the drafters of the veto message apparently overlooked.

Small wonder then that, with the veto overridden, Mr. Truman, after a month's reflection, filled up the five places on the board as the Security Act provided and ordered his Attorney General to enforce it. The Smith Act was ignored for ten years before its first enforcement, but Mr. Truman ordered J. Howard McGrath to enforce this act at once.

As Mr. Truman reconsidered, so might *The Nation* reconsider. Matched against the S. A. C. B.'s performance, your criticism of the agency goes awry. Following the conclusion of the first case, in which the board found the Communist Party to be engaged in Communist action, Attorney General Brownell filed petitions on twelve alleged Communist-front organizations. In each of these cases that crucial conjunction "and" has governed. In each case the proof of front activities squares not with one but with four criteria. There is no evidence to support Editor McWilliams's claim that the S. A. C. B. is out to get liberal organizations, unless he equates liberalism with Communist-fronting, as I am sure he does not. Further, I am certain that the intent of the legislation was to control only organizations stamped beyond a reasonable doubt as Communist-action units or Communist fronts.

History as it is being written supports the learned Professor Schuman's position that the S. A. C. B. operations apply to communism alone. If others have evidence to the contrary, I join Professor Schuman in inviting them to come forward and show it. And this invitation is issued by me in my capacity as a member of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

ARTHUR V. WATKINS

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs: As a former student of Professor Frederick L. Schuman, I was quite

disturbed by his letter in the May 1 issue of *The Nation*. In particular, his statement that the Subversive Activities Control Board "has scrupulously observed due process and has in no way violated intellectual freedom" deserves careful scrutiny.

Due process of law is based on the existence of clear and definite charges, involving justiciable issues of fact, which offer the accused an opportunity to prepare a specific defense. If, from the outset, the charge is so vague as to make a defense difficult or impossible, no amount of reasonableness on the part of the tribunal can cleanse the proceeding of its inquisitorial nature. Professor Schuman readily admits that there is "much to be desired in the way of criteria for defining 'Communist-action' and 'Communist-front' organizations." Due process of law under these circumstances is as unlikely as in the trial of a person accused of being an "enemy of the state." No amount of judicial trappings can cure this defect.

The problem of definition is apparent in Professor Schuman's statement that "No pursuit of heresy is here involved save the heresy of communism—which is obviously a heresy. . . ." Professor Schuman must know, from personal experience, how flimsy is the barrier that separates the accepted dissenter from the scorned heretic. Communism is "obviously" a heresy to Professor Schuman. But Professor Schuman's views on foreign policy are "obviously" heretic to many individuals, some of whom hold important positions in the government of the United States. Would Professor Schuman still defend the procedures of the S. A. C. B. if an organization of which he were the spokesman was accused of being a "Communist front"? Would the politeness of the board members obviate the fact that due process is impossible if a person is asked to defend himself against a charge which cannot be accurately defined?

(Continued on page 200)

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Letters

(Continued from page 199)

Due process cannot hang by the slender thread of the good will of the Attorney General or the reasonableness of the members of a tribunal. Nor can it exist where the outcome of the proceeding is determined in advance. Does Professor Schuman doubt for a moment that every organization accused by the Attorney General will, in the present atmosphere, be found guilty by the board?

Professor Schuman appears to believe that due process is not violated until the board abuses its power. Surely history warns against such complacency. The Star Chamber of seventeenth-century England made notable contributions to the development of the English criminal law. But the inquisitorial nature of its procedure violated due process, as we know it today, and its subsequent abuse of power has made it synonymous with political tyranny. From the perspective of history it is apparent that the evils of Star Chamber began not with the abuse of the inquisitorial procedure but with the establishment of a judicial tribunal which, by its very nature, could be readily transformed into an instrument of suppression.

It is difficult to sustain Professor Schuman's judgment that the board "has in no way violated intellectual freedom." The very process by which entire groups are designated as "Communist fronts" is a violation of intellectual freedom for it inhibits individuals from translating their beliefs into group action. The organizations accused by the Attorney General are held to task not because of overt acts, but because of views which, in his opinion, are deemed to be subversive. How can a board avoid violating intellectual freedom when its whole purpose is to pass judgment on groups because of their ideas?

In light of these considerations, I submit that the S. A. C. B. violates due process of law and intellectual freedom every day it functions. Professor Schuman, in defending the board, writes, "... it is desirable, by the very canons of liberalism, that heretics be honest." He has, however, overlooked a more fundamental rule: it is *essential*, by the very canons of liberty, that heretics be free.

New York

NORMAN REDLICH

The Sweezy Case

Dear Sirs: Readers of *The Nation* may be interested to know that an "Anti-Inquisition Fund" has been set up to help defray expenses in connection with the Paul Sweezy case, dealt with elsewhere in this issue. Contributions should be sent to the fund at 66 Barrow Street, New York 14, N. Y.

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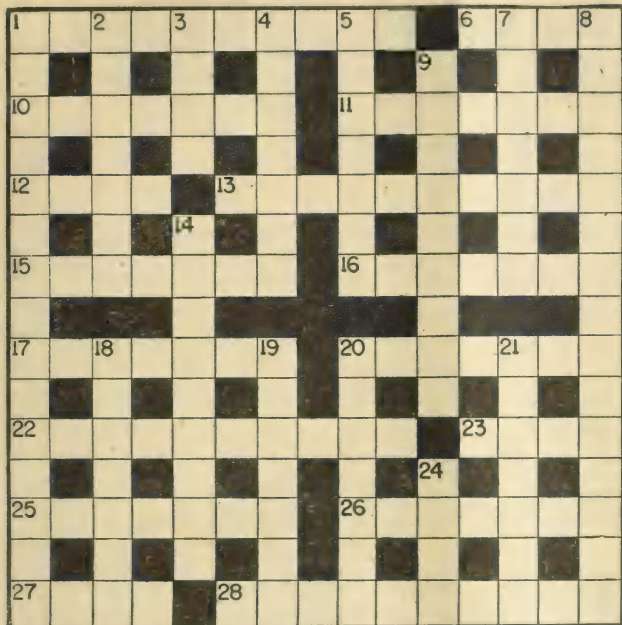
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The NATION

Crossword Puzzle No. 583

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Mezzanine? (Evidently not enough change for the conservative.) (5, 5)
- 6 The taste of this fungus is not good. (4)
- 10 You take a chance with such a literary criminal. (7)
- 11 All rite, in the strict sense. (7)
- 12 Straight from the herd, perhaps. (4)
- 13 Wrong side of a first-class carriage? It's not civil, as a rule! (7, 3)
- 15 Let yourself go! (7)
- 16 Plaza-Toro, perhaps. (7)
- 17 A strange way of crushing stones! (7)
- 20 Examine a portion with express concern. (7)
- 22 Never eat it through habit! (10)
- 23 Certainly not the way to urge your team on. (4)
- 25 Old masters sometimes thought one did better under the rod and reel. (7)
- 26 Operatic part of Napoleon or Attila. (7)
- 27 Pitch. (4)
- 28 No longer damaged nor broken in battle. (10)

DOWN

- 1 Less and less purple associated with the wall, perhaps. (9, 6)
- 2 Hardly the manner of Venus. (3-4)

- 3 To be inclined to go in the lists. (4)
- 4 If you go like this, it doesn't imply any lack of will. (7)
- 5 I across might perhaps be kept in the family. (7)
- 7 Like the halls Arline dreamed of (7)
- 8 Register at our reunion? (4, 2, 4, 5)
- 9 Tom comes up in the way he might look, proverbially. (9)
- 14 The sound of jazz on the driveway, perhaps. (9)
- 18 Changes several shows in its new look. (7)
- 19 Walker, perhaps. (7)
- 20 Sounds like a catamount and a tree. (7)
- 21 Yellowish. (7)
- 24 Drill can weary with repetition. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 582

ACROSS:—1 PRANCOPHOBIC; 9 CONDUCTS; 10 REREAD; 11 SHELLED; 12 MISALS; 14 BEAVER; 15 BESTREWN; 17 SPIRACLE; 24 CALYXES; 26 DETACH; 27 ANISETTE; 28 and 13 WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

DOWN:—3 RED CLOVER; 5 and 22 NUCLEAR FISSION; 4 OAST; 5 HEROICS; 6 and 8 BARN SWALLOW; 7 TOWHEE; 16 REXMYNEDE; 18 PRIMES; 19 CROCHET; 20 DIARIES; 21 EVERTS; 23 SKATE; 25 and 20 TAXI DANCER.

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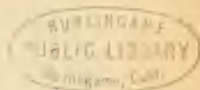
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THE *Nation*



September 11, 1954

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Britain and Our H-bomb Policy

by P. M. S. Blackett

EVERY
WEEK
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1865

Failure of the Citizen?

H. H. Wilson

Iran's Fabulous Oil

A. Kessel

Selected New Books

A New Feature

Letters

Letter from Japan

Dear Sirs: I am a reader of your magazine. It is so nice and only magazine which always brings me interesting articles. It is a light in dark sea for one who is sailing without compass and alone.

I think you already noticed the fearful news which arrived across the rolling wave of Pacific Ocean. People who release a demon should be able to control him and should try to turn his devilish energy into usage for welfare of us human beings.

In such narrow land of Japan, as you probably know, we cannot raise much livestock. Naturally we rely on the maritime products as the source of albumen which is essential to maintain people's health. But the latest series of atomic and H-bomb tests have turned the fishes unfitted as food by the radio activity, which meant the loss of supply-source of albumen for us and utter loss of the chance for maritime industry workers making their living. In fact many of them even suffered direct physical suffering by the radio activity even though they were out of the area informed to be dangerous by the American military authorities. We do not think they have right to make use of the public sea for their own selfish purpose. Nowadays our people are making nation-wide movement to forbid any further use and test of atomic bomb. I would like to hear your sentiments for this affair. My address is c/o University Club, Kanda, Tokyo. YUKIO ODA
Tokyo, Japan

Tributes to Vito Marcantonio

Dear Sirs: What now seems a million light-years ago, when we were both "young and easy," Vito Marcantonio and I served our apprenticeships in the law office in which Fiorello H. LaGuardia was a partner. That was before the Little Flower had become mayor of New York, and when he was still known as the major. To one so different from them in temperament this pair—the major and the corporal's guard, I used to call them—was an endless source of astonishment and wonder. Their energies, their fire, their restlessness, their periodic eruptions imparted a volcanic quality to their surroundings. It was never quiet and nothing was ever still when the major or Marc were around. The older man, after a term as president of the Board of Aldermen, was then in Congress and had established himself in the public mind; the younger was still a neophyte, worshipful, emulating, and determined.

That was during the early Mussolini era, and I remember how confused Marc was politically. Like that of his boss and mentor, his heart was with the little people, especially those of his own race, but he did not understand the nature of fascism or the menace of the Italian dictator. He resented deeply the second-class role that had been assigned to the people of his race in America, and, like most Italian-Americans, he was proud of the place in the sun that Italy was achieving. In endless discussions, at lunch, after hours and too often while we should have been working, these problems were examined and argued, frequently with a stormy passion that was so congenial to his nature.

At the end of our apprenticeship our paths diverged, he to go into politics and I to continue the less turbulent career of lawyering; and, though I met him but infrequently thereafter, I never lost sight of him. He went into Congress, became a political force and a public figure. It was no more possible to lose sight of him than of the Little Flower; even if there were nothing more, their showmanship would have challenged attention.

But there was more, much more. Each man was a bundle of impulses, contradictions, and ambitions; each had in him something of the mountebank, the conjurer, the intriguer. But underneath there was in each a surprising inner consistency, a desire to improve the lot of his fellows, the true democratic passion. In the midst of the welter of personal feelings and drives, that passion was always at work. The troubles of the little people were their troubles; in legions they came to find solace for their pains and help for their needs; no two men ever gave themselves and their substance so unsparingly to the poor, the injured and the disinherited; and no two men ever burnt themselves out so fiercely fighting their wrongs. Wrong-headed and pig-headed they often were, but they could never close their ears and harden their hearts to the cries of the lowly.

In return the little people gave them their admiration and their love. This is a tribute that few public men receive in any generation. Not all the sneers of the sophisticated nor all the venom of his enemies can blot out the esteem and affection the little people of Harlem, the district he served and lived in, felt for Marc. Colored, white, Jew, Gentile, Puerto Rican, Italian, they mourned his death; black-bordered placards sprouted in their store windows; thousands of them paid their respects at his bier; and, as the funeral procession made its way to his resting place, they waved, many of them

weeping, from the streets, from the shops, from the hallways and from their tenement windows, "Good-by, Marc."

Good-by, Marc, I too salute you.

New York

DAVID L. WEISSMAN

Dear Sirs: In the forenoon of August 9, in a pouring rain, a man in a hurry fell on the sidewalk at the edge of City Hall Park in New York City. The brief case in his hand slithered past his upturned feet and into the gutter opposite the towering Woolworth building across Broadway. Vito Marcantonio was dead.

The strident cries of hate and calumny from those who feared and opposed him have ceased. These confused thinkers breathe more easily in the knowledge that a tired heart and death have eliminated a leader whom they chose to term a "dangerous radical." It is a tragic commentary on the present-day American scene that this man, a Roman Catholic from birth, who wore a simple cross around his neck at death, was denied a Roman Catholic burial by the hierarchy of his church.

Only those of us who fought on the firing line with this man in recent years seemed aware that he eschewed foreign "isms" at every turn, and that his life epitomized the true meaning of the word "democrat." In scorn, his enemies called him "Communist" or "fellow-traveler" because he fought our present foreign policy, inaugurated after the death of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. These enemies ignored the fact that, on the record to date, this foreign policy is nearer to disaster than to success. Marcantonio, like Emerson, did not wish to apologize but to live.

"The years prove what the days never know." But it is too late now for Marcantonio to witness the outcome of the battle he waged against the cold war and for co-existence in a world forever at peace. It has been hard to find good men to save cities since the days of Sodom and Gomorrah. The men to save nations or a world must needs be very good. But the lives of men who play their cards from principle hold a following after death. The enemies of Marcantonio should recall that the spirit of a good man, when it is lifted up by death for all to see, has the power to draw men to its way of life.

So—good-by, Marc. We who fought beside you, and whose ideals are the same for the world you left behind, are better off for having known and loved you.
Lawrenceville, N. J. JAMES IMBRIE

Must Reading!

Waldo Frank reviews the transcript of the Oppenheimer case in a sensational article to appear in the September 25 issue.

Our Bankrupt Foreign Policy

WITH the killing of E. D. C. by the French National Assembly on August 30, the bankruptcy of American foreign policy is revealed in a new and appalling form. Here was a terrific defeat for the United States and no American renders a service to his country who tries to minimize it. Howard K. Smith, one of the few independent-minded commentators left on the air, said on the eve of the Assembly's final decision: "The world after this debate is going to be different than what it was before." Here at home the *Wall Street Journal*, in contrast to certain more liberal organs of opinion, showed the same courage in calling a spade a spade:

... E. D. C. was ... a debatable idea, having its defects and dangers as well as it promises. And its promises always depended on its having the wholehearted support of the peoples of Europe; without that a technical approval would have been meaningless.

It has been plain for months—plain, that is, to anyone who would look—that the French people were not prepared to give E. D. C. that support. ... So for our State Department to act surprised, as if France had suddenly reversed herself, is either pretense or blindness.

But what the same newspaper called Washington's "singularly immature mood, compounded of one-tenth reasonable regret, nine-tenths pique, and not much thought" was soon replaced by an equally unreasonable mood of reassurance. At Des Moines President Eisenhower conceded that the French rejection of E. D. C. was a "major setback" in the battle against international communism but he added that "the free world was still far stronger than the countries embraced by the Iron Curtain." In the light of Mr. Blackett's article elsewhere in this issue, it is not all certain that the West does enjoy this preponderance of strength. But even if it does, one is entitled to ask of what use is the West's military power so long as it remains at the service of a foreign policy which is able to collect only diplomatic disasters. Paul-Henri Spaak, Belgium's foreign minister, served truth better when he said that the defeat of E. D. C. was a "gigantic victory for Soviet diplomacy which has recently reaped one success after another." No one has worked harder for European unity than Mr. Spaak; therefore his opinion that "the rejection of the treaty is also a blow to European integration and perhaps even to the Euro-

pean Coal and Steel Community, already ratified and functioning," must be given great weight.

Readers of *The Nation* cannot complain of having been denied the truth. For more than three years J. Alvarez del Vayo, foreign editor, writing from various European capitals and from U. N. headquarters in New York, argued repeatedly that America's foreign policy was leading inevitably to diplomatic defeat and American isolation. Anticipating the attitude of both Mendès-France and the French National Assembly on E. D. C., he warned against "the present paralysis of American foreign policy, which has brought this powerful country to a situation where it can neither make war nor make peace."

ANALYZING the causes of the débâcle in the New York *Times* of August 29, James Reston wrote:

In short, there is a strong feeling in the capital now that in this case, as in China, the United States committed itself to objectives beyond its means to achieve and, having thus committed itself, did not use what means it had to pursue its objective.

This is true but the real cause of American failure goes deeper than that. For years now an anti-Communist hysteria which has seized White House, Congress, State Department, radio, and press alike, has reduced to nil our freedom of movement and initiative in world affairs. It has become practically impossible for any official personage in Washington to have an independent thought on foreign policy without becoming suspect. When our Secretary of State goes to Geneva—as did Mr. Dulles—in mortal fear of having his picture taken together with Chou En-lai because of the uproar that might be caused in Congress, who could in fairness have expected him to do a good job as a negotiator? Our foreign policy is caught in a cobweb of stupid smears and suspicions created by anti-Communist propaganda. Everyone familiar with the Washington scene knows of the inhibitions under which all ranks of government service are operating, particularly in the State Department. A realistic report on the French attitude toward E. D. C. any time during the past year would have been greeted as a Moscow-inspired fulmination. A State Department official who, taking cognizance of the Scandinavian foreign

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ministers' recently announced support of the admission of Peking to the U. N., suggested that perhaps it was time for the United States to prepare a shift in Washington's position, would risk sharing the fate of Owen Lattimore. Today our foreign service officials are often afraid to report the truth.

The Southeast Asia adventure, on which discussions started this week in Manila, is likely to prove no more fruitful than E. D. C. We have ignored Nehru's warnings just as we ignored Edouard Herriot's warnings on the European treaty. The attempt to build an effective Asian military alliance against the will of the most important Asian countries is as futile as the attempt to build a European army, including Bonn, against the will of France.

If the collapse of E. D. C. was easy to predict, it is not much more difficult to foresee the tremendous opposition which will be aroused throughout non-Communist Europe by any American attempt to rearm Germany directly. The mere announcement of the Adenauer-Wiley meeting last week aroused the fury even of many French E. D. C. supporters. Six former French prime ministers, all E. D. C. partisans, signed a declaration opposing the German proposals.

Already this country's "deal" with Fascist Spain has cost the sympathy of millions of people throughout the world. A bilateral pact with Germany will make us no more popular. It would mean the final blow-up of the Western alliance. It would leave us in a position where our only allies were the remaining reactionary regimes of



"Anyone got a Paddle?"

The NATION

Europe—a curious position for a country purportedly conducting a crusade for democracy.

What, then, is the alternative? It lies in renouncing forever what Aneurin Bevan, visiting in Tokyo, called the "H-bomb arbitration of world affairs" in favor of a realistic policy, orientated towards negotiation. (Mr. Bevan the politician, it may be said in passing, comes to the same conclusion as Mr. Blackett the scientist.) Once more we must explore the possibilities of arriving at an agreement with Russia on Germany and at long last we must cease our absurd veto of Communist China's admission to the United Nations. Negotiation that does not imply surrender, negotiation "from intelligence" rather than "from strength," is what is needed. What good is strength that leads not to the roll-back of the Eastern world but to the roll-back of Washington towards repeated diplomatic catastrophes? The march of events makes more compelling than ever another attempt at a Big Four meeting.

"Merits Severe Criticism"

THE "McArmy" report was destined to be a hoax. By the wrong methods, the wrong committee was assigned to investigate the wrong set of charges filed by the wrong accusers. From such confusion no light could issue. As might be expected, the committee has labored mightily to produce four mousy reports. The New York *Daily News* sourly observed: "Four soft, wet reports fell with four soft, wet thuds."

The anticlimax was inevitable. Who on the committee ever questioned McCarthy's objectives or, for that matter, questions them today? The thirty-six-day TV wonder show was touched off by a relatively trivial incident. Cohn was a nuisance, visible and irritating; he invited destruction like a noisy fly on a windowpane. But beyond the windowpane were great issues which the committee members failed to see. Their remarkable insensitivity to matters of moment is reflected in the strange conclusion, implicit in all four reports, that since everyone was lying, there was no point in trying to determine the truth. Pre-occupied with trivia, the committee ducked its responsibilities by gently slapping all wrists, with only minor variations in partisan emphasis. Every harsh word used by majority and minority to condemn Secretary Stevens for "weakness" and "irresponsibility" does double for the committee members. For if he failed to meet his responsibilities, by the same token they have failed to meet theirs, and with less excuse.

In the hearings out of which the inquiry arose, McCarthy had laid down a series of basic challenges to the democratic process; defiance of well-established constitutional principles had been coupled with an open flouting

of the Senate, the executive, and the electorate. In his mad bid for power, he had broken every rule of the game. To mistake his intention, under the circumstances, is tantamount to confessing a lack of understanding or even of sympathy with rules, procedures, and usages that make democracy possible. There were moments during the hearings when the three Democratic members appeared to be troubled by vague intimations of the true issues. But they never saw them and they have not seen them yet. For example, the minority report treats as "collateral" such issues as whether the principle of judicial immunity should apply to loyalty boards, McCarthy's treatment of witnesses, and the vital questions at stake in the famous two-and-one-quarter page purloined document. If these questions were "collateral," what were the hearings about? Millions of Americans must have sensed that their television screens were mirroring something evil and dangerous. If today they understand something of the nature of this danger, it is a tribute to their shrewdness as observers and not to any guidance or clarification provided by this committee.

Sadly as the seven Senators have let us down, some solace is still to be found in the reports. McCarthy has not been stopped but he has been slowed down and given a traffic ticket for speeding. He now moves from the traffic court to the domestic relations court where Senator Flanders and others seek separate maintenance if not divorce. In this court, before Senator Watkins, he may yet get his come-uppance but here, too, it will be for the wrong reasons. Joe is now about to be branded "uncouth" and "no gentleman" but on this we thought everyone agreed, Joe included.

The Shape of Things

Mr. Dulles and the Spanish Armada

In planning for the SEATO conference which opened in Manila on September 6, Mr. Dulles has followed his usual practice of attempting to align this country and as many of its allies as he can muster in defense of a line or position. Like so many line-drawers and dike-builders, Mr. Dulles lacks imagination. One wonders if he ever stops to think what his agile opponents are likely to be doing while he is so busily engaged, eager-beaver style, in constructing dams, dikes, and alliances. There is, for example, much evidence to indicate that the Chinese Communists are concentrating their long range attention not on Southeast Asia but on India and Japan, and that their weapons will be economic, not military. If this trend holds, then the elaborate dike-building in Manila will have the effect of hemming us in while affording the Communists the maximum freedom for maneuver. On this score the *Manchester Guardian* offers a shrewd comment. "The leaders of the Chinese state nearly all

became military men in the years of the Civil War and perfected some peculiarly Chinese methods of conducting a struggle. One of their rules is to avoid head-on collisions. They take stock of the defenses built by their opponents—and then strike at something different. We must not underrate their nimbleness. The machinery of American foreign policy, confronted by them, looks sometimes a little like the Spanish Armada enduring the gaddy ships of the English sailors."

Meanwhile events have given new urgency to our warning last week that the risk of a general war in the Pacific over Formosa is greater than any we encountered in Korea or Indo-China. The loss of two American lives in the Communist bombardment of Quemoy, renewed Nationalist attacks on other islands off the Chinese mainland, and the shooting down by Russians of an American plane near the Siberian coast are the inflammable stuff of which wars are made. Washington's appeal to the Security Council on the plane incident will accomplish nothing except to spread on the record the tensions which everyone knows exist in the area. The solution lies neither in Manila nor in the Security Council but ultimately in the General Assembly and the normalization of Communist China's position in the community of nations.

When the Devil Is Sick

For the first or perhaps the second time in his career we find ourselves in basic agreement with Senator McCarthy. The Senator now argues that a citizen cannot be in contempt of a body, "be it judicial or legislative, which is acting without authority." This, of course, is sound doctrine and harks back to the precedent of Kilbourn vs. Thompson (1881). It will be recalled that in that case Justice Miller, for the court, pointed out that the English Parliament had a general power to punish for contempt because it was once a court, but that Congress did not because it had never been a court. Thus Congress could not invoke the British Parliament's tradition to justify an inquiry into the private affairs of a citizen. Writing privately Justice Miller stated that courts and grand juries are the only inquisitions into crime which we permit, saying, "I do not recognize that Congress is the grand inquest of the nation."

Our thanks go to Senator Case for reminding McCarthy's counsel that his argument is exactly the same as that made in behalf of Corliss Lamont. Said Senator Case: "the presentations that were made [to the Senate in the Lamont case] would be useful to both our counsel and to counsel for Senator McCarthy." And so they would. Pushed on the one hand by Senator McCarthy and on the other by those stout civil libertarians, Corliss Lamont and Harvey O'Connor, Congress may yet yield up the terrain it has illegally preempted of recent years and moved back to its historic and constitutional boundaries.

Alternatives to Coexistence

In his speech to the American Legion convention in Washington, Cardinal Spellman denounced the idea of peaceful coexistence with a vehemence that prompted the New York *Journal-American* to use a headline for the story which distorted the language but not the spirit of the address: "'Peace With Reds Fatal'—Spellman." If peaceful coexistence would be fatal to American security, then Cardinal Spellman should tell us what alternatives he has in mind. None was stated in his address. Father Antonio Lisandrini, on a cross-country speaking tour, told a Los Angeles audience on August 25 that while communism could be contained and limited in Italy, it could never be entirely eliminated without another war. Here the alternative to a policy of coexistence is frankly faced. What alternatives does Cardinal Spellman, whose Legion address was described as "the most significant and important heard at the convention," have in mind? A state of perpetual tension? A vigilant aloofness of the type which the Roman Empire maintained against the Goths and Picts? Or a preventive war?

"Even-handed Justice" in Ohio

Back in 1953 Frank Hashmall was arrested in Akron and charged with having used a false name and address in filling out an application for the registration of a motor vehicle. Ordinarily an offense of this kind would draw a nominal fine or, at worst, a mild jail sentence, but Hashmall was a Communist and hence fair game for harsher treatment. Two separate counts were made of the indictment—one for the use of the false name, one for the false address. Hashmall, married and the father of two children, was convicted and Judge, Walter B. Wanamaker sentenced him to from six months to five years on each count, the sentences to run consecutively. Bail was denied pending appeal. The Supreme Court of Ohio affirmed the conviction but ruled that Judge Wanamaker had abused his discretion and modified the sentences by making them run concurrently. Said the court: "The record discloses that the trial judge probably did this because he was advised that the defendant was a Communist. However, a Communist is entitled to even-handed justice in our courts."

When the original sentence was imposed, the *Cleveland Press* described it as "unique." The *Plain Dealer* pointed out that officials could not recall another case in which a prison term had been meted out on such a charge. Frank J. Lausche refused to see a delegation that called to ask commutation of the sentence and berated its members for having "taken a conspicuously abnormal interest" in the case. But the interest would not be conspicuous if the sentences, even as modified, were not so abnormal. If justice is really even-handed in Ohio some reduction of this outrageous sentence will be ordered.

H-BOMB POLICY

And Restive Britain . . by P. M. S. Blackett

London

IT IS my view that the efficacy of the Great Deterrent—supposed atomic superiority—as the main basis of British and American military policy became extremely doubtful as soon as the U. S. S. R. started to acquire a sizable stock pile of ordinary A-bombs. Now that we have to assume approximate H-bomb equality, I believe the theory and practice of the Great Deterrent is in fair way to becoming the theory and practice of the Great Bluff.

The Prime Minister has stated the case for a revision of British defense policy in impressive words.

But I had not held my mind closed to the tremendous changes that have taken place in the whole strategic position in the world which make the thoughts, which were well founded and well knit together a year ago, utterly obsolete and which have changed the opinion of every competent soldier that I have been able to meet. . . . How utterly out of proportion to the Suez Canal and the position which we held in Egypt are the appalling developments and the appalling spectacle which imagination raises before us. Merely to imagine in outline the first few weeks of a war under conditions about which we did not know when the session commenced and about which we had not been told. . . .

I have no means of knowing, of course, what precise facts the Prime Minister had in mind when he spoke these ominous words, but I will assume that they were substantially these: that the U. S. S. R. has probably now attained equality in H-bomb development, though probably not in number of ordinary A-bombs, and that it would be wise for defense planning purposes to assume also approximate equality in the power of delivering them.

Clearly it will be a long and difficult task to work out a new defense policy

appropriate to the new situation. Very many complex facts and possibilities will have to be the subject of intricate planning and thought. I intend, therefore, to confine myself to some of these general probable consequences rather than to suggest specific changes in British defense policy.

THE first and most important of these conclusions is that there is now no possibility of success for any tough diplomatic policy aiming at rolling back without war the Soviet power to the Russian ethnic frontiers and so liberating the satellite states. Still more is a preventative war off the map, in spite of the efforts of some vociferous advocates.

Roll-back or liberation policies were much canvassed in America during the 1952 Presidential election, and even earlier were often advocated in many British and American papers as the main objective of the rearmament campaign. Once the West had sufficient strength on the ground to enable it to use safely the threat of atomic war, the U. S. S. R. was to be told to retire to its own frontier and accept second-power status—or be destroyed. "The year of decision," when the West would be ready for a showdown, was often held to be 1953 or 1954.

Clearly the Soviet progress in atomic bombs has made this policy impracticable. Many important consequences follow. Perhaps the most important may be in connection with the situation in Western Germany.

To see what this effect might be, it is only necessary to remember the essential incompatibility between the present Western German policy of close military alliance with the NATO powers and that of attaining unity with East Germany by peaceful means. A few years ago, while the A-bomb superiority of the West was a fact, there were three possible ways by which Western Germany could seek unity with the Eastern provinces: by a NATO victory in a third world war; by the success of a roll-back

policy achieved through the threat of preventative war; and by a bargain with the U. S. S. R. Now, with H-bomb equality a fact, there is only the last way.

It seems almost certain that this issue of how to attain unity will dominate the political scene in West Germany in the next few years. So it seems inevitable that West Germany will start exploring all possible avenues to a bargain with the U. S. S. R. and in so doing will become an unreliable ally to the NATO powers.

IN the Far Eastern part of the cold war the chief effect of the development of hydrogen bombs has, I think, been to make it still more dangerous for the West to use or threaten to use even ordinary atomic bombs tactically. Undoubtedly plans were far advanced to drop atomic bombs from United States aircraft carriers on the Vietminh armies round Dienbienphu. It is not difficult to guess what the British Government said to this proposal of Admiral Radford. Where would it stop? Would Canton and Peking be the next targets—and then might there not be a Soviet counter-attack on the quite defenseless port of Singapore? If so, then perhaps Moscow would be the next target for American bombs, and in reply perhaps London and Paris for Soviet ones.

Similar considerations apply to Europe though perhaps less immediately. For it is certainly a fact that both A- and H-bombs and atomic shells fired from cannon could be in some circumstances a valuable tactical weapon in a land battle in Europe. They would be of some use in offense but be much more useful in a defensive action. Since NATO planning for land war must certainly be concerned with a defensive campaign, and since, moreover, America probably has now many more ordinary atomic bombs than the U. S. S. R., in the case of war the West might gain considerably by using atomic bombs tactically. However, the NATO planners must be greatly inhibited in planning for the

P. M. S. BLACKETT, noted British scientist, won the Nobel prize for physics in 1948. Mr. Blackett, author of the widely read "Fear, War and the Bomb," has appeared before in The Nation.

tactical use of atomic weapons because of the uncertainty as to whether wider strategic considerations would actually allow their use. If the tactical use of atomic shells by the West in a land battle was likely to lead to the strategic use of A- and H-bombs against cities, the tactical gain by using atomic shells would have to be compelling.

ANOTHER important consequence of the development of H-bombs by both East and West is to reduce drastically the military value of many exposed overseas air bases. For if the bases in Britain are doubtfully defensible, how much less defensible would be bases in Iceland, Turkey, Cyprus, the Middle East, the Philippines, Formosa, or Japan. The defense of even a single air base against atomic attack involves an extensive radar installation as well as many fighters and guided missiles. The cost of the equipment and the number of highly trained personnel required are too high to make feasible the effective defense of a large number of advanced bases. Even if such a base itself were adequately defended, this is hardly likely to be so for the cities of the country in which the bases are situated. So the U. S. S. R. could use the policy of the Great Deterrent in reverse: it could threaten atomic attacks on neighboring cities if and only if the local government had allowed American or British atomic bombers to use the bases for atomic attack on a Soviet country. There is no doubt that the neutralization of many advanced bases could, in certain circumstances, be achieved in this way. Thus the NATO powers may be forced to rely increasingly on relatively safe bases in America itself or advanced bases in relatively uninhabited lands, where there is no civil population.

The virtual writing off of the Suez military base, with its huge investment of military capital, is likely to be paralleled elsewhere.

Before it is possible to start thinking about possible changes in British defense policy it is necessary to analyze in some detail what is the real strength and weakness of the policy of the Great Deterrent as applied to British policy and what are its likely consequences. Now the primary aim of all the armed forces of any nation which considers itself peacefully inclined is, of course, to deter an enemy from attacking: it is only when

the deterrent fails to operate that the armed forces have actually to fight. If, in recent years, the Soviets had envisaged the invasion of Western Europe with land forces they would undoubtedly have been deterred from so doing by the existence of the American atomic stockpile. Likewise, if the Western allies had envisaged the invasion of the U. S. S. R. they would have been deterred from so doing by the strength of the Soviet army. Thus these two factors, the American atomic bombs and the Soviet army, have certainly acted as effective deterrents to a third world war breaking out in the past few years.

The H-bomb now available to both sides will undoubtedly constitute a powerful deterrent to the outbreak of a major war in the future. Yet, on the other hand, it has little relevance to the possible outbreak, or conduct of, any minor wars. The weakness of the Great Deterrent as the main basis of NATO defense planning is that by concentrat-

ing so much material effort on the deterrence, by threat of atomic bombardment, of the U. S. S. R. from a full-scale attack on Europe, it weakens our ability to play an effective role in many parts of the world where minor wars may and do continually occur. So, by reducing relatively the land forces, tactical and transport aircrafts, etc., required to fight minor wars, we may find it difficult to prevent such minor wars spreading into bigger wars. In this way, the policy of the Great Deterrent may make a major war more rather than less likely. Serious military and moral problems have already arisen, in Indo-China, due to the fact that the only force available to intervene in a crisis was atomic bombs.

Before the advent of the H-bomb, it was often argued that the lack of defense of British cities was not important and did not inhibit our use of atomic attack on the Soviet Union, because our initial atomic attack would be so devastating as to prevent the enemy replying



Any City

Courtesy St. Louis Post-Dispatch

in kind against our cities. This I always thought dangerous nonsense. For airfields and bases can be far too dispersed and numerous to make possible the interdiction of them all in a short time. Now with H-bombs available to the U. S. S. R., and consequently with far fewer aircraft needed to destroy our cities, there is no hope at all of preventing atomic counterattack by attacking enemy bases in the first few hours or days of an all-out war.

Suppose, for instance, that the armed forces of Russia, or another Communist country, invade in force with ground troops some country in the Western orbit. Then the essence of the New Look policy would be for the West to use atomic bombs on targets in the

U. S. S. R. Sir John Slessor makes perfectly clear that the readiness to be the first to use atomic bombs strategically is an essential element in this policy. The U. S. S. R. would be likely to reply in kind, and the cities of Western Europe would be easy targets. Thus if the New Look policy goes according to plan, any armed aggression by Soviet Communist land forces anywhere, even in relatively small force, would lead, in all probability, to the destruction of London, Paris, and other big European cities. European governments would, of course, be bound to try to stop any atomic attack on the U. S. S. R. in order to save their cities from destruction, and so would try to prevent the New Look policy from being put into operation. One concludes

from this that in any circumstance other than a full-scale Soviet attack on the West, the New Look policy will be found in crisis to be a bluff.

It is in the light of such sombre conclusions as these that a new military defense policy for Britain must be worked out, and with it a new orientation of our foreign policy. Both sets of changes will take time to work out and may prove highly incongenial to many cherished dogmas. For the last nine years military and political thinking in Britain has assumed the decisive superiority of America over the U. S. S. R. in atomic weapons. Now, with H-bomb equality an assumed fact for planning purposes, a drastic and perhaps painful rethinking of this problem is necessary.

IKE'S FARM PROGRAM

Low Prices or Low Politics? . . by Gordon Roth

St. Paul, Minnesota

THE press hailed the passage of the President's flexible farm program as Ike's greatest triumph since the Battle of the Bulge. The President himself proclaimed it a "great and sweeping victory." But a victory over what? Over the Democratic Party? Over communism (as certain remarks in the *Congressional Record* would have you believe)? Or, as the Administration insists, over high food prices? Or merely over the farmers of America?

Look at your family food budget. You are paying four cents more for bread than you were two years ago. Yet in this period the price received by the farmer for his wheat has remained practically unchanged. On August 16, with the fight for the flexible farm program dominating the day's headlines, the retail price of bread went up—but not the price of wheat.

The Administration, hungry for the votes of the big food consumers—in other words the big-city vote, the nor-

mally Democratic vote—has enthusiastically embraced an illusion and sold a good part of the country on it. The illusion is that 90 per cent parity, as provided under the old law, is to blame for high food prices, and that all that is needed to cut the price of food is to lower government-price supports and make farmers sell for less.

In the long run everyone will be victimized by the Administration illusion. But the immediate victim is the farmer.

PARITY is a complicated formula for farm prices which is supposed to assure the farmer a fair return for the things he sells in relation to the cost of the things he must buy. It is not a price guarantee; it is rather a goal, an objective. The farmer hasn't been getting parity prices for quite a while—the national average is 12 per cent below. He did get a taste of parity during World War II, but it was just a taste because government-imposed ceilings kept food prices from breaking through the stratosphere.

The farm problem is not one of scarcity but of abundance. Everyone agrees that in the interests of the na-

tional welfare it is essential that we have an abundant supply of food. But when does abundance end and a surplus begin? Surpluses, if uncontrolled, obviously depress the price of all that the farmer raises. That is the basic philosophy justifying government support of farm prices. It emerges in sharpest form during war emergencies. Everyone remembers the World War II slogan, "Food will win the war and keep the peace." The farmer did his part—he produced and produced and produced. In return the government gave him 90 per cent of parity on most of his products and at the same time took over the surpluses. Today these same surpluses are used to determine parity and acreage reductions. The reasoning is complicated but the effect can be put in simple language: The farmer is being asked to assume the cost of his surplus contribution towards the prosecution of the war.

Industry and labor, during the same period, also created surpluses—in guns, battleships, airplanes. But in this case neither industry nor labor has been asked to assume the cost. Rather the surpluses are being paid for by the American people as a whole—including the

GORDON ROTH is editor of the *Coop Grain Quarterly*, organ of the *National Federation of Grain Cooperatives*.

farmer—through an increase in the national debt which will be amortized over several generations. Is there any justification for treating farm surpluses any differently?

Bearing in mind that under present conditions 75 per cent or even 80 per cent of parity means a price level at or near disaster for most farmers, let us look at what the new flexible program does for agriculture. The law provides a flexible 82½ to 90 per cent of parity price support in 1955 on wheat, corn, rice, peanuts, as well as on cotton. After next year the parity range will be from 75 to 90 per cent. There is no price support for cattle, hogs, or sheep. Dairy products are already below the 75 to 90 per cent parity system; the effect is that dairy farmers are getting 75 per cent of parity. The Administration is not required to support the price on feed grains, potatoes, and oil crops, although the Secretary of Agriculture is empowered at his discretion to support these commodities at anywhere from 1 to 90 per cent.

Hardest hit is the wheat farmer, who will take a 7.5 per cent cut on his support price next year. And to be eligible for even this much he must take 30 per cent of his wheat acreage out of production—a cut he has already volunteered to make rather than trust to an open market system which in the 1930's brought him 25 cents a bushel.

One would never know it from listening to the Administration push its program for deflating farm prices, but the truth is that the farmer is now much worse off than he was in the pre-Korean days of 1948. His income is buying about 33 per cent less than it would have bought seven years ago, while many other groups in the population have increased their living standards. The farmers constitute the one big group under pressure to accept a reduced income. There is little wonder that he resents being called a greedy ingrate by the pundits of the press.

THE President is hailed as a statesman because, to put over his flexible farm program, he successfully bucked the opposition within his own party and repudiated, in the process, the "golden promise of parity" which he repeatedly made to farmers in his 1952 campaign. There is certainly no room for ambiguity



Maybe It's Just a Stray, Ezra

Farmers Union Herald

in the way he said it at Brookings, South Dakota:

The Republican Party is pledged to the sustaining of the 90 per cent parity price support, and it is pledged even more than that to helping the farmer obtain his full parity of 100 per cent parity with the guarantee in the price support of 90 per cent.

He broke his pledge in a broadcast last June 10 in which he tried to give the impression that he was above politics because he was trying to solve the farm problem in an election year.

He got a big hand for this statement. Professional pundits seized upon it as the most statesmanlike utterance since Lincoln's Gettysburg address. But it took only six weeks for his words to take on a green tarnish. On July 24 *Business Week*, which has no bias against the Administration, stated:

Eisenhower hopes to cut the G. O. P. in on Democratic city votes. . . . The stand on farm-price supports is an example. The determination to get away from the high, rigid, and expensive supports at 90 per cent of parity is aimed at the city workingman. The idea is that food will cost less if Washington lets farm prices ease down.

Nobody should be surprised that a President should play politics. But folks in the farm belt believe they have a right to be angry with the pundits of the press and radio who have been telling city folks that farmers were villains because they grew too much food and would not give it away. A lot of people believe it.

Ike got what he wanted and in the getting furnished his adversaries with a

text-book lesson on how his Administration operates. When both House and Senate agricultural committees let it be known that they favored keeping price supports at 90 per cent of parity, the Administration swung into action. It brought indirect pressure on Congress by going on the air to address the people. Taxpayers were told: "Play it our way and we will cut your taxes." Housewives were told: "Support us and food will be cheaper." An appeal was made to the American sense of fair play (although in whose behalf was never made very clear). Publicly it was all part of the great crusade. Privately wayward Republicans, especially those up for reelection, were warned to toe the line.

At the same time the Administration forced various farm-commodity groups into line. Wool growers were threatened with a loss of their 90 per cent of parity price supports. So were tobacco growers. Dairy farmers, particularly in the Eastern states, whose prices were already down to 75 per cent of parity, were told that the flexible farm program would mean cheaper feed prices for them.

And behind the whole Administration campaign there hung a potential threat to the nation's entire farm economy. Give us the flexible farm program, the White House and Secretary Benson told Congress, or the President will veto a fixed 90 per cent parity law. Such a veto would have left the existing 75 per cent parity price support law in force and proven even a bigger blow to farmers than the President's program.

The Administration won with battering rams, flame throwers, and the paper

legions of the Farm Bureau, 1,600,000 strong. It was indeed a great victory. But now the Republicans are wondering at what price. There is prayerful hope that the farmers are not as angry as reports indicate; there is hope that they sympathize with the President's view that no matter how much it hurts the farmer, this is the program America needs. Maybe so. As columnist Doris Fleeson wrote: "Republicans are relying upon a combination of the farmer's nor-

mal voting habits, the Eisenhower prestige and the American Farm Bureau Federation to prevent a serious break-away. . . . They expect the Farm Bureau, in a sense the aristocracy of the farm organizations, to help with the House districts in the farm belt, both with money and time."

But the farmer is learning. The parity ratio—that statistical and by no means mythical expression of the farmer's purchasing power—is lower than it has

been for thirteen years? Congressional farm leaders are angrily arguing that the farmer has suffered enough recently and that the President is jeopardizing the prosperity of the whole country by weakening the support given to the most vulnerable section of the economy.

He may still be popular in many areas, but he had better make up his mind that he will have to do some mighty tall talking between now and November. Farmers are hard to fool twice.

IRAN'S FABULOUS OIL

And Some Popular Fables . . by A. Kessel

AN agreement settling the long-standing Iranian oil dispute has been initiated between the Iranian government and a consortium—cartel is not a very respectable word—of eight oil companies. Congratulatory notes have criss-crossed among the President of the United States, the Shah, Mr. Eden, and the various ambassadors, ministers, and oil company officials concerned, not to speak of Herbert Hoover, Jr., who seems to have been rewarded with something more concrete than congratulations. The New York Times called the agreement "a diplomatic victory for the West." The Iranians have been told that they are now embarked on a new era of national progress and prosperity. And the Shah and his ministers, renewing their "two years of treason" campaign against the former Mossadegh regime, are exhorting the Iranian parliament to ratify the agreement or else.

These widespread expressions of optimism are based on a number of misconceptions which have been sedulously propagated internationally ever since Iran nationalized its oil in 1949. For instance it has been widely publicized that Iran's general economy, as well as the



Shah of Iran

government's revenues, are dependent upon the continued flow of black gold. This is a shockingly false picture. Let us examine the allegation in the light of four criteria: the oil industry's contribution to the national budget; its contribution to the national income; its contribution to employment, and, finally, its role in the life of the Iranian people.

The National Budget. The highest annual net money return to the Iranian government by the oil industry was in 1948-49 and amounted to \$30,000,000. The national budget that year was approximately \$300,000,000. Thus the oil revenue amounted to about 10 per cent of the national budget. It is true that since most of the oil revenue was in foreign exchange, its value was greater than the figures indicate. But by no stretch of the imagination can the rev-

enue be calculated as forming the "major share" of the national budget.

The National Income. Iran is a large country (over 600,000 square miles), sparsely populated (about 18 to 20 millions), predominantly agricultural, and sadly lacking in statistics. Any estimate of its national income is bound to be hardly more than a reasonable guess. The latest such guess appears in the U. N. Statistical Year Book for 1952, which puts the figure at about \$1,800,000,000 annually during recent years. Experts will affirm that the figure is more likely to be an under- than an overestimate.

How much did the oil industry contribute to the national income? First, there are the cash revenues which accrue directly to the government; second, the wages and salaries earned by Iranians in the industry; third, the goods and services purchased by the industry in Iran. Even at the peak of its operation, the industry employed fewer than 100,000, mostly unskilled labor. Assuming an average income for these workers of \$500 a year (an optimistic guess, about six times greater than the national average), this amounts to \$50,000,000. The industry's purchases in Iran are limited, for its technical equipment, and the non-technical goods and services for its non-Iranian employees, are purchased abroad. If we put the figure at \$20,000,000 a year we are probably overestimating.

Let us recapitulate. Oil royalties at

A. KESSEL is an Iranian engineer, formerly employed by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, who is now a research assistant at the University of Chicago specializing in the problems of underdeveloped areas.

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their peak amounted to \$30,000,000; wages and salaries, \$50,000,000; goods and services, \$20,000,000. The oil industry's total contribution amounted to \$100,000,000—or about 6 per cent of the annual national income of \$1,800,000,000.

Shall we be generous and allow for a figure of 10 per cent?

Employment. Iran's male labor force can be estimated at 5,000,000 persons. The oil industry never employed more than 100,000,000, or about 2 per cent.

Oil Industry's Role. To the vast majority of the people of Iran the oil industry simply does not exist. They get nothing from it directly or indirectly. At least 85 per cent of the people live on a primitive agriculture; 20 per cent still lead a nomadic tribal existence. It has yet to be proven that the oil industry has raised the abysmally low standard of living of these Iranian masses by any substantial amount.

For two years, under Mossadegh's regime, the Abadan refineries were closed with no observable deterioration in the country's standard of living. If anything, conditions improved somewhat—employment was slightly higher, production was up a little, the trade balance was slightly more favorable. If it is true that when the new government took over after last year's pseudo-revolution the national coffers were empty, then this was not because the oil industry had been shut down. The main reasons lie in major shortcomings of the socio-economic organization of Iranian society which have no relation to the oil industry.

WHY was there no settlement of the oil dispute during Mossadegh's regime? The public was given all sorts of reasons: the chauvinistic Iranians had lost their commonsense; the stubborn play-actor, Mossadegh, was unreasonable; the Communists had taken over the country; the Iranian government was refusing to pay compensation to Anglo-Iranian. But there is another and more likely reason which never reached the headlines. The world oil cartel sets the world market price and wants to be able to continue doing so. Mossadegh's terms, in contrast, demanded independence of operation, including sales at prices outside the cartel's control. And it may be said in passing that Iran's production was po-

tentially large enough and cheap enough to have posed a real threat to world prices under such conditions.

Some of the truth did leak out. The *New York Times* of August 26, 1953, wrote of the existing concern "for the world market price system for oil rather than with the question of compensation for Anglo-Iranian." And four days later the *Times* wrote: "If the Anglo-Iranian Company should regain control, the Iranian oil supplies might be channeled into world markets with a minimum of disturbance to prices. . . . Should no agreement be made with Anglo-Iranian, the reentry of Iranian oil in the international market could be serious. Another organization without adequate distribution outlets might drastically reduce prices in order to find a market. This would create chaos in world oil markets, for only a relatively few areas could compete in price with the low-cost production of Iran." On September 22, 1953, the *Times* referred to Iranian oil as "barred from world markets for more than two years by the successful British commercial blockade backed by world oil interests."

THE inside story of the "popular revolt" which overthrew the Mossadegh regime in August last year will be known only after the various secret documents involved are made public. One may safely conjecture, however, that the story given to the press did not tell the whole truth. It may or may not be relevant, for instance, that the "revolution" broke out in Iran only a short time after Mossadegh had succeeded in selling \$3,000,000 worth of oil to the Japanese, and the British had already lost their case in the Japanese courts trying to prevent the unloading of the oil.

The exact terms of the new agreement have not yet been divulged, but it is interesting to compare what we know of them to the terms of the old concession. The now defunct agreement with Anglo-Iranian was scheduled to remain in effect until 1993—approximately another forty years. The new agreement is for twenty-five years with provisions for three automatic renewals of five years each, *i.e.*, a total of forty years. Production, export, marketing, and all other operations are to be carried out by the consortium which, except for the presence of an Iranian member on the board, will be

predominantly non-Iranian. Royalties to the Iranian government will be based on a fifty-fifty sharing of all marketing operations, an arrangement similar to that in Saudi Arabia, and one which American oil interests tried to induce Anglo-Iranian to offer to Iran at the time of nationalization.

It would appear then that the only real gain to the Iranian government in the new agreement is that the American oil companies assume responsibility for compensating Anglo-Iranian (*Time* estimated the amount involved as \$600,000,000) in return for the privilege of sharing the profits.

WHAT are the disadvantages to Iran? One is entitled to wonder, of course, how much the entrance of six powerful American oil companies into the Iranian domestic scene is going to affect the freedom of operation of the Iranian government. Apart from this, there is a more fundamental issue: the gains accruing to a society, especially an underdeveloped one, from the operation of any large industry are not confined to immediate cash returns. There are invaluable indirect factors, such as the creation of a skilled labor force, the growth of subsidiary service industries, the development of new industries related to the first, the creation of a sense of responsibility and managerial know-how on both the local and national level. During the forty years which Anglo-Iranian operated in Iran, such indirect gains to the Iranian economy were infinitesimal. The oil industry has been simply an isolated production island with a minimum number of contacts with the rest of the economy. There is no reason to suppose that the new consortium will act any differently from Anglo-Iranian. Indeed, from the point of view of a company operating solely for profit, there is no other way to act.

On the other hand the gains to Iran of continued independent operation of the nationalized industry in the form of increased self-reliance, a greater sense of political independence, and faster technological development under the pressure of necessity, would have far outweighed the loss in cash revenue. And had there existed no world oil cartel, there is every reason to believe that even the cash revenues would have proved as great as are now promised.

THE CHINA TRADE

Millions—or Mirage? . . by Julian Schuman

AS the British Labor delegation currently touring China has ample reason to know, the Chinese Communists, despite their close political and commercial links with the Russians, make no bones about wanting to trade with the West, including the United States. This is true of the government and of individual Chinese business men, for both recognize that if the five-year plan for industrialization, now in its second year, and the long-range goal of trebling the volume of industry over the next fifteen to twenty years are to be achieved or even approached, large quantities of capital goods and raw materials must be imported. Proud as the Chinese are, they are also extremely hard-headed in business dealings, and their slogan has become, "In business we're not mad at anybody."

IT has been evident in the last two years that the Peking government's ambitious plans for industrialization were making real progress. A great number of new machine-tool factories have sprung up in Shanghai, which was formerly a center of light industry. In Nanking, Hangchow, and Canton, which had very little industry five years ago, small and even fairly large plants are turning out electrical appliances, telephone and telecommunications equipment, lathes, burlap bags, and numerous other articles China never used to produce. The most highly industrialized area is still Manchuria, where Japanese-founded industries have been greatly expanded. On a trip to Mukden late in 1952 I saw a factory the Japanese had built to produce tanks turning out lathes, planes, and other machine tools on a mass basis. Thirty per cent of the equipment was American and British

left over from Nationalist days, 45 per cent had been imported from Russia and Czechoslovakia, and 25 per cent had been made in China under the new regime. Simultaneously, the development of industries in the vast, thinly populated northwest is getting under way. While China experts far removed from the scene will tend to doubt it, the Chinese foresee that this area will eventually become an industrial base even larger than the northeast is at present.

THE British, who have kept their diplomats and business men in China, have taken a long hard look at the situation. They admit that foreign ownership of railroads, public utilities, coal mines, and factories in China is a thing of the past, but they believe that the opportunities for trade are greater than ever. I knew a British business man in Shanghai who was planning to return to England to join a business house engaged in trade with China. He had spent nearly twenty-five of his thirty-eight years working in China in a number of British firms and confidently predicted a further upsurge in British trade as soon as the Korean question was settled. At the same time, like other of his countrymen, he was aware of the growing West German competition. "Some American officials," he said, "have been waxing eloquent about British 'blood trade,' but there has been no mention of the fact that West German exports to Red China jumped to more than twenty million American dollars in the 1953 January-November period. Imports from China went up from around fifteen to more than thirty million."

A Chinese import-export man in Shanghai whose firm has been dealing chiefly with Southeast Asia since the United Nations embargo went into effect in 1951 summed up the prevailing opinion of the China market: "It's true only a small part of American foreign trade in the last twenty years has been with China, but this must be viewed

in the context of a China in the grip of civil war, militarily a war zone, politically divided, economically graft-ridden, and dominated to a large extent by the Japanese. Whether Americans like it or not, changes are going on. The twelve-year runaway inflation, when speculation largely replaced investment and commercial activity, is at an end. New factories are going up, attempts are being made to modernize farming methods, mines and oil wells are being opened, power plants are being built. All this calls for materials, for both building and operating."

Before Chiang Kai-shek's defeat in 1949, oil products, cotton and rayon textiles, food and tobacco were China's chief imports. In 1946 such items accounted for nearly 57 per cent of the total value of imports. Industrial equipment and machine tools accounted for less than 3 per cent. China's annual trade deficit averaged U.S. \$153,000,000 between 1926 and 1946 and in 1946 rose to nearly \$500,000,000. These figures are based on government reports.

Since the beginning of 1950 the situation has changed drastically. In that year, according to Peking statistics, China achieved a favorable balance in foreign trade for the first time in

Japan's View

Tokyo

The Japanese Government has announced that the ban has been lifted on export of 17 more items to Communist China. This is the fourth series of relaxations on restrictions on trade with China effected since the beginning of this year. In January, 93 items were removed from the embargo list; 43 more items were freed in June and 11 others on September 16. Meanwhile, a twenty-four-member trade mission, issued passports by the Japanese Foreign Office, is in China. —*Journal of Commerce*, October 14, 1953.

JULIAN SCHUMAN spent six years in China as a journalist, three of them as associate editor of the China Monthly Review of Shanghai. He left China last winter.

seventy years. In addition its imports had become very different, though exports remained largely the same. In 1950 iron and steel goods formed 11.3 per cent of imports, machinery 8.3 per cent, rubber 11.5 per cent, rolling stock and ships 3.3 per cent, automobile tires 1.1 per cent. This meant that even before the nation-wide industrialization plan got under way nearly half of China's imports were directly connected with industrial needs. Since 1950 China's trade with both the Russian bloc and the West has shown a continuation of this trend.

It is claimed by Chi Chao-ting, general secretary of the official China Committee for the Promotion of International Trade and a member of the board of directors of the Bank of China, that "the United States-inspired embargo and blockade measures failed to create difficulties for China economically." On the contrary, says Chi, who did graduate work in the United States and held a high post in the Nationalist Bank of China, "China's foreign trade has continued to grow. The expansion is the result of the shift in the direction of China's trade—toward the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. In 1950 trade with these countries constituted only 26 per cent of China's total foreign commerce. In 1951 it rose to 61 per cent, and by last year it was over 70 per cent."

The Chinese realize, however, that their plans for rapid industrialization make it impossible for these countries to satisfy their needs. And they know that the United States could help supply the almost insatiable market they hope will be created by their present capital construction—the market for farm machinery, food-processing equipment, trucks, drilling machinery, sawmills, dredges, chemicals, power-plant equipment, locomotives and rails, and so on. Their fail-

ure to develop trade with America has forced them to look to West Europe and Japan for needs not met by Russia and its satellites. In the second half of last year China signed commercial agreements with French, British, Japanese, and Indonesian trade groups in Peking. More recently officials in the Bonn government have come out strongly for more trade with China.

China can export tungsten, coal, antimony, tin, mica, manganese and some other minerals, eggs and egg products, hides, tung oil, soy beans, pig bristles, and handicraft articles. Official Chinese trade circles have pointed out that minerals exports can be greatly increased by the development of the virtually untapped northwest and southwest. Judging by already explored deposits, China ranks fourth in coal resources. In 1937 it produced 70 per cent of the world's antimony, 37 per cent of its tungsten, and ranked fifth in the output of tin.

WHILE not an important item in the trade with the West, smuggling through Hongkong provides China with some of the goods it wants from the United States. I knew a Chinese in Shanghai who bought a number of 1953 De Sotos in Hongkong and brought them across the border. British business men in Hongkong told me that American firms also engaged in such clandestine trade, chiefly through their subsidiaries in Japan. Another charge going the rounds is that even Formosan firms trade with the mainland. It is a fact that the majority of late-model automobiles in China today are American. The Chinese calmly admit that despite the "extra" cost they are cheaper than Russian cars. Most new trucks, however, are of Russian- or Czechoslovak manufacture.

Because of the embargo a good portion of the goods involved in recent deals with Britain, West Germany, France, Japan, Belgium, Italy, and Switzerland has not been forthcoming, though the British and Japanese have succeeded in getting some items removed from the banned list. Meanwhile, West European business men who have come to China have made it clear they are biding their time until a Korean settlement is arrived at and the embargo ended.

Americans with whom I have discussed the possibility of trade with

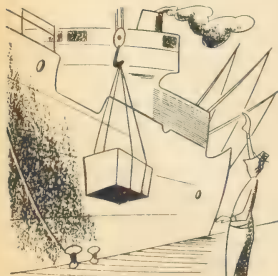
Germany's View

Bonn

Two high West German officials called this week-end for a further increase in the Bonn republic's growing trade with Communist China. One of the officials was Hans-Cristoph Seeböhm, Minister of Transport. He is believed to be the first of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's Cabinet ministers to go on record publicly as in favor of more business dealings with the Peking regime at this time. The other official was Wilhelm Kaisen, president of the senate of the city-state of Bremen. . . . Both men spoke last night at Hamburg before 700 West German business men at an annual dinner of the East Asia Union, a powerful north German traders' association that has recently been exerting pressure on the Bonn government for full freedom for West German vessels to deliver cargoes to Chinese Communist harbors.—*New York Herald Tribune, March 15, 1954.*

China are concerned about its political implications. "How can we be expected to help Red China industrialize?" they ask; on the other hand, "perhaps large-scale trade with Peking would help win the Chinese away from the Russians." They also want to know how the Chinese would pay. The Chinese say they prefer barter, but they do have gold and foreign currency and have been known to use it for goods they thought essential. If trade should develop, the question of credits to the Chinese would naturally arise. A typical Chinese reply to the question of payment is, "Well, the British, Germans, and French are not in business for their health and they seem to have found a way to get paid." This, of course, is not a complete answer to Americans, who can reply that the goods China can sell to Europe are not really needed by us.

How large Western trade with China will become in the immediate future is difficult to estimate. But it may occur even to a very skeptical American business man that should China develop into the huge market its spokesmen foresee he may some day find himself out in the cold as a result of having let others get in ahead of him.



BOOKS

Failure of the Citizen?

THE TREASON OF THE PEOPLE. By Ferdinand Lundberg. Harper and Brothers. \$4.50.

By H. H. Wilson

IN AN attempt to balance the scales of political criticism too frequently loaded against Congress, executive, "bureaucrat," or politician, Ferdinand Lundberg, author of "America's 60 Families" and "Imperial Hearst," has written a scathing denunciation of the "fifth branch" of democratic government—the citizenry. Noting the common predilection for making the government the scapegoat and whipping boy for all public disappointments, Lundberg suggests that this practice is rather "an unhealthy evasion of responsibility by the citizens" than a constructive response. He concludes that the formal, procedural, institutional aspects of our national government function fairly well, while "the informal, popular, social, and local aspects function at from zero to no more than 50 per cent of efficiency." The result is "that our vaunted democracy is to a vast extent illusory, not in its formal and professional superstructure, but in its foundations, among the people."

To document this thesis chapters are devoted to analysis of popular response to the seven major duties which Lundberg believes to be the responsibilities of democratic citizens. He lists these duties as the obligation to vote, to serve on juries, to pay taxes, to uphold, observe and aid in the enforcement of laws, to practice a common forbearance, to defend the country, and to be informed. Few observant persons will care to challenge the specific evidence marshalled to demonstrate "that the people as a whole . . . have to a very large and demonstrable extent betrayed the broad conception of the common good that is

integral to the democratic philosophy."

Examination of voting behavior provides slight encouragement to those who believe that free people wish to determine their own political destinies. In practice most citizens abstain from voting, apart from Presidential elections. All but 25 per cent of those who do vote do so mechanically according to party labels, largely determined by how the voters' fathers voted. Only when their native bigotry and intolerance are aroused do significant numbers of the faithful desert the party ticket. In any case the majority of the voters, Lundberg finds, cannot vote intelligently because of ignorance or the complexity of issues.

NO greater responsibility is shown in fiscal affairs. The fact that taxes are greater than ever before does not mean, in Mr. Lundberg's judgment, that we are eager to support our government with adequate revenue. Actually taxes have been introduced to meet emergency demands and almost never willingly accepted for long-range social improvement. Furthermore, taxes have had to be imposed indirectly so that people would not notice them. There is no public opinion to support any planned rational expenditure; only a minor portion of tax funds goes to the support of essential social and cultural improvements: Some two-thirds of the revenue goes to pay for past, present, or future wars. Lundberg believes the facts deny the facile assumption that citizens are better qualified than the government to spend money for the common good. "What the people prefer (as the good life) is shown by their voluntary expenditures." And they spend for alcoholic beverages more than all public or private expenditures for education and libraries. "That the American destiny is to a very considerable extent in the hands of this infantile electorate, which fritters away a large part of its substance while humanly serious projects are delayed or starved, is a sobering fact to contemplate."

Dependent as it is on the largely vol-

untary service of citizens as jurors and witnesses, the judicial system fails to achieve approximate efficiency or even justice. The difficulty of getting respectable citizens to serve on juries is widely recognized and the need to overcome reluctance to serve as witness is testified to by the widespread use of subpoenas. Beyond this is the fact, says Mr. Lundberg, "that the greatest profits, rewards, and public advancements lie on the side of putting in with the lawbreakers. American society, indeed, is a society of pirates—not of a few highly placed pirates but of pirates scattered about heavily through all strata of society."

Popular willingness to defend the country has been no more spontaneous in democratic than in autocratic nations. No modern government has ever permitted the people to vote on the issue of war and no government can rely upon voluntary enlistments to provide for the defense of the nation. Although there were many voluntary war workers in World War II, Lundberg believes that a majority of American civilians looked upon the war as an opportunity to make money. And the government, apart from the customary formal references to democracy and patriotism, recognized this by manipulating the price system and making possible high wages, production bonuses, and cost-plus contracts.

Perhaps nothing more clearly demonstrates popular antipathy to the principles of democracy than the prevalence of a virulent racism. "Instead of finding among our people," observes Mr. Lundberg, "widespread tolerance of natural and cultural differences, and mutual forbearance, in accord with the democratic idea, we actually find them divided into mutually hostile groups that are appeased and led to cooperate, when they do, only by being given special concessions." Apart from racial and religious bigotry, he concludes that "civil liberties . . . are used for the most part against the realization of democracy, and relatively few persons put them to use for authentic democratic ends."

Possibly the most useful sections of the book are those which treat the operations of pressure groups—business, labor, farm, religious. It is no small service to have deflated much of the pseudo-scientific jargon with which some writers have sought to disguise the fact that "pressure groups are produc-

H. H. WILSON, a contributing editor of The Nation, is professor of political science at Princeton and author of "Congress: Corruption and Compromise."

NEXT WEEK

Tyranny on Trial
by Whitney R. Harris

Hitler's Europe
Edited by Arnold Toynbee and
Veronica M. Toynbee

Modern Company
by Koppel S. Pinson

German History:
Some New German Views
Edited by Hans Kohn

Governing Postwar Germany
by Edward H. Litchfield
and Associates

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Heroes of the Empty View
by James Aldridge

Reviewed by Edgar Snow

Adventure in Freedom
by Oscar Handlin

Reviewed by Henry Popkin

tive of more instability in American society and politics than any other force. . . ."

This is a curious book in which the author makes his case by contrasting the principles enunciated by democratic theorists with the actual behavior of Americans. The specific facts are those normally compiled by anti-democrats to prove the futility of democratic politics. Yet Mr. Lundberg writes as an avowed democrat and avers conservative criticism by making explicit his hostility to statism, communism, or socialism. In a sense this is a nihilist tract for, although it is focused on American politics, as presented it is an indictment of human beings. No people have ever lived up to the standards demanded by democratic theory. It is doubtful that democratic theorists anticipated complete participation by more than a significant minority of the citizenry. And surely most exponents have assumed that the strongest case for democratic politics derived from consideration of alternatives.

For this reviewer the most serious reservation is a matter of emphasis. Mr. Lundberg has perhaps insufficiently

stressed the sources of individual behavior which he condemns. He fails to point out that cultural coercion is the most powerful determinant of individual response. Since culture is man-made it may be argued that in the large sense this is the responsibility of individuals, but in practice culture expresses the values and practices of the dominant class. The United States is a business, a commercial society in which the commercial standards have permeated and dominated every institution. There is no competing class or cultural standard to challenge these values. There is no politically significant group in the country which is genuinely devoted to the general welfare, committed to true conservative values, or devoted to democratic principles. There is little merit in condemning ordinary citizens for irresponsible behavior, lack of public spirit, inadequate conceptions of the "good life," or self-seeking when the major "educational" forces in society constantly inculcate these standards. From the beginning of this nation the government was looked upon by all save a handful of genuine conservatives as a great sowsmother to be milked by those who had access to power. Politics was considered merely a device to be manipulated for personal or class gain. Since the "best people," those who had access to power, privilege, and wealth accepted this as normal it is not surprising that each successive group, as it in turn gained access to power, decided to be "practical." Given the wealth of the nation, a sparse population, and no international relations, it cannot be denied that the system worked moderately well and undoubtedly contributed to the speed with which the nation's resources were developed. It is a philosophy totally inadequate and ultimately destructive of our professed values in the present era. An interdependent society based on a complex technology forces the development of a welfare state. Whatever the underlying philosophy, governments must increasingly and continuously direct, control, and stimulate large segments of social activity. This demands the most responsible kind of behavior on the part of individuals and groups. Our task is rendered infinitely difficult because we have no tradition and no class to provide an example of public service and self-restraint.

YOUNG PEOPLE!

ASK YOUR TEACHERS, PASTORS, PARENTS

(Beyond selling space for publication of the accompanying material, *The Nation* is not to be held responsible for statements contained in the material)

Ask respectfully why it is that in High School and College you can learn what scholars have to say about the history of many countries, but that our educational system gives you no corresponding scholarly instruction about the history of the Hebrew nation.

According to the first five books of the Bible, our ideas about God were given as a revelation from heaven upon Mount Sinai in the wilderness of Arabia. But a new translation of the Bible has just been made by scholars from our leading institutions of higher learning, who do not accept the story of revelation in the first five Scriptural books.

Scholars today, in Harvard, Yale and other great universities, teach that our ideas about God, instead of being given on a mountain in the desert, were developed through a very intriguing process of evolution in the land of Canaan, or Palestine. But young people are completely shut out from this new and highly interesting way of teaching Hebrew history and the Bible.

Our educational system, then, is actually a party to your exclusion from the results of modern scientific research into Hebrew history and the Bible. And as long as this appalling situation remains unchanged, you should not be criticised if you are bored by orthodox religious exhortation. But bear in mind, when raising the question with your teachers, pastors and parents, that they are carrying serious burdens, and are more solicitous for your welfare than you fully realize. Friendly discussion and not controversy is what we need today.—Suggestions will be found in a circular which will be forwarded to young people, from eighteen to eighty, in return for a three cent stamp to cover postage. (Requests without a stamp will bring no result.)—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

Selected New Books

Belles-Lettres

THE CREATIVE ELEMENT. By Stephen Spender. British Book Center. \$3.25. The chief focus of Mr. Spender's criticism is the relation between modern literature and political reality. He finds the three currently prevailing tendencies to be Marxism, secular authority, and Christianity.

THE GOLDEN HORIZON. Edited by Cyril Connolly. British Book Center. \$5.50. This anthology of the best of *Horizon* is notable for excellent personal impressions of World War II and vivid essays on European literary figures.

PERSPECTIVES USA No. 8. Viking. \$1.50. The Ford Foundation's quarterly selection of representative American writing contains a significant discussion by Paul J. Tillich of depersonalization in modern society.

THE IDENTITY OF YEATS. By Richard Ellmann. Oxford. \$6. The complicated symbolic and philosophic underpinning of Yeats's work is

lucidly traced through his career with the aid of detailed exegeses and compared revisions of his poems. A book essential to the understanding of Yeats.

DEAREST FATHER. By Franz Kafka. Schocken Books-Noonday Press. \$5. A rich collection of drafts, meditations, fragments, and autobiographical material drawn from Kafka's manuscripts.

JOHN RUSKIN. By Joan Evans. Oxford. \$4.25. Letting Ruskin speak for himself as far as possible, this biography includes recently discovered facts about his marital difficulties, and gives a very fair evaluation of his art criticism and political ideas.

WYNDHAM LEWIS. By Hugh Kenner. New Directions. \$2.50. The first book on one of the most paradoxical of modern authors sharply demonstrates the results of his war on Time and the Self.

JACOB KORG

Fiction

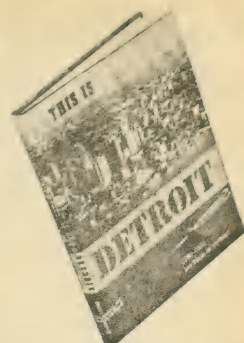
THE RAMAYANA. As Told by Aubrey Menen. Scribner's. \$3.50. This wry and pointed retelling of the Ramayana—ancient Hindu classic—is a joy to read. Prince Rama's adventures are brilliant and frequently ribald comments on the human situation. While Aubrey Menen's ideas are uneven, his wit turns an epic of antiquity into a new gem; a delightful cross between "Candide" and "The Decameron."

THE BATTLE DONE. By S. Leonard Rubinstein. Morrow. \$3.50. A novel of German P. O. W.'s in the United States, featuring the hard-boiled approach and machine-gun dialogue. The central situation is dramatic: a Jewish "intellectual" as non-com in control of German prisoners. This is a fast and readable book, although the story of the German P. O. W. in America has yet to be given full literary dimension.

THE SAGE OF CANUDOS. By Lucien Marchal. Translated from the French by Charles Duff. Dutton. \$3.95. Lucien Marchal successfully recreates a fantastic nineteenth-century city-state in the backlands of Brazil. A surging novel, combining power, idealism, and courage with every possible bestiality, set in a locale of compelling interest.

SIDESTREET. By Robert O. Bowen. Knopf. \$3. The horrendous female neurotic gets another treatment in Robert O. Bowen's new novel. Respectability, puritanism, and emotional frigidity are "exposed" in what has become a neo-traditional pattern. Bowen, however, does produce some sensitively underwritten work despite limited material.

THE LONG SHIPS. By Frans G. Bengtsson. Translated from the Swedish by Michael Meyer. Knopf. \$4.50.



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THE ESCAPE OF SOCRATES. By Robert Pick, Knopf, \$3.95. Robert Pick draws new meaning from the fate of Socrates. Demagogues lead the citizens of a troubled democracy to deny their own traditions and destroy a brilliant mind. A provocative

book, despite a rather pedantic narrative.

WALKING ON BORROWED LAND.

By William A. Owens. Bobbs-Merrill, \$3.50. This story of Negroes in an Oklahoma community is far more effective than most examples of "problem" fiction. No simple prototypes here—of either race—but fully drawn human beings with the strength and weakness of humanity itself. A sensitive novel which sees hope as well as despair in the American Negro's struggle against bigotry.

STANLEY COOPERMAN

New Books in Brief

Jefferson in France

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Vol. IX: 1 November, 1785, to 22 June, 1786. Edited by Julian P. Boyd; Mina R. Bryan, Associate Editor. Princeton: \$10.

The ninth volume of the "Papers" covers a short eight months of Jefferson's ministry to France and includes some five hundred-odd documents as well as notes on fifty-one others that either have disappeared or were not worth presenting in full. Two hundred and three come from Jefferson himself, the rest from his correspondents.

A comparison of this volume with the previous collections of Jefferson's writings for this period is an impressive index of the quantitative addition to Jeffersonian scholarship that is being made by the "Papers." Most of the new material, of course, consists of letters to Jefferson, and their interest and significance can hardly be exaggerated. The qualitative contribution made by the "Papers" is equally impressive. Here one sees Jefferson's career in as sharp focus as will ever be attainable. Perhaps the most comprehensive impression one receives from this volume is that of Jefferson's inextinguishable zeal and success in making himself useful to his country, to France, and to everyone, friend or stranger, who came within his orbit. During these months he made his one real visit to England, where what he remembered with most pleasure was the gardens, the one department of the arts in which, in his opinion, the English

excelled. Charles Williams, in whom the editors are interested beyond the strict line of duty, dies; and the unforgettable John Ledyard enters Jefferson's life. Needless to say, there is much else in these crowded pages.

Colum's Flowers

THE VEGETABLE KINGDOM. By Padraic Colum. Indiana, \$2.75.

There is a cleavage in modern poetry that corresponds rather exactly to that between representational and abstract painting, and by now the Indiana University Poetry Series seems definitely to have aligned itself on the side of the representational. As Volume VI in the series, editor Samuel Yellen has issued Padraic Colum's book of flowers.

The joy of poetry is that every kind of excellence is possible: preclude your attitudes and you immediately become an aesthetic fossil. One turns to Colum anticipating the excellences of simplicity. Fine. But one ends in the disappointment of having found more simplicity than excellence. At times, indeed, one wonders what Colum could have been thinking, as when he tells us that geraniums "Last but as long/As the red paint/Or whitewash coat/On door, on wall." Certainly there is no argument about the whitewash, but a coat of red paint that doesn't outlast a long series of geraniums is a poor coat of paint indeed.

The point would be picky were the example not symptomatic of a far-reaching let-down in the poet's principle of

selection. The perceptions and connections Colum offers the reader seem too easy, generally, and too little examined. So we have little monologues from the flowers, or they are compared to the lips of ancient queens, or to nymphs, or to girls, until one begins wearily to foresee too much of the gesture of the poem.

It may well be precisely to the point that the two most successful pieces in this collection—Flowering Quince and Marigolds—are not about flowers at all but about the author's passionate recollection of time as suggested by flowers. At once the poems become, not valentines, but love letters to the world, and good ones. A capable book, but dull.

Impressionism in England

THE COURTAULD COLLECTION. A Catalogue and Introduction by Douglas Cooper, with a Memoir of Samuel Courtauld by Anthony Blunt. University of London. Distributed by John de Graff, New York. \$15.

While this book might be described as a full-dress catalogue of a great collection, designed for libraries, scholars, and connoisseurs, its introductory essay has considerable general interest. It offers a detailed study of English taste in art from about 1870 to about 1920 and a reappraisal of the connections between England and the Impressionists. Samuel Courtauld collected Impressionists (Manet's Bar at the Folies Bergère) before he moved on to the post-Impressionists. The works he bequeathed to the Tate Gallery and the University of London, taken together with the criticism of Roger Fry, transformed English taste more profoundly than any other single influence.

In his introduction Douglas Cooper takes advantage of the opportunity to explore the effects of the several visits to London of Monet, Sisley, and Pissarro. It is usually supposed that the study these masters made of the water colors and oils of Constable, Turner, and Bonington (while they sat out the war of 1870 in London), were a powerful stimulus in the direction that came to be called Impressionism. Cooper denies this by pointing to the lack of real change in their work in the early seventies. He believes that if they had not come to England at all, their art would have evolved in the same way. In

1902, however, Pissarro wrote an English friend that "the water colors and paintings of Turner and of Constable, the canvases of Old Crome, have certainly had an influence upon us." Cooper quotes another passage of this letter but unaccountably omits this portion of it, which may be found in Rewald's "The History of Impressionism" (page 213).

Another turn of events that Cooper stresses is the lack of solid support of the Impressionists by Whistler, who was enthusiastic enough at first. Being too much the aesthete, he shied away from their "raw sensations."

On Nature Writers

W. H. HUDSON. By Ruth Tomalin. Philosophical Library. \$3.50.

THOREAU. By William Condry. Philosophical Library. \$3.50.

These two pleasant little books suggest the beginning of a series on "nature writers." Neither is much more than a hundred pages long, and both combine biography with an account of the subject's themes and style. Hudson proves to be as always somewhat elusive; Thoreau is crisp as he always is in competent hands. Perhaps the fact that the one

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liked to believe he had fulfilled himself, the other that he had somehow been frustrated, has something to do with the difference. Hudson always professed to believe that his life had been most meaningful during his youth in South America, to which nevertheless he chose never to return. Thoreau proclaimed exultingly that he had been born on the most fortunate spot on earth, and he never left it. For literary purposes at least Thoreau's "adjustment" was complete, Hudson's very imperfect; and therefore, perhaps, Thoreau had a gospel to preach, Hudson mostly only a memory to pursue. Both little books are very readable, although Miss Tomalin's seems less conclusive if only because her subject reached no conclusion.

Records

B. H. Haggin

STRAUSS'S "Salome" has always seemed to me to contain his best operatic music, along with the dreadful Dance of the Seven Veils; and as late as last spring, on the occasions of the City Center production and the Columbia recording, I heard power and beauty achieved much of the time by the enormously complex writing, though I was aware also of moments of orchestral luxuriance out of control of artistic purpose or taste. But listening now to the new London recording I have heard much more that seemed to me tawdry, banal, and contrived, and very little that seemed to me powerful and beautiful. What remains most impressive—though it too has its bad moments—is the final scene.

The London recording offers a beauti-

fully finished performance by the superb Vienna State Opera ensemble under Clemens Krauss. Christel Goltz, the Salome, also sang this part in the Oceanic recording and will sing it at the Metropolitan this season; the dramatic force of her singing is diminished somewhat by the tremulousness of her otherwise fine voice, but fortunately it is steadiest in the final scene. There is excellent singing by Hans Braun (Jochanaan), Margareta Kenney (Herodias), Anton Dermota (Narraboth), Ludwig Weber, and others; but the outstanding dramatic singing of the performance—amazing in what it achieves with an old voice—is Julius Patzak's as Herod. Krauss secures from the Vienna Philharmonic a beautiful realization of the orchestral part, and holds singers and or-

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chestra together in a well-integrated progression that is excellently reproduced. I recall Reiner's performance of the final scene with Welitch as beginning more slowly, and therefore with greater breadth and power, but as being reproduced with sound that lacked warmth and brightness.

A new Cetra recording of "La Traviata" has given me my first hearing of the young soprano Maria Callas who also will be singing at the Metropolitan this season. She turns out to have a remarkable gift of dramatic vocal utterance that projects the kind of power Danilova projected with her movements; and one thing remarkable about it is that the greatest power is projected by the subtle inflections of her quiet singing, in which her voice is most beautiful, rather than by the vehement singing in which the voice—either because of faulty production or because it is driven too hard—becomes strident. There is good singing by the tenor Francesco Albanese; the baritone of Ugo Savarese is a little rough. It is a singers' performance, in which the conductor, Gabriele Santini, merely follows as they lead—which is to say we hear nothing remotely like the shaping of a continuous progression that is the outstanding characteristic of the Toscanini performance.

CETRA also offers a similar "Rigoletto" conducted by Angelo Questa, with Lina Pagliughi, who sings with restored beauty of voice; Tagliavini, who produces ear-ravishing sounds in half-voice but less agreeable ones when he sings loud and high; Giuseppe Taddei (Rigoletto), who exhibits the power of his baritone even in passages that seem to me to call for delicacy; and Giulio Neri

(Sparafucile), who does the same with his bass.

This seems a good point at which to speak of the Scala LP records with dubbings of acoustical recordings of the young Ponselle (803), the young Schipa (805), Emmy Destinn at various stages of her career (804), and Maria Barrientos (806), who was at the Metropolitan a few years from about 1917. Barrientos exhibits her lovely small voice, her agility and security in florid passages, and the liberties coloratura sopranos permitted themselves with the music they sang; and the record also offers unimpressive performances by the tenor Hipolito Lazaro. Barrientos has one duet with Riccardo Stracciari, whose impressive baritone is heard also on a record of his own (802). The surprise of the Destinn record is not the superb dramatic soprano of her later recordings, but the lovely lyric soprano of the recordings that I presume were made in her pre-1908 Berlin days—of arias from Meyerbeer's "Robert le diable" in German, of an aria from Dvorak's "Rusalka" also in German, of a Hummel "Hallelujah."

Schipa exhibits much the same fine light tenor and breath-taking style as in his electrical recordings a few years later—but the voice a little fresher and with a little more velvet, the style including occasional liberties in phrasing that his good taste was later to eliminate. As for Ponselle, the record gives us the unique sumptuous and luscious beauty of her voice in its first years that is reproduced by only very few of the electrical recordings reissued by RCA Victor (the arias from "La Vestale" are the ones I remember); but it gives us also evidence of her early deficiencies as a musician—the worst being her alterations of two phrases in the *Casta diva* from "Norma" to provide a couple of added high notes.

One of the arias on the Ponselle record is *Selva opaca* from Rossini's "William Tell," which moved Berlioz, in his great review of this opera, to observe correctly that "Rossini has . . . written few pieces as elegant, as fresh, as distinguished in their melody, and as ingenious in their modulations as this one." And noting in addition the writing for the orchestra, Berlioz exclaimed: "This is poetry, this is music, this is art—beautiful, noble, and pure; just as its votaries would have it always."

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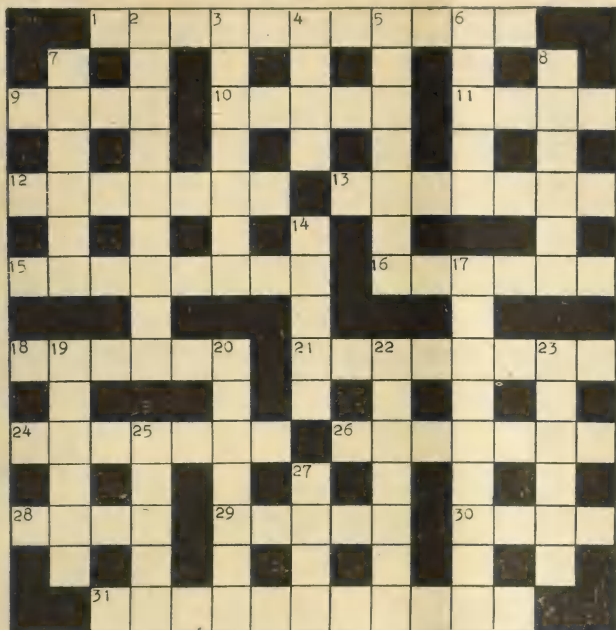
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Crossword Puzzle No. 584

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1, 12 and 9. Sounds as though someone in the Merchant of Venice might be searching for French pastry! (4, 2, 5, 2, 5, 4)
- 10 See 11.
- 11, 10 and 29. Fowler's unrewarding pursuit suggests the banker's mad in more ways than one. (4, 5, 5)
- 12 See 1 across.
- 13 Sort of 14 found in the dilapidated red barn. (7)
- 15 Might it also be suitable for winter quarters, in an insipid sort of way? (4, 4)
- 16 Proper, yet not properly seated. (6)
- 18 This tree is somewhat more than a light wood. (6)
- 21 Only a sinecure would be so little disturbed by being exposed to danger. (8)
- 24 Halices. (7)
- 26 Quit 14, to a degree. (7)
- 28 and 5 down. They might sound like nurses, if shoemakers have one drawback. (4, 7)
- 29 See 1 across.
- 30 Right skinny, by the sound of it. (4)
- 31 Motorized, even Miss Conner has red associations. (11)

DOWN

- 2 Finish the synopses in the living room, perhaps. (9)
- 3 The Deacon's Masterpiece was built in this way. (7)

- 4 Obviously the wrong style for Esaul! (4)
- 5 See 28 across.
- 6 Convey with an ash. (5)
- 7 A stair way to an awn. (6)
- 8 Red Article I is just out. (6)
- 14 It's an odd spot, certainly. (5)
- 17 Latched on to a prize for it, no doubt. (9)
- 19 Might seem to look like a paper. (6)
- 20 Bad account in more ways than one. (7)
- 22 Be opposite to what some of the fleet has to do. (7)
- 23 Complained about being tracked? (6)
- 25 Stick in the one with the chisel, perhaps. (5)
- 27 Pledge a piece of the board. (4)

• • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 583

ACROSS:—1 SHORT STORY; 6 SMUT; 10 RAFFLES; 11 LITERAL; 12 NEAT; 13 MARTIAL LAW; 15 INDULGE; 16 DUKE-DOM; 17 GARNETS; 20 CONDOLE; 22 INVETERATE; 23 WHOA; 25 LEARNED; 26 LEONORA; 27 TOSS; 28 ARMAGEDDON.

DOWN:—1 SHRINKING VIOLET; 2 OFF-HAND; 3 TILT; 4 TESTATE; 5 RELATED; 7 MARBLED; 8 TILL WE MEET AGAIN; 9 ATTACKING; 14 BLUESTONE; 18 REVEALS; 19 STRIDER; 20 CATALPA; 21 OCHROID; 24 BORE.

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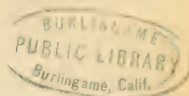
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9/11/54

A "NEW" CHEKHOV STORY



THE *Nation*

September 18, 1954

20¢

Tom Dewey and the G. O. P. Split

by Harvey A. Call

The Formosan War

by Carey McWilliams

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

Trumbull Park: Act II *Robert Gruenberg*

Furor Teutonicus *Frederick L. Schuman*

Letters

Letter from a Soldier

Dear Sirs: It is with an inexpressible feeling of happiness that I receive and read each copy of *The Nation*, even though it takes approximately three weeks to reach me. I am an infantryman in Germany, and your weekly is my only source of information besides the "truth" heard on radio or read in *Stars and Stripes*.

What I see wrong with our generation is its acceptance of everything the leadership of the country does or says. It asks only to be let alone as much as possible. "Let someone else run the country. All I want is a decent job, a wife and kids, and a car and a home."

The big problem is how to awaken my generation to speak up and try to bring a society apparently bent on self-destruction to its senses. We cannot just stand on one side and ignore the facts. Liberals, radicals, non-conformists, intellectuals are all facing destruction in the United States. They had better wake up and speak up before they follow the Indians, for even now they are fast becoming the "Vanishing American."

PVT. SELWYN LEDERMAN

Germany

Excessive Bail

Dear Sirs: The Justice Department has repeatedly violated the intent of our constitutional Eighth Amendment, the first provision of which states that "excessive bail shall not be required." I hope that readers may feel impelled to protest the many instances in which such excessive bail has been required in Smith Act cases that defendants must remain in jail until their appeal has been heard. Confinement in prison pending appeal seriously handicaps preparation of defense briefs, and should a favorable decision be handed down the victim will have served unnecessary months in jail. Political defendants today are being denied a basic right, which is honored only on behalf of those indicted not for their opinions but for offenses which the law recognizes as felonies.

EDNA COLEMAN

New York

C. I. O. and McCarthy

Dear Sirs: At about the same time that Senator Welker of Idaho was saying the C. I. O. was responsible for the Flanders resolution to censure Senator McCarthy, Bernard Nossiter was saying in the July 24 issue of *The Nation* that the C. I. O. and its affiliated unions haven't been sufficiently anti-McCarthy.

Both the Senator and Mr. Nossiter would have difficulty documenting their respective cases.

C. I. O. unions have indeed been critical of the junior Senator from Wisconsin and of the ugly phenomenon of McCarthyism—and pretty continuously so since the Senator started to play with figures in Wheeling, West Virginia. It is ridiculous and erroneous to maintain, as Mr. Nossiter has done, that only the unions expelled from the C. I. O. as Communist-dominated have effectively combatted McCarthy and McCarthyism.

Large numbers of C. I. O. union officials and members recognize all the dangerous implications of these phenomena. They can spot the significance of a reactionary Texas multi-millionaire or an anti-labor bill as well as if not better than Mr. Nossiter. He seems to feel that because C. I. O. unions are anti-Communist, they can't be effectively anti-McCarthy. Mr. Nossiter is wrong, and he ought to take a good look at the record before he writes another discourse on the subject.

HENRY G. FLEISHER,

Publicity Director, C. I. O.

Washington, D. C.

Reply by Mr. Nossiter

Dear Sirs: Mr. Fleisher seems to have missed my points. There were two: that unions have repeatedly denounced McCarthy but failed to back words with deeds; that unions generally have failed to recognize McCarthyism as a pathological but logical extension of the internal anti-Communist drive, and this drive endangers the unions' very existence.

New York

BERNARD NOSSITER

Student Organizations

Dear Sirs: I enjoyed Paul Breslow's article on Students for America in your March 20 issue, but I was disappointed to read Mr. Breslow's reply to Robert Matthews in the issue of August 7, in which the former indicated he was sorry that Students for America had finally been recognized on the Fordham campus.

It would seem to me a good thing for the questioning collegiate political mind to be given a chance to compare the work of Students for America—which is anything but constructive—with the constructive work of such groups as Students for Democratic Action and the National Students Association. Incidentally, both S. D. A. and N. S. A. have been attacked by S. F. A.—quite ineffectively, I might add.

DAVID COHEN

Philadelphia, Pa.

Chinese Student Dilemma

Dear Sirs: You may be interested in the following letter which we have sent to the President:

"We the undersigned are Chinese students who have been engaged in the study of engineering, medical, or natural sciences for various lengths of time in the United States."

"After the completion of certain stages of academic studies, some of us have applied for exit permits either to go back to China or to go to other places. Invariably these applications were refused, and we were told by the immigration authorities that none of the few thousand of Chinese students in the field of technical sciences would be allowed to leave."

"In the seeking of knowledge and wisdom some of the undersigned have had to leave behind their beloved wives and children. In most of the cases the painful separation has already lasted seven years, and their return is still being denied. The plight of others, although not married, is by no means less tragic. Distressed and unsettled, we are forced to let slip through our fingers the best years of our lives..."

"Having been well received by various people we have met in the United States, and having observed at first-hand a democracy at work, under which human rights are held sacred, we feel all the more that preventing us from leaving this country can at best be attributed to a temporary expediency, especially when the persons concerned are guilty of no crime and the sole reason for restraining their departure is their acquisition of technical training. We would respectfully point out that the technical training we have received here involves no codes of secrecy; indeed, the spreading of scientific knowledge and technical know-how has been the very spirit of a great tradition of this country ever since its establishment."

"We sincerely appeal to you, Mr. President, to make it possible for any Chinese student to be allowed to leave the United States whenever he so chooses, and we petition you to revoke this restraining order. In doing so we do not believe that the security of this great nation would be in any way endangered. On the contrary, we are of the opinion that by so doing a firmer bond of friendship and understanding will be established between our two peoples."

CHIA HUA CHANG;
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Volume 179, Number 12
New York, Saturday, September 18, 1954

THE *Nation*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Formosan War . . by Carey McWilliams

TODAY another of what the late Admiral Forrest Sherman called "the little wars" has broken out in Asia—the Formosan war. Simmering for the last four years, it has now entered a new and critical phase. Most Americans are hardly aware of its existence. For most of them, unfortunately, Formosa is terra incognita. Much of what goes on there, and in adjacent waters, is veiled in military secrecy or in diplomatic doubletalk. Two administrations in Washington have refrained from taking the people into their confidence on the issue of Formosa. Up to the present time, also, Formosa has been a sideshow, overshadowed first by events in Korea; more recently, by events in Indo-China. But yesterday's sideshow has become today's main event, and it is high time that the American public took a look at the Formosan war. Some of the relevant "hard" facts are not available but the main outline is clear.

THERE was, first of all, the period of "neutralization." On June 27, 1950, President Truman announced that the Seventh Fleet would be used to shield Formosa and the Pescadores from any mainland attack and, by the same token, to prevent Chiang Kai-shek from striking at the mainland. Nothing was said in the order about the other offshore islands, some two hundred in all. Indeed, we sought to make clear that what happened on or about these islands was none of our business. The Chinese Communists had tried without success to seize Quemoy in October, 1949, and again in July, 1950. At the time of the second attack, the State Department announced that we would not intervene in any Communist attempt to take Quemoy, and all queries along this line were answered by reference to the precise terms of the President's order. Chiang Kai-shek's six divisions, which garrisoned these islands, were carefully omitted from his twenty-one divisions on Formosa which were included in the American training and equipment program. In other words, it was quite clear until recently that we wanted to disclaim any responsibility for these islands—in part, no doubt, because we knew that Chiang was using them for purposes with which we did not want to be identified. What with the excitement over Korea, President Truman's order of June 27, 1950, aroused little immediate opposition although it should have been apparent then that our position was extremely

vulnerable. For the President had acted unilaterally, without U. N. support, in contravention of British opinion and perhaps even of British policy, and without any well-thought-out concept of ultimate aims and intentions. Nor had the Chinese Communists intervened in Korea at the time Formosa was "neutralized."

Long before President Eisenhower acted on February 2, 1953, to "unleash" Chiang's warriors, thereby ushering in the period of "denuclearization," it had become apparent that the original Truman order was more in the nature of a "screen" or "cover" than a shield. For example, as early as December, 1951, the press carried stories of thirteen Chinese Nationalists being killed in a raid on a Red-held island off Fukien—one of numerous similar items. On February 11, 1953, the *Christian Science Monitor* reported from Taipei that in the preceding seven months Nationalists had hit the mainland Communists fifteen times in a series of attacks which involved raiding parties ranging in size from 1,500 to 6,000. As the Nationalist raids continued, the Chinese Communists began to fortify the shore with anti-aircraft batteries, radar, and air power, thereby setting the stage for later developments. All that changed after February 2, 1953, was that a tacit unacknowledged policy under Truman was converted into a declared and open Eisenhower policy. Joseph C. Harsch summed the situation up in this fashion:

Since the end of 1950, the Chinese Nationalists have mounted a steadily increasing number of raids on Communist-held off-shore islands and on the mainland. These raids have been widely publicized. Interviews with returning raiders have been printed frequently, and photographs of prisoners captured during the raids. On February 1, a United States television network carried a pictorial story of a Nationalist raiding base with pictures of prisoners captured on the mainland.

The United States Navy explains the difference between theory and practice in the following manner. Whenever the Seventh Fleet was around, the Chinese Nationalists conducted only "training exercises." When the "training exercises" became actual raids on Communist-held territory it "just happened" that the Seventh Fleet was occupied elsewhere.

For some time after the President "unleashed" the terrible Chiang, the meaning of his action remained

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obscure. But it became quite clear when, on August 17, 1953, Marguerite Higgins, writing in the *Herald Tribune* from Formosa, stated that Chiang Kai-shek had entered into some kind of agreement with us not to launch any actions or attacks without our approval. The next day "a responsible government source" in Washington confirmed the existence of a secret understanding with the Nationalists along these lines. Various newspapers began pointing out that we had now made Chiang our acknowledged agent and could therefore hardly escape responsibility for his actions. Said the *Washington Post*: "He [Chiang] has become the agent of the American government, though, like Syngman Rhee, a most unreliable one. His prime aim in life remains more than ever to trip the United States into a major conflict with the Communist powers in Asia. That is his only passport to the mainland and power."

THE truce in Korea, signed July 27, 1953, opened a period described by one correspondent as one of "busy comings and goings" on Formosa. Admiral Felix Stump visited Formosa twice in early August, and the Generalissimo was reported as being "deeply concerned" over the future of United States policy toward China. There was renewed talk of the possibility of admitting Red China to the United Nations. "The Nationalists here," reported William Miller from Taipei, November 7, 1953, "are afraid an economy-minded Congress will pinch the pocketbook." But the mounting crisis in Indo-China removed these fears. A big build-up of Nationalist power got under way. At the urging of Senator Dirksen, the Nationalists got \$501,000,000—one-third of the total aid appropriated for the Far East. At the same time the question of extending the "shield" to the off-shore islands began to crop up in the dispatches. Asked in Hongkong if the Seventh Fleet would help the Nationalists hold the off-shore islands, Vice-Admiral Joseph J. Clark replied on August 23, 1953, "I would not like to comment on the islands."

Two closely related developments could now be observed. In the first place, the commando raids formerly staged by the Nationalists virtually stopped; a costly attack in July, 1953, against Tungshan, about fifty miles northeast of Swatow, seems to have marked the end of the Nationalists' enthusiasm for raids of this sort. At the same time the Communists began to recapture some of the off-shore islands. By February 8, this year, the Reds could announce that they had captured eleven islands from the Nationalists during 1953. In the second place, splits within the Nationalist regime on Formosa began to deepen. On March 10, 1954, the National Assembly voted to dismiss Vice-President Li Tsung-jen, and on March 14, Dr. K. C. Wu, who had resigned as Governor of Formosa in May, 1953, broke with the Nationalists. It was as though the long-suppressed fac-

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tions and individual rivalries within the Nationalist regime had suddenly come to the surface. With time running out on Chiang, the jockeying for advantageous positions from which to succeed or take over his leadership naturally intensified. The question of the succession involves, of course, far more than the control of Formosa and the millions of American dollars pouring into Taipei; at stake is the whole question of the leadership of ten or twelve million overseas Chinese, key pawns in the struggle for power in Southeast Asia.

As the recent Geneva meeting drew near, all the antecedent tensions mounted. General Chen Cheng, now Premier and regarded as the heir apparent, told the Legislative Yuan on February 27 that the Nationalists could not afford to wait another three to five years for a return to the mainland. Chiang was then sixty-eight; the average age of his troops, twenty-eight. The Nationalists were alarmed, and furious, over comments on July 15 by Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Clement R. Attlee, opposition leader, suggesting trusteeship as a possible solution for the problem of Formosa. As though to quiet Nationalist apprehensions over the invitation extended Red China to attend Geneva, two destroyers were presented on February 27 to Chiang's representatives at Charleston, South Carolina, by Assistant Secretary of State Walter S. Robertson.

Then, with the Geneva meeting under way, the Formosan War flared to a new intensity. The New York *World-Telegram* reported on May 19: "Chinese civil war is flaming again. For a week planes and warships have been clashing along a wide stretch of south China's coast. . . . At stake is control of a vital invasion bridge to Formosa or the mainland, the Tachen Islands. . . . So far the Nationalists rule the Formosa Strait but Air Force General Wang warns that Red air power may lash out in force at any time." On July 23, a British Cathay Pacific airliner was shot down off the Chinese Communist island of Hainan with a loss of ten lives. On July 26, two Chinese fighter planes were shot down, and the following day the United States Navy announced that planes from the carriers *Hornet* and *Philippine Sea* had been given the order to be "quick on the trigger." On August 13, Chou En-lai announced that Communist China intended to "liberate" Formosa. On August 18, Admiral Stump visited the Tachen Islands, only fourteen miles from the mainland, and on August 20 the President announced that the Chinese Nationalists had been equipped with American jet warplanes. The same day, destroyers of the Seventh Fleet made "a show of strength" near Taipei, and on August 25 Secretary Dulles announced that the Joint Chiefs would decide which of the off-shore islands to defend as part of the defense of Formosa. Responsible observers noted that the wording of Mr. Dulles's statement implied that a decision had in fact been made to defend the Tachen Islands,

on which American officers in "false whiskers" have been stationed for some time.

In the wake of these developments the Chinese Reds launched what was widely reported as a "pinprick" raid on Quemoy Island to test the meaning of Mr. Dulles's equivocal statement. Quemoy is the nearest of the off-shore islands to the mainland; it is only about 2,000 yards distant, practically in the mouth of Amoy harbor. Nationalists and Communists have been taking artillery shots at each other there for some time; in fact two American officers were killed by Red artillery fire on Quemoy on September 3. Thus Mr. Truman's "shield" has been extended from Formosa to within easy artillery range of the mainland if the new decision includes Quemoy, or to within fourteen miles if, as seems more likely, we have decided to protect the Tachen Islands. Asked if the navy is within its rights if it operates along the coast of Asia, Admiral Stump replied: "Yes, if it stays outside the three-mile limit." Quemoy is outside the three-mile limit, measured from the mainland, but the question of whether American air and naval forces will assist in its defense in case of invasion, is, presumably, to be decided in "the first instance" by the military, although their advice will not necessarily be followed. Despite the fact that the President and his military advisers have not always seen eye to eye on strategic matters, doesn't a policy of this kind come dangerously close, and James Reston has suggested, to giving the admirals the power to make war?

IN THE meantime a major development in the Formosa Straits has apparently changed the relationship between our "agent" Chiang and the Chinese Reds. Apparently from about the time that the Nationalists seized a Soviet oil tanker on June 23, 1954, the Chinese Reds began to provide air cover to protect ships destined for Chinese ports. This was by way of a countermove against a Nationalist attempt to blockade these ports. In an interview with *U. S. News and World Report* on August 27, Admiral Stump acknowledged that "the free Chinese do harass Communist Chinese coastal trade . . . by the use of naval craft," although he denied that an air blockade of Shanghai existed. "This results in increased costs to the Communists and a reluctance of some shipping firms to engage in Chinese mainland trade. The free Chinese navy also operates in waters further south." Asked if there was anything to the Communist charge that American aircraft spot ships heading for Communist ports for the benefit of the Nationalists, the Admiral replied like an admiral: "We conduct patrols over seas of the ocean in which we have an interest."

The off-shore islands have, of course, a vital importance in terms of this attempted blockade. "With Nationalist troops on them," writes Keyes Beech from Taipei, "these islands are a constant threat to the security

of the Peiping regime. The Nationalist Chinese use them to spy on Communist shipping and as an advanced base from which to send agents or guerrillas to the mainland. If the Nationalist troops were driven off, the Communists would have a safe coastal waterway for their shipping, which now must pass through Formosa Strait, exposed to seizure by Nationalist gunboats." Hence they have apparently decided to seize Quemoy before the monsoon weather sets in and the Formosa Strait becomes one of the roughest stretches of water in the world.

Assuming that Chiang is our agent, his attempt to impose a blockade of the coastal ports raises some important issues. On August 28, the Chinese Communists reported that "British ships are steaming into Shanghai harbor at the rate of one a day." The same report went on to say that 246 foreign vessels arrived in the huge port during the first half of 1954, with a British armada of 182 ships making up the bulk of the arrivals. When the possibility that we might impose a blockade of the Chinese ports came up in February, 1953, the British lost little time in announcing that they would oppose any such move. The chance of retaliation against Hong-kong was stressed, and the attitude of India, Indonesia, Burma, and Ceylon was raised. At that time Prime Minister Khwaja Nazimuddin of Pakistan warned that a blockade of China would affect many friends of the United States who want to trade with China.

And it may well be that the Hainan incident was somehow related to Chiang's attempt to impose a blockade. Herbert Elliston's comment in the *Washington Post* is certainly suggestive:

The impetuosity of our actions in the Gulf of Tongking by men who seem to have been given carte blanche by the policy-makers in Washington unnerved a lot of Europeans. Even the State Department was stumped for information. The gulf happens to be a double war zone—the Indo-China war and the maraudings of General Chennault's Civil Air Transport along the south China coast. And CAT is the first syllable of Cathay in Cathay Pacific Airlines. Accidents had not happened before because the Peking regime did not station jets and suspicious pilots in Hainan until a month ago. The British would certainly have rerouted their passenger line if they had known this. As it was, they were as bothered about our impetuosity as grateful for our assistance. Nor did our note to Peking via the British appease the general fright—it was in such strange contrast to the ignoring of Chou En-lai in Geneva.

However, the President acted with celerity. He ordered our carriers away, and, *though of course nothing will be done about Chennault's freebooters*, who are acting on official American encouragement, for the nonce the excitement is over. [Emphasis added. It should be noted that Chennault apparently uses ordinary commercial aircraft.]

"For the nonce." But in the meantime the Formosan

war continues. Before this war spreads any farther, we had better reassess our position. The danger at the moment, as Senator Knowland's repeated "pop-off" comments have demonstrated, is that our political leaders have become the captives of their own theatrical and chauvinistic attitudes. In an election year they are more concerned with the "consistency" of their positions than with the forward movement of events.

WHAT, then, is American policy in relation to Formosa? When we imposed the "shield" in 1950, what were our real intentions? What were they when we "unleashed" Chiang in 1953? In the age of the A- and H-bombs, is Formosa indispensable to the defense of bases in the Philippines and Okinawa? "Politically and psychologically," writes Hanson W. Baldwin (August 1, 1954), "Formosa and the Nationalist regime of Chiang Kai-shek have assumed importance disproportionate to their actual strength." Formosa, he concludes, has more negative or defensive importance than positive or offensive value. "Formosa cannot be a springboard for a major military invasion of Communist China unless the United States provides the transport and shipping." Would we still insist on defending Formosa if Japan were rearmed? On no other single issue would the British be less likely to enter a war by our side. Chiang's attempt to blockade the mainland ports will annoy most of our friends and all neutrals. At the same time, Formosa is a wonderful issue for the Chinese Reds to use in attempting to drive a wedge between America and Britain, to bring the Labor Party to power in Britain (said to be a major objective), to align India and Indonesia on their side, to aggravate the tension within the Formosan regime, and to neutralize Japan.

In recent years Formosa has received more United States aid per capita than possibly any other country in the world. But this aid has not been used to develop a democratic regime; the recent fulminations of K. C. Wu should be conclusive on this point. "Although Formosa has experienced encouraging economic progress, including land reform, the failure of American policy to stimulate healthy political evolution has weakened Nationalist China's attraction among non-Communist Chinese," wrote Albert Ravenholt in the *Chicago Daily News* of July 6. From "neutralization" we have passed to "deneutralization" and now to the financing of guerrilla warfare and an attempted blockade, and yet we still lack a coherent long-range policy on Formosa. The *London Daily Telegraph* reflects the spirit of European criticism of our policy vacuum by observing on September 7: "The American Seventh Fleet is performing a humane as well as a political service in protecting Formosa from any attempt at invasion. It would, however, be an excellent thing if the United States government would return to its policy of preventing Nationalist

raids on the Communist-held mainland." Chiang is desperate; as his seizure of the Soviet tanker indicates, he is trying his best to touch off an explosion between Russia and America.

The danger in Formosa is that China and America confront each other directly and at points now no more than 2,000 yards distant, and both are committed officially to courses of action which could mean war. The presence of Chiang, a most unreliable agent, compounds every risk implicit in this new relationship. We are not stumbling toward war in the Formosan Straits; a "little war" exists there now and we are parties to it. Before we become any further committed by some action of our own or of Chiang's or of the Chinese Communists, it is time that we defined an American policy toward Formosa. Yet the moment we attempt this task we are

confronted with the fact that we cannot have a peaceful policy toward Formosa unless we are prepared to negotiate with the Chinese; and negotiation implies recognition. On this issue American thinking is paralyzed; but, in the meantime, the Chinese Reds move forward. They have now shown, by the attack on Quemoy, that the Formosan issue presents a threat to world peace. The issue may well be raised at the coming session of the U. N., and the belated realization of this possibility may explain Mr. Lodge's momentary hesitation about pressing the case against the Soviets over the downed plane. The Formosan war is already a threat to world peace, and the key to its solution is the recognition by the United Nations and the United States of Asia's greatest power as a precondition to negotiation and the settlement of pending issues, including Formosa.

Our "Uncontrollable" Allies . . . *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

United Nations

RECENT developments have not made people in the United Nations particularly happy. The facts that even while Secretary Dulles was visiting Chiang Kai-shek, Nationalist planes continued to attack Communist China and that Peking was reiterating its intention of liberating Formosa and denouncing Mr. Dulles's dealings with the Generalissimo—these increase the fear that the world may be moving back into a period of tension like that preceding the settlement of the Indo-China conflict at Geneva. In fact, at the very moment when the eight nations gathered in Manila were putting their signatures to the Southeast Asia security treaty, security in the Far East was under new threats—justifying Nehru's acid comment on what official propaganda has described as "this historic alliance of East and West solidly welded at Manila." "I find this treaty," said the Indian Prime Minister, "a very unfortunate event. . . . The steps taken in the name of aggression themselves encourage aggression."

The interdependence of international developments, greater than ever before, makes it impossible to dissociate what is now taking place in Asia from what happened three weeks ago in Europe. We have been witnessing during recent days the efforts of Western diplomacy to save the idea and policy which lay behind the defeated European Army project. Obviously there are still people who do not realize that the killing of E. D. C. by the French National Assembly marked not only the end of an era but the end of the illusion that, by a miracle of Western solidarity, the entire past, with its intense national fears and antipathies, could be submerged in the supreme common purpose of stopping Russia.

The difficulties involved in the effort to replace E. D. C. with something of equivalent political and military value became evident very soon after the search for a substitute began. The British proposal of a nine-power conference in London to explore safe ways to achieve West German rearmament and sovereignty had to be abandoned. Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden decided to make a flying round of European capitals in an effort to iron out differences and prevent the coming meeting of the NATO Council in New York or Washington, arranged by the United States to coincide with the opening of the United Nations General Assembly, from ending in a new fiasco.

Among other far-reaching consequences, the collapse of the original structure has had the disturbing effect of increasing the role of the subaltern members of the anti-Communist front. In the measure that France, Italy, and Britain show themselves reluctant to consign their destinies to an arrangement that one day might involve them in a war of atomic annihilation, the small fry come to the fore, eagerly offering their services to replace those of the reluctant E. D. C. members, and asking of course that the United States be most liberal in the provision of arms. We are witnessing the apotheosis of what might be called the "uncontrollable" allies. In the case of Formosa, Thailand, and the Philippines the word "uncontrollable" may sound out of place; however, in the case of others it fits very well, for it cannot be denied that their fate and fortune are less closely bound up with Washington and their ambitions are as grandiose as those of Chiang. For instance, no matter how many verbal guaranties are given to Israel, the provision of arms by the United States to the Arab countries, most of whose

leaders are sworn to the destruction of the new state, may easily create a situation which threatens not only Israel but the basic strategy of the West.

In Spain, another of the substitute allies is slipping out of control. By now the French intelligence service has conclusive proof that some of the bloodiest *attentats* in French Morocco have been organized in Spain with Franco's full knowledge. The American-Franco treaty signed just a year ago has tremendously encouraged the anti-French propaganda of the Spanish dictatorship. In perfect teamwork with the Arab League, whose highest officials are constantly visiting Madrid and Tetuán, Franco is covertly attacking France in Africa.

If in the Middle East, Asia, and Spain the present Western policy opens the way to irresponsible incidents and adventures, the danger of explosion naturally becomes greater in the case of a bilateral rearmament of Germany. One need only watch carefully the reactions in Bonn to the vote in the French Assembly to understand

the extent to which a new *Wehrmacht* will elude any foreign controls that might handicap its plans for reconquest and revenge. Once Germany is armed, nobody will be able to stop its drive to regain its former territories, today under Russian, Polish, or Czech rule. Not Secretary Dulles, not Chancellor Adenauer himself, can prevent a German version of the "roll-back" policy.

The rise of these "uncontrollable" allies, the attempt to replace by a combination of peripheral strategic bases around the world and mercenary armies the original plan embodied in the E. D. C. create new dangers not yet easy to estimate. It will not be surprising therefore if in one form or another the issue comes up in the next Assembly of the United Nations convening on September 21. It may take the form of a discussion of the question whether or not the new Southeast Asia pact is a true "regional" grouping in the meaning of the Charter, or whether it is only another attempt to bypass the United Nations and rear a new barrier to negotiated agreement among the powers.

TOM DEWEY

And the G. O. P. Split . . . by Harvey A. Call

THROUGHOUT the inner tug-of-war that has been waged over national patronage for the past two years, the Republican Party has buried its head in the sand and ignored the wide divergence of opinions within its ranks.

Now faced by its first national election since its rejuvenation, and with its problems multiplied by the announced retirement of Governor Dewey, the G. O. P. is belatedly pleading for harmony. Vice-President Richard M. Nixon is exerting all of his considerable charm and oratorical ability as well as his official prestige in stumping for a united party. The goal is to achieve a sufficient number of Republican Congressional victories on November 2 to uphold the prestige of the Eisenhower Administration and the party.

There are grave fears, even within the party, that this effort is too little and now much too late. Neither patronage,

national power, nor the famed Ike charm has been able to weld the party factions into a smooth-running team.

Republican campaign strategy admits the party cannot sell the Republican record—the record being something of an octopus stretching in all directions at once: liberalism on civil rights, conservatism on monetary policies, middle-of-the-road on taxation, far right on communism, liberalism on social-security extension. Instead, the Republicans have embarked on a campaign to sell their No. 1 personality, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

The President, elected to a large degree on his non-partisan appeal and the fact he was not identified with any of the party factions, finds himself more the prime issue in this campaign than he was in 1952. During his residence at the White House he has sought to maintain his position by only the most timid participation in politics and only lukewarm indorsements of a few party candidates. Being forced into a position of lending his name and active support to virtually every Republican candidate

without regard to his personal feelings is a situation which obviously is hard for the President to face.

Why has the President been put in this position? Why is the Republican Party unable to wage its own campaign? The answer lies in the lack of unity for which Vice-President Nixon and other party spokesmen are now pleading.

IKE'S nomination in 1952 was achieved through the hard work and political cunning of forces which united behind New York's retiring Governor Dewey. To them the President owes the opportunity which placed him in the White House. But he is equally obligated to another faction for the legislative record compiled by his Administration. Since January 20, 1953, he has had to turn to the Taft-Old Guard faction for the Congressional votes and the Congressional leadership necessary to enact the measures of his program. Each of these groups amounts to a party in itself. Each disagrees quite violently with the other. Each smarts under wounds inflicted by its foes in past battles. Each is most

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jealous of the least recognition or patronage given the other. And each has a very real stake in the outcome of the election.

The Taft group represents the Old Guard school of Republicanism. It is conservative if not reactionary, and organization-minded. It frequently takes the attitude that what was good enough for grandpa is good enough for them. Senator Taft, reared in the stern traditions of government service and Republicanism as exemplified by his father, President William Howard Taft, long was the darling of the Republican Old Guard.

However, Bob Taft was an oak that bent, if ever so slightly, in the political winds. Like his group, he held originally to George Washington's admonition to "avoid entangling foreign alliances." With the advent of World War II, Taft, Senator Arthur Vandenberg, and others modified their tenets to accept the possibility, if not the belief, that attainment of international security lies in the cooperation of free, peace-loving nations. Nevertheless, Taft Republicans view foreign nations with the utmost suspicion and distrust. If occasionally they support foreign-relief programs, it is primarily in the belief that such a course of action will cost less money than a large militia or war. Wars, they feel, should be fought by the other fellows.

On domestic issues the Taft group leans to the theory that the least government possible is the best government. Strict exponents of free enterprise, they resented bitterly the intrusion of government into business under the Democratic regimes. They bristled at the wanton waste of Henry A. Wallace's program to kill pigs and plow under crops in the '30's. They fought old-age-security programs as robbing individuals of the incentive to save. They were against the upsurge of labor and unionism under the Wagner Act. They smarted under high taxation, arguing that the levies were imposed only to help lazy loafers.

Whether they would try, if they could, to turn the clock back and eradicate the many "objectionable" things of the past two decades is debatable. In the main they would content themselves with modifying the trends they maintain were leading America to ruin. And they are practical-enough politicians to realize this is the most they can hope to do.

Of course, up to July, 1952, they wanted first, last, and always to see Bob Taft in the White House. When his third bid for the nomination was turned down at Chicago, they were greatly disappointed. It took them some time to recognize that their forces in Congress would be in the strong position of controlling legislation should Eisenhower win.

With Ike's victory, the Taft forces quickly organized to make the most of



Dewey

their opportunity. Throughout the Eighty-third Congress they were far more united and effective in influencing legislation than their fellow-Republicans of the liberal side.

THE liberal tag, it should be noted, is resented by most Republicans who are opposed to the Taft-Old Guard school. They consider their Republican ideals the true ideals, more in keeping with the early history of the party and the traditions of Lincoln. They are not liberals in the sense of the Democratic Party's acceptance of socialistic principles nor are they progressives in the sense of Bob LaFollette's old Progressive Party. In the Lincoln tradition they are aware of and sympathetic to the needs of individuals and classes. Their interest, however, tends to be scholarly and lacks the personal element. Accordingly they sponsor and support legislation of broad social benefits but move slowly and without the impetus of the personal enthusiasm exhibited by their Democratic foes, who act to alleviate the worries of the John Smiths in whom they are personally interested.

The liberal Republicans' viewpoint is usually represented by legislation such

as that enacted in New York state under Governor Dewey's leadership. This includes the Fair Employment Practices Commission, anti-discrimination measures, extended unemployment benefits, disability insurance, modern mental-health programs, and considerable other humane legislation. The key to the philosophy is that if a thing can be done efficiently and effectively by private enterprise, it should be left to private enterprise. On the other hand, if the government should do the job or can do it better, then the government should do it. The liberal Republican sees far more good in labor unions than do Old Guard Republicans. What he insists on the government doing for him he is willing to pay for in increased taxes. He is for better schools, better roads, and the building for a better tomorrow.

On the international level, the liberal Republican favors cooperation with other nations, acknowledgment of the obligation of the United States to assume leadership of the free nations, and economic aid for distressed peoples.

Called "me-tooism" in the 1948 campaign when Dewey made his second bid for election as President, the liberal Republican ideals run parallel to many New Deal objectives for social betterment. They differ, however, in the means of attaining the goals. No super-state, no encompassing maize of bureaucracy is necessary to realize a better life under our form of government, the liberal Republicans maintain.

The gulf between the Old Guard and the Dewey school of Republicanism is vast. At times, in local precincts, cities, counties, and states, the fight is waged quietly between individual exponents of the two philosophies. At other times the differences break out into clubfights, primary battles, and drives to unseat various leaders. In the latter cases, bitter words and hard feelings ensue. It was at Chicago in July, 1952, that fighting reached the bitterest point. Adherents on both sides still rankle over the body blows that were dealt in the national convention. Taft people will never forget or forgive the Dewey-group strategy that launched the "thou shall not steal" campaign in the struggle for Texas delegates. Because the battle plan was successful it was the more bitter to take. Dewey Republicans, likewise, will long remember the convention newspaper

Issued by the Taft forces urging "Sink Dewey."

Behind the scenes or in more subtle ways the clash has gone on between leaders and Republicans of the two groups over the years. With some the hard feelings were rooted so far back that they can no longer remember what started their part in the feud. Party leaders play the game cagily, making up with one another when expediency demands. Rank-and-file party members fall into the classifications according to their political thinking, Old Guard or liberal, or because they have hitched their political interests to the star of a favored candidate. The division exists to some degree wherever there are Republicans.

Liberal Republicans tend to dominate in urban areas; rural and inland sections cling more to the Old Guard traditions. The division crosses lines, with business men, white-collar workers, bankers, and some tradesmen in each group. There seems to be no prevailing economic support unique to either.

The fact that the Dewey forces have beaten the Taft men three times running in the national arena seems to indicate the former have the edge among Republican voters, though it is by no means a decisive margin. In political power, however, the Taft forces are more potent. Invariably they control the Republican National Committee between national elections. Likewise they maintain a consistent hold on many state and local organizations. That now means they are dishing out a major share of patronage—to Taft-Old Guard favorites.

But their greatest strength rests upon their position in Congress. In both houses the Taft-Old Guard members are in controlling positions on major committees. Well-organized and more consistent in holding their line against outside attacks, they outmaneuver the Dewey-liberal members of Congress.

This advantage is due in large measure to the fact that Bob Taft assumed control of the Senate Republicans immediately after the 1952 election. His heir-apparent, Senator Knowland, has been nowhere near as successful in leading these forces, but they have remained remarkably united, nevertheless. In the House, Speaker Joe Martin and Representative John Taber, chairman of the powerful Committee on Taxation, both Taft admirers, have led the way.

President Eisenhower has had to placate these forces to achieve his legislative record to date. The issue in this campaign is whether the people will judge that record satisfactory. Undoubtedly the Taft-Old Guard Republicans will find their spokesmen have contributed sufficiently to this record to make it acceptable. Dewey-liberal Republicans are not too likely to find fault with the record as far as it goes, but they may well indicate disappointment over the failure to enact some of the more progressive items on the Eisenhower list.

What worries Republican leaders as the election nears is this: How will the party split affect the ballot?

One problem the Republicans face regularly is getting Republicans out to vote. In 1948, Old Guard members in sizable numbers stayed away from the polls, and thus contributed to the defeat of Dewey. Indifference of either Old Guard or Dewey-liberal Republicans in this election would be a serious blow to the G. O. P. hopes of a Republican Eighty-fourth Congress.

WITH the announcement of Dewey's retirement as governor, the Republican crisis becomes more acute. New York alone could decide the control of the House. At least four of the present twenty-seven Republican Congressmen from New York represent marginal districts carried by less than 5 per cent of the vote in 1952. Without Dewey heading the ticket, there is almost certain to be some decrease in the Republican turnout. Should this be sufficient to swing three or four New York Congressional seats from the Republicans to the Democrats, G. O. P. hopes of controlling the House would be virtually blasted. Party leaders are well aware of this and have exerted every influence on the Governor to run. Though his decision was held up for months, his stand remains firm.

Why has the long-time leader of the liberal faction of the party chosen this time to step down?

The Governor gives personal reasons which are sound in themselves, but it is just as reasonable to expect him to aid the party at this critical point. Dewey's long record indicates he would do that if he were entirely happy about party affairs. Many will read his decision as an answer to his being ignored on the national scene. Since he spearheaded the

drive for the President's nomination, Dewey has been relegated to the background. He played no part, outside his state, in the 1952 campaign. His role since the Administration assumed office has been simply that of an infrequent visitor to the White House, more infrequent in fact than lesser figures of the party. For two years the guiding powers of the G. O. P. have gone along on the premise that Dewey was more of a liability to them than an asset. They have been happy that the man who manuevered Ike's nomination—and made it possible for the Republicans to win a national election after a long drought—has stuck to his own bailiwick.

And meanwhile what has happened to the vanquished faction at Chicago? Controlling the machinery and a major bloc of votes in Congress as well as the Republican National Committee, the Taft forces have fared very well, patronage-wise probably better than they would have fared had Taft won the 1952 battle. In Congress they have been the consultants and the partners of the Administration and at times they have carried the club. For losers in a political fight, the Taft group has fared handsomely—too handsomely, many Dewey followers will tell you.

But in a very large measure the fortunes of the Taft-Old Guard group are at stake in this election. It depends upon how Congress lines up next January.

1. Republican majorities in one or both houses by narrow margins will continue the Taft-Old Guard dominance. Narrow-margin control will enable them to hold their important committee posts and will place a premium on every G. O. P. vote.

2. Republican majorities in both houses by sizable margins would maintain their committee power but would leave the group in a weaker bargaining position. Such an outcome would be an Eisenhower victory mandating members of Congress to support his program.

3. Democratic control of Congress would strip the Taft-Old Guard clique of its power in Congress, both as to votes and on committees. In that event there would be a tendency to turn again to the professional politicians of the Dewey-liberal school to salvage party hopes for 1956.

Whatever the outcome, the hopes of ending the party split are not bright.

NEED A DOCTOR?

A Union Finds a Way . . . by Joseph T. de Silva

[This is the third of a series of articles on some of the many American trade unions which have gone beyond their collective bargaining function to serve their members with welfare programs of tremendous scope.]

Los Angeles

ONE of the members of our union returned from the hospital last week with her new baby. There had been some complications: the delivery was by Caesarian section. Her total hospital bill—nothing. Her bill for surgery, for operating room, for anaesthetist, for medicines, for prenatal care—nothing. And yet the care she received was the equal of anything obtainable in America today. Her case is typical of the hundreds treated weekly under the Kaiser-Permanente Health Plan, to which our members subscribe.

When our union, the Retail Clerks Union, Local 770 of Los Angeles, began its search for a health plan in 1950, we were more than a little concerned with finding exactly the proper coverage. We were negotiating with employers to include a health plan in our contracts and we knew that whatever plan we chose would be with us for a long time. We also knew from the experience of other unions how weird some so-called health plans can be. For example one union local with a 100 per cent male membership was sold a plan which provided maternity benefits for members only—wives being excluded. Naturally the provision was an element of cost in the plan; it certainly was not an element of income!

We asked Bernard B. Berkov, a prominent medical economist, and Dr. E. Richard Weinerman, formerly of the World Health Organization and a noted public-health expert, to screen all available plans for us. Their first step was to

survey the precise needs of our members. Dr. Weinerman and Mr. Berkov discovered these facts about the 15,000 members of our local:

1. They were young. The average male was only 32; the average female was 37.
2. They were healthy. Simply by virtue of their age they needed less than average care for most illnesses but *more than average care for maternity.*
3. The children-per-family ratio was above average, with young children predominating.
4. They had to spend three times as much on medical care for their dependents as for themselves.
5. They spent much more on medical care outside of the hospital—66 cents out of every "medical dollar"—than they spent for hospital care.

FROM this report it was clear that we needed a plan to cover not only our members but their dependents, especially children. It had to be a plan that provided liberally for maternity care, that provided for both in-hospital and out-of-hospital care, and finally, that returned the most for each dollar spent. Basically two kinds of plans were offered to us. Plans such as Blue Cross and others of an insurance nature offered not medical care but partial compensation for medical expenses. The Kaiser Foundation's Permanente plan, on the other hand, offered actual group medical care on lines somewhat similar to that extended by the Health Insurance Plan in New York and a few other group-health organizations. The word Permanente, incidentally, comes from the name of a California creek near where the industrialist Henry Kaiser, creator of the foundation which bears his name, built his first cement plant.

The union voted to choose the Kaiser-Permanente Plan by more than seven to one. Some of the reasons for their strong preference became clear during discussions. We learned that Permanente de-

votes 85 cents of every medical dollar directly to medical care; the remaining 15 cents covers administrative expenses *directly connected with medical care.* This is because the plan provides a full medical plant, including hospitals, clinics, laboratories, and X-ray equipment, all of which are available to members and their dependents at no cost beyond the stipulated monthly membership premium. The only exceptions to the no-cost rule are a five-dollar fee charged for a physician's house call and minimum fees for certain types of allergy treatments.

SINCE the plan is part of the union's contract, employers pay 5¼ cents per straight-time hour into the health-plan fund for each union member. This averages \$9.10 per member per month—enough to pay all of the medical expenses for each member and his dependents.

By approving the Kaiser-Permanente Plan and writing it into the union's contracts, we became the instrument by which the Kaiser Foundation was able to establish itself firmly in Los Angeles. The plan is an outgrowth of the medical care which Henry Kaiser offered to the men who built Boulder Dam—complete medical care on a prepaid basis. When Grand Coulee Dam was built, the coverage was extended to the workers' families. Management had discovered that productivity was impaired when workers had to take time off to obtain medical care for the family—and when men were worried about their families' health. Similar health plans were offered to Kaiser shipyard workers during the war. Finally the Kaiser Foundation's full-coverage plan was evolved and was first made available in Northern California.

Each Permanente member is issued a small addressograph plate with his name, address, and number. In our union the disks are jokingly called "charge-a-plates." A baby born under Kaiser-Permanente care is itself a mem-

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ber at birth and automatically gets its "charge-a-plate." It will be cared for by pediatricians until its fourteenth year and is then moved into the adult bracket.

The foundation had to rent hospital space during its first years. Shortly after all of the Retail Clerks became members, construction was begun on the modern Kaiser hospital in Los Angeles. It was completed in February last year. Electrically raised and lowered beds create patient comfort and relieve nurses of unnecessary work. Patients have ice-water fountains at their fingertips, wash stands at each bed. They can open the full drapes (one wall of each room is of glass) with the flick of a switch. The

maternity floor is designed according to the ultra-modern system known as "rooming-in." A drawer-like crib slides back and forth between nursery and the mother's room, thus enabling mothers to have their babies when they want them. Visitors enter all rooms from the outside balconies; the center corridors are for the exclusive use of nurses and other medical personnel.

The Los Angeles County Medical Association seems to think that care this good *must* be socialistic. A series of vicious attacks on the Permanente idea by the association's president culminated in an attempt to bring before the American Medical Association's national con-

vention a resolution declaring unethical all "closed-panel" physicians, such as Permanente's. The resolution was set aside for further study, but all indications are that the neanderthal wing of the A. M. A. will swing back to the attack.

Despite the name-calling, nearly 500,000 Californians have now joined the Kaiser-Permanente Plan. Hospitals are available throughout California and in Washington and Oregon.

A minimum waste in use of facilities and maximum utilization of skill sold the Kaiser-Permanente plan to our members. We have never been sorry for our choice.

TRUMBULL PARK: ACT II

Elizabeth Wood Story . . by Robert Gruenberg

Chicago

AFTER seventeen years of running this city's low-rent public-housing projects, Elizabeth Wood has been fired from her job as executive secretary and operating head of the Chicago Housing Authority. Behind the dismissal is the story of an able, courageous, determined woman devoted to democratic principles and the machinations of vote-hungry politicians gathered around a man—the mayor of Chicago—who has permitted his subordinates to make policy for him.

The Japan-born daughter of an Episcopal lay missionary, Elizabeth Wood came to Chicago in 1928 as a social worker. Barely ten years later, in her post with the C. H. A., she began her fight to clean out the city's slums. She built houses, thousands of them, but she also did more. She fought politicians, red tape, and discrimination. She never forgot that the key to successful social service was field work and she was almost as often to be found visiting her projects as behind her desk. In 1944 she went to Washington to secure permanent housing for Negro war workers. Her friends and advisers scoffed, but

years later she revealed that it had taken her exactly nine minutes, after the proper doors were opened, to cut through war-time red tape and secure a \$9,000,000 grant for 1,500 permanent housing units.

In the end it was her insistence on equal treatment for Negroes that proved her undoing. She had made powerful enemies in her long tenure in office and their voices began to be heard a little more than a year ago when a Negro family moved into the Trumbull Park project (see *The Nation*, May 22). Violence flared on the project for months—bombings, arson, rock-throwing, assaults. Then the violence abated and it seemed to many Chicago supporters of Elizabeth Wood that she had successfully weathered another crisis.

They were wrong. A few weeks ago the housing commissioners called in Miss Wood and told her she was no longer the operating head of the agency. Her new boss, she was informed, would be Lieutenant-General William B. Kean, retiring commander of a Midwest military area, a West Pointer, and a veteran of Korea as well as of both World Wars. She was informed that she would be expected to give the new "executive director" her "full and loyal support."

John R. Fugard, chairman of the C. H. A. board, explained to the press that business considerations had finally overridden the "social aspects" of the C. H. A. Management and operation were henceforth to be of "first importance" rather than the determination of housing needs, the handling of community relations, or cooperation with welfare agencies. Nothing was said of what Elizabeth Wood was expected to do in this new set-up.

When the news was out hundreds of calls and letters came to the C. H. A. offices urging Elizabeth Wood not to resign in the face of this "shelving" operation. "We need you there," was the import of most of the messages, "you are the only one we could always trust." She decided to see Mayor Martin Kennelly. In a conference which has never been fully reported, she told him how, despite promises made to her, top organizational changes in the C. H. A. had been made without previous discussion with her. She reported that an internal campaign to undermine her position had been going on for some time and that she had been unable to get a firm declaration of support from the four housing commissioners. She told the mayor that for a year she had been getting directives

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from several different "authorities" on when, where, and how to permit Negroes to move into the Trumbull Park project. The mayor asked for time to "look into" the situation. James C. Downs, Jr., the city's housing and redevelopment coordinator who keeps the mayor out of the hot water of this city's social problems, urged her not to resign.

The mayoral conference was followed by one with Fugard, who told her that unless the public clamor in her behalf was stilled a "counter-attack" would be made upon her which would include certain unspecified "charges." Shocked by what she and others viewed as a threat of political blackmail, Miss Wood decided to call for a full hearing before all the commissioners on August 30.

Meanwhile the "business manager" line given out by the housing-authority board was swallowed by most Chicagoans but not by those familiar with the long struggle of Miss Wood and the C. H. A. against the foes of public housing. The C. H. A. had started operations in 1937 with a \$10,000 loan from the city. Owing largely to the imaginative yet practical leadership of Miss Wood, the agency has grown until it is now handling twenty-six housing projects scattered over the slum-scarred face of Chicago, sheltering about 60,000 persons in 12,000 apartments. Unlike other city departments, the C. H. A. has been untouched by graft, favoritism, or scandal in twenty years of Democratic rule. Miss Wood's most vitriolic attackers have been forced to admit this.

BUT if the question of sound business management—or the lack of it—was not the real reason for the move against Miss Wood, what was? Miss Wood herself provided the answer:

The truth is that the differences that have arisen between the commissioners and the executive secretary have been related primarily to the issue of elimination of segregation in public housing and the opening of all public-housing projects to Negro and white persons without discrimination. . . . This policy . . . is rooted in the laws of the state, the resolution of the city council, the stated policy of the authority—reiterated four times during the last four years.

Despite the noble declarations by the housing commissioners, Miss Wood declared, Negroes had been barred from three Chicago projects. The C. H. A.'s



Elizabeth Wood

counsel, defending against a suit brought to compel the admission of Negroes, had argued the "separate but equal" doctrine in open court. She added that she had been under instructions not to admit any Negro family into the Trumbull Park homes. "The commissioners," she said, "are either unwilling, unable, or afraid to come to grips with a racial-relations policy following the letter and spirit of their own resolutions, the city, state, and federal laws."

On August 23 Elizabeth Wood was fired outright. The executive secretary, said the commissioners, was usurping their authority; she was not the only one cognizant of a race problem in Chicago; General Kean had a proven record of dealing with minority groups, having been the first American general to integrate Negro and white troops in Korea.

But the commissioners failed to answer the core of Miss Wood's charges: What about segregation in this city's public-housing projects? Some Chicago newspapers rushed to the commissioners' defense. Were there not Negroes in all but three of the city's twenty-six public-housing projects? How can charges of segregation be sustained in the face of the fact that 62 per cent of all public-housing tenants were Negroes and only 38 per cent white? These newspapers conveniently forgot that according to the C. H. A.'s own figures, from 80 to 85 per cent of the families displaced by post-war slum clearance—to make room

for highways and other public construction—were Negro families. And they neglected to point out that the law requires Chicago's own "displaced" persons, especially those with low incomes, to be given priority in public housing.

This city's post-war public improvement program was reaching a peak in 1950. Negro applications for housing were piling up. The mayoral and aldermanic elections were due in the spring of 1951 and the Negro housing question could prove an explosive element. It was about this time that the C. H. A. officially adopted a no-discrimination policy. But enunciation was one thing; execution was another. From the summer of 1951 to the fall of the following year Miss Wood failed to get clear-cut directives on the admission of Negro tenants. Finally, in October, 1952, a second resolution against discrimination was approved. This one stated that applicants, regardless of color, could apply for accommodations in projects of their choice and that the staff would do all in its power to honor that choice. There was one exception to this rule. When a family was the first of its race to seek admission into certain projects, the commissioners themselves would pass on the matter. From October, 1952, to July, 1953, the applications of "first" Negro families to move into two "all white" projects were sent to the commissioners. The commissioners simply did nothing. The situation was aggravated when a Negro family moved into Trumbull Park homes, one of the heretofore "all white" projects. The C. H. A. explained it had not known the family was Negro when the application was made and processed. Today twenty-one Negro families are living in the 462-unit project. "Every [Negro] family we moved in was because we pushed and pushed," Miss Wood has stated.

THIS is the real story behind Miss Wood's dismissal. There were other elements, of course: the enmity of politicians who failed to win favors from her; the thousands of petition signatures presented at the City Hall demanding her dismissal, collected by anti-public-housing groups as well as lunatic-fringe organizations. A tragic footnote is the fact that there was never a word uttered in support of Miss Wood by the man most obligated to utter it—the mayor.

City Hall is thinking about other matters: the mayoral and aldermanic elections of next spring. In a sense, dumping Elizabeth Wood helps clear the decks for Kennelly to run again. He is in a better position for political fence-mending—especially with Chicago's South Side bloc of aldermen—and can better face the mass of property-owning voters with their deep-rooted fears of falling property values in a changing city. Did Kennelly alienate the liberal voter? That voter is in the minority and dislikes the present Democratic regime anyway. The Negro vote? It is an imponderable. Some City Hall observers,

who watch the vote returns precinct by precinct on election night, point out that, except in 1948 when Harry Truman was reelected, it has failed to "deliver" as had been hoped.

What of the C. H. A.'s future? General Kean has promised "no major changes" so far. He believes in public housing, according to news accounts. He declined comment on the Trumbull Park situation because, he said, he was not familiar enough with the situation. "He was involved in housing administration in 1947 when he commanded Camp Jackson, Columbia, South Carolina, and later faced similar problems in Japan,"

says a fact sheet issued to C. H. A. personnel. "During the past two years . . . he was concerned with housing military and civilian personnel in almost one hundred installations in thirteen Midwestern states."

Miss Wood was more than "Miss Public Housing" on the Chicago scene. She was among the last of that group of governmental servants of the mid-'30's—the Ikesses and the Hopkinses—whose integrity, devotion to public service, and belief in the principles upon which the nation was founded, could never be swayed by "realistic" politicians. This was her undoing.

To Speak or Be Silent . . . by Anton Chekhov

In submitting to The Nation this Chekhov "short story," which has never before appeared in English, the translator wrote:

"To Speak or Be Silent was written by Chekhov in 1883 or 1884, but was not published until 1925 when it appeared in Volume 8 of the 'Red Archives', a Soviet historical journal. The manuscript had been discovered in the archives of the St. Petersburg Censorship Committee where it was deposited after that

committee, on April 18, 1884, decided to prohibit publication because it was felt that 'the man in the blue suit' was meant to portray a government spy.

"Chekhov had written the story for Oskolki—'Fragments'—a popular St. Petersburg humor magazine of the time. I translated it while preparing the second volume of Digest of the Red Archives which is to be published by the University of Michigan Press."

Translated by Leona W. Eisele

Once upon a time, in a certain kingdom, in a certain country, there were two friends, Krueger and Smirnov. Krueger possessed brilliant mental faculties. However, Smirnov was not so brilliant as he was meek, humble and weak-willed. The former was garrulous and eloquent; the latter, taciturn.

Once both of them were riding in a railroad coach, trying to win a certain young lady. Krueger was sitting next to this young lady and fawning on her. Smirnov remained silent, blinked his eyes and longingly licked his lips. At a certain station Krueger went out of the coach with the young lady and did not return for a long time. Having returned, he blinked his eyes and clicked his tongue.

"How smooth you are, friend," Smirnov said with envy. "How do you do it! You'd hardly succeeded in taking a seat next to her, when already . . . Lucky man!"

"You let opportunities slip through your fingers. You sat with her three hours and scarcely spoke a word! You're quiet as a log! With silence, my friend, one gains nothing in this world. You must be dashing, garrulous. You succeed in nothing, and why? Because you're a milksop!"

Smirnov agreed with these arguments and decided in his heart to change his character. In an hour, having conquered his timidity, he took a seat next to a certain gentleman in a blue suit and began to chat glibly with him. The gentleman seemed to be a very loquacious man and immediately began to put questions to Smirnov, chiefly of a scientific nature. He asked him how he liked the land and the sky, whether he was satisfied with the laws of nature and human society, touched slightly on European free-thinking, the position of women in America and so forth. Smirnov answered wittily, willingly, and with enthusiasm.

But how great, you'll agree, was his surprise when the gentleman in the blue suit, having taken him by the arm at a certain station, smiled maliciously and said, "Follow me."

Smirnov followed and disappeared, it's not known where. In two years, pale, emaciated, thin as a fish skeleton, he met Krueger again.

"Where on earth have you been till now?" Krueger asked with amazement.

Smirnov smiled bitterly and described all the misfortunes he had lived through.

"Don't be stupid; don't babble too much!" said Krueger. "Hold your tongue—that's it!"

BOOKS

Furor Teutonicus

TYRANNY ON TRIAL. By Whitney R. Harris. Southern Methodist University Press. \$6.

HITLER'S EUROPE. Edited by Arnold Toynbee and Veronica M. Toynbee. Royal Institute of International Affairs, Oxford University Press. \$14.50.

MODERN GERMANY. By Koppel S. Pinson. The Macmillan Company. \$10.

GERMAN HISTORY. SOME NEW GERMAN VIEWS. Edited by Hans Kohn. The Beacon Press. \$4.

GOVERNING POSTWAR GERMANY. By Edward H. Litchfield and Associates. Cornell University Press. \$7.75.

By Frederick L. Schuman

IN THE 1930's Western policy-makers, pressed by London, acquiesced in the rearmament of Germany in the name of protection against communism. In the 1950's Western policy-makers, pressed by Washington, insisted on the rearmament of Germany in the name of protection against communism. The results of the earlier decision, albeit not conclusive, are not irrelevant to the problem of the probable results of the later one. If policy is to be based on reality rather than illusion, the record of the 1940's deserves searching reconsideration. Each of these new books makes a useful contribution to such reassessment.

Whitney R. Harris, member of the prosecuting staff at Nuremberg, later professor of law at Southern Methodist University, and now executive director of the American Bar Association, offers us a trenchant, illustrated 600-page summary of the trial of the major Nazi war criminals based on the forty-two published volumes of the official proceedings and on other sources, including personal observation. He has wisely arrayed the evidence not by individual

cases but by the origins, essence, and acts of Hitler's Reich. As Dean Robert G. Storey observes in his foreword, "the story he tells within these pages is in every respect verified by citation to authority. It is a record of fact, and of truth." The author is less concerned with the mooted issue of the "legality" of the trial (though Justice Robert H. Jackson's introduction presents powerful refutations of the common criticisms) than with the record of German deeds between 1933 and 1945.

So incredible were these deeds that it is necessary for Americans, no less than for Germans, to be reminded anew that they happened. Harris reminds us. But his narrative is much more than a horror story; the deeper sources of the Nazi nightmare, ill understood, are assuredly not yet exorcised. The tale is more fully retold, if in less hideous detail, by the dozen able scholars contributing to the 700 pages of the latest volume of the Chatham House "Survey of International Affairs, 1939-1946." Here is the most detailed and definitive account yet to appear, or likely to appear, of the politics and economics of the demented Führer's insane Reich—and of Il Duce's Italy, Vichy France, and other Nazi-occupied territories. To the inevitable *motifs* of theft, enslavement, and genocide are added, as Toynbee notes in his introduction, the themes of administrative chaos, alienation of all the conquered, and failure to attempt total mobilization until too late.

ITALIAN honor was in some measure salvaged by the anti-Fascist partisans in the last agonies of the Axis. In no single instance in Germany was there the slightest popular resistance to the Nazi madman, even where Allied armies had made such action possible and safe. How this came to pass is suggested in the richly perceptive new history of Germany by Professor Pinson of Queens College. This volume, covering the period from the French Revolution to the cold war, is history in the grand manner, with major emphasis on social change

and intellectual trends. The direction of such trends is suggested by the fact that Goethe, Schiller, and their contemporaries denounced all chauvinism and boasted of being "world citizens," while Gerhart Hauptmann described his meeting with Hitler as "the greatest moment of my life." The arrest of civilians by officers at Zabern in 1913 called forth a storm of protest throughout the Reich. The murder of millions at Auschwitz evoked not a murmur.

How are we to explain Germany's *Untergang* from civilization—not to "barbarism" (an insult to all barbarians), but to nihilistic criminality on the part of its élite and to frenzied sadism and self-immolation on the part of its people? "Tyranny" or "totalitarianism" will scarcely serve as clues. Communist atrocities, although equally immoral, are never devoid of a rational purpose, however perverted. The atrocities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, moreover, were perpetrated by the world's greatest democracy—where symptoms of militarism, xenophobia, and fanaticism multiply year by year and where the gangrene of anti-Communist monodiabolism is as firmly planted in the body politic as it ever was in the Nazi Reich. Explanations couched exclusively in "racial" or "national" or even economic or psychiatric terms are unconvincing. Toynbee and Spengler are more relevant. Pinson's brilliant multi-causal interpretation is subtly woven around the theme of "the tragic efforts made by liberalism and democracy to assert themselves in modern German history, and how they have been inundated time and again by the opposing forces of militarism and nationalism." In any case, it is a fact, incontrovertibly established in these volumes, that the German community of our time somehow managed to attain lower depths of evil than any known to man in any of his past or present experiments in social life.

Has retribution effected reformation? Two of the books before us bear on the question, although the answer is unclear. Hans Kohn, genial genius of New York City College, has brought together some representative post-1945 essays of ten German historians, commenting on phases of modern German history. All are readable and informative. Kohn finds encouragement in the aged Friedrich Meinecke's recent concern with

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"Western" values, but is disturbed by the new literature of exoneration. "Unfortunately, some of the old ghosts seem still full of life."

Equally inconclusive is the best one-volume resumé of post-war German government and politics thus far published. This symposium is dedicated to General Clay and edited (and in part written) by Dean Litchfield of Cornell. All the contributors—of whom the best known are Arnold Brecht, Taylor Cole, Carl J. Friedrich, Karl Lowenstein, and Rodney L. Mott—are reputable scholars with administrative or advisory experience in Western Germany. They give us an admirable and invaluable survey of all levels and functions of government since 1945. On the central question they are not of one mind. Mott finds German public finance anti-democratic. Dean Alonzo G. Grace cannot understand "why a people who a century ago contributed so substantially to the advance of education would succumb to the forces of Nazism." Friedrich is hopeful

for German democracy. Loewenstein is skeptical. A year ago all assumed, with Hans Kohn, that E. D. C. would become a reality and that German sovereignty and rearmament were inevitable.

This assumption, happily, has been invalidated by French after-thoughts. European memories are longer than American. If they perpetuate fear, they sometimes forestall needless risks. Twenty years ago the appeasement of Germany in defense against Russia was folly, since the appeasers reckoned without the "defenders" and wholly misconstrued the nature of the red menace. Today the rearmament of Germany in defense against Russia is folly if judged by the German record. A rearmed Reich will never again be able to challenge the Soviet bloc to combat. But it may well become once more, with or without Soviet connivance, a deadly threat to all its Western neighbors. None of the authors here reviewed draws this moral. But these 2,800 pages, reflectively considered, point to no other conclusion.

Gordon has to leave Arabia as the price of a temporary peace bought by Hamid in order to strengthen his tribal alliances and make ties with the workers of Bahraz and its oil fields—workers led by an ex-tramwayman and Communist, the Bahrazi Zein.

BACK in England Gordon painfully renews relationships with his family and with Tess, his sweetheart of Cambridge days. During a search for values to replace his lost dusty freedom he also plays with the idea of standing for Parliament, where as a glamorous hero now he finds himself sought by politicians of left and right. But each party needs him for ends of its own and Gordon refuses to use grubby means for his noble end. At home he remains a queer one to his Calvinist mother, whose heart he watches being crushed by her frustrated daughter's conversion to the dogmatic certainties of Catholicism. In his brother he finds a pathetic man broken by intellectual compromise, also, and forced to betray his moral convictions by making bomber parts as the only way to save his bankrupt factory—and family.

Gordon's love affair with Tess, returned to her native Glasgow slums as a social worker, is verbally as tempestuous as some violence in the desert but it ends in another withdrawal for Gordon, this time from her Socialist alternative. Interviews with American and Russian diplomats convince him that the Englishman's choice is equally bleak, with the green island doomed in any major clash between them. After his parting with Tess nothing is left for Gordon but a finale in Arabia.

Violating his pledge to General Martin and the British Colonial Office—represented by Freeman, his sister's suitor and his own most despised antithesis—he once more joins Prince Hamid. But now the action combines revolt in the desert and the peasant-proletarian revolution, and Gordon's acceptance of this compromise involves him in fatal consequences. When he captures the oil fields by godlike trickery the old imperial world seems to crumble but so does Gordon's. Swiftly the novel reaches a denouement in which General Martin's effort to obliterate the wells and machinery by bombing plane rather than let them fall to the Arabs is pitted against

The Bournoose and the Red Star

HEROES OF THE EMPTY VIEW. By JAMES ALDRIDGE. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.95.

By Edgar Snow

JAMES ALDRIDGE has steadily advanced in literary size with each of his books and "Heroes of the Empty View" should rank him well to the fore among young writers with something more to offer than technical brilliance and entertainment. His intimate attachment to the East is well established in this novel distinguished by its broad intention, scope, plot, dimensions of character, and historical interest. Here is enough violent action and dramatic narrative to satisfy any desert-thriller addict, and yet on another level a book of challenging ideas and judgments about man's individual and collective destiny in a world of shattered values and catastrophic change.

The place of the "empty view" is the Arabian desert and the story is of tribal revolt against the encroachments of the

machine, the oil well, the land-bound peasant economy, and the master-bomber menacing them all. To heroes of the revolt their tribal society represents the condition of man's maximum dignity. They defend the "philosophy of self-dependence, of uncorrupted nobility . . . of the hardy implacable individual whose free will was the last resistance to all mass corruptions." Such is the conviction which has driven the Englishman Gordon, after World War II, to wed himself to the desert as a kind of latter-day T. E. Lawrence. A Cambridge-educated Arabist and an intellectual soldier, much of Gordon's personality and philosophy is a paraphrase of the "Seven Pillars."

Thus the hero fulfills, in leading tribal warriors, his own compelling physical need to deny materialism, the modern state, and all its vile humiliations imposed, whether for bourgeois or Communist ends, on the free spirit. Using Lawrenceist tactics in desert border raids, Gordon is spectacularly successful against the depraved Pasha of Bahraz, a British protectorate. Then Hamid, his desert prince, is threatened with destruction in a mechanized counter-attack.

EDGAR SNOW is the author of "Red Star over China," "The Pattern of Soviet Power," and other books.

Gordon's demoniac attempt to blow them up rather than allow them to corrupt the tribal alliance—while both men are thwarted by Zein's logical plan to preserve the oil and the plant for the proletariat's social purposes.

The bones of this story are recent events in Iran and elsewhere in the Middle East and the synthetic fictive history is convincingly transferred to Arabia. It could happen any day. Subordinate roles finely drawn to life are subtly made to serve also to illuminate the inevitability of a broader historical process which relentlessly overwhelms the whole anachronism of the empty view. Such is the author's skill that several of his lesser characters could easily hold our interest as central figures in other books. Among them Zein—proletarian dogma bent on turning free tribesmen into slave mechanics, in Gordon's view—strongly dominates the closing pages. Given such importance, however, Zein remains an unsatisfactory character because of the author's failure to deal with him as pitilessly as he deals with the schizophrenic Gordon. There is no hint of the circumstances under which Zein would, as readily as Gordon, blow up his machines rather than accept certain defeat. Behind Zein's triumph also lie compromises imposed by a dogma and its infallible hierarchy, yet we get no glimpse of them nor of the tricks and traps which history is already laying for him and which will surely corrupt and degrade the purity of his individual purpose. Thus, Zein does not clearly emerge from the shadows of the future either as Gordon's alter ego or as the symbol of historical inevitability.

Despite that flaw—if it is a flaw—Aldridge must now be recognized, along with the early Malraux, as one of the very few writers who has managed to create literature on the philosophical foundations of historical necessity. His novel has the further advantage of being a helpful contribution toward the understanding of colonial revolution and the collapse of empire.

COMING

Most Likely to Succeed

by John Dos Passos

Reviewed by Harold Clurman

September 18, 1954

The Jew in America

ADVENTURE IN FREEDOM: THREE HUNDRED YEARS OF JEWISH LIFE IN AMERICA. By Oscar Handlin. The McGraw-Hill Book Company. \$3.75.

By Henry Popkin

OSCAR HANDLIN concedes in his preface that "Adventure in Freedom" is "not a complete history of the Jews in the United States" but "an effort at interpretation, based on materials commonly known to scholars." What he has written is an attractive synthesis of the well-known story. His greatest problem is making the material fit the space: he must compress 300 years of history into fewer than 300 pages, and although his primary concern is interpretation, he must still tell *what happened* as well as *why* it happened. Early in the book, Professor Handlin finds room for sketches

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of a few of the more striking individuals, like Major Noah and Rebecca Gratz, but as his narrative continues he gradually thins out people and events in favor of more general matters. He gives particular emphasis to the successive tides of Jewish immigration and their rivalries, their occupational patterns, and the adjustment of their religious practices to the American environment.

By all odds the most original and interesting chapter is Professor Handlin's account of the origins of American anti-Semitism. He finds no notable signs of anti-Semitism until the last decade of the nineteenth century, when the international Jewish conspiracy became part of the Populist mythology. In 1891 the Populist Ignatius Donnelly wrote a utopian novel in which the world was menaced by a Jewish oligarchy of merchants, bankers, and princes. When, five years later, William Jennings Bryan thundered, "You shall not crucify mankind on a cross of gold," his statement apparently had anti-Semitic connotations for many of his listeners.

GOD AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

(Beyond selling space for publication of the accompanying material, *The Nation* is not to be held responsible for statements contained in the material)

The term "God" (*Elohim*) has come to us out of the fierce warfare of the Hebrew prophets against the tyranny and injustice represented by "Baal" and other heathen gods. "The name Baal became the very signature of heathenism", writes Prof. G. F. Moore (Commentary on Judges, p. 195). The struggle for social justice, against Baal and other gods was the driving force which, in Canaan, or Palestine, carried the idea of God authentically upward from heathenism to Ethical Monotheism. In its essence, therefore, the term God became the concrete, emotional symbol of social justice.

The churches, accordingly, must prepare themselves to cease using the powerful term God as the synonym of a merely personal, or individual, righteousness; and they must begin to use it as a concrete, emotional instrumentality of social vision. This is not the claim of some obscure sect; it is the mandate of scientific Biblical scholarship in our progressive theological seminaries and outstanding universities. We have reached a new epoch in which the leading religious question must be, *What think ye of God?*

No sooner did triumphant monotheism come down from the highlands of Palestine into the vast and sordid plain of world history than bookish men—indoor philosophers—went to work on the term God. They robbed it of its concrete, emotional value as a symbol of objective, outdoor, social justice. And they transformed it into a theological abstraction, "The Supreme Being", enthroned in the heavens, and endowed with "attributes" to be discussed at leisure for many centuries in class rooms.—This is not the whole story. A few suggestions will be found in a circular which will be sent to you for a three-cent stamp to cover postage. (Requests without stamp will bring no result). L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

Since Professor Handlin has dealt satisfactorily with a period of 270 years, it may seem churlish, and it is in fact unpleasant, to complain of his less impressive treatment of the last thirty years. But it is necessary to call attention to the last two chapters. Serenity is their keynote; Professor Handlin has painted a picture of a fairly cloudless serenity in recent Jewish-American life, and he has accomplished this mainly by omitting whatever trends and events do not contribute to this picture. He makes no reference to the literature of Jewish self-discovery in the 1920's; neither Ludwig Lewisohn nor the *Menorah Journal* is mentioned at all in any connection. No reference is made to the anti-German boycott of the 1930's. There is no more than an indirect reference to the major parties' efforts to court Jewish voters by espousing Zionism; nothing is said of the Irgunist and early Stalinist attempts to capitalize on popular sympathy for Israel; the comparative success of Peter Bergson's Irgunist-front groups is especially worthy of comment because it suggests that there were great numbers of people interested in Jewish causes who were not being reached by the more respectable Jewish organizations.

Most curious of all is the absence of any reference to the 1952 crisis in the National Community Relations Advisory Council. Professor Handlin describes the founding of N. C. R. A. C. in a chapter largely based on an essay that he published in *Commentary*. The original essay mentioned the MacIver Report of 1952 and the subsequent objections of those organizations that were unwilling to curtail their services. In *Commentary* this reference drew a long reply from Professor MacIver and a long defense from Professor Handlin. But in the book, Professor MacIver, his report, and the controversy are ignored.

Professor Handlin is surely excessively comforting about the popular arts, especially when he observes that the movie "Gentleman's Agreement" presents Jews naturally, as they are; naturalness is a hard quality to find in a self-conscious, contrived cinematic tract against anti-Semitism. But the most serene conclusion of all is that the most meaningful and dynamic force in Jewish life is now religion: "Americans turned increasingly to the temple and synagogue." The author does not support this statement.

Selected New Books

Poetry

THE CLASSICAL ANTHOLOGY DEFINED BY CONFUCIUS. Translated by Ezra Pound. Harvard. \$5. Whether the "inventor of Chinese poetry for our time" as Eliot called him, or merely the discoverer of Pound as Amy Lowell put it, Pound remains the master technician, and whether these translations are or are not scholar-faithful, Pound has put a great book into living English measures.

POETS OF TODAY. By Harry Duncan, Murray Noss, and May Swenson. Scribner's. \$3.50. Not an anthology, but three separate first volumes published in one binding as an intelligent experiment in poetry publication. Three distinguished performances, but the show is clearly stolen by May Swenson's accomplished eye, ear, and diction. She is a poet who must be read.

ORLANDO FURIOSO. By Ludovico Ariosto. English Translation by Allan H. Gilbert. S. F. Vanni. 2 vols. \$27.50. A prose literal rendering of Ariosto's great romance equipped with a good introduction, minimum notes, and a good index, but not with the Italian text.

A HISTORY OF ITALIAN LITERATURE. By Ernest Hatch Wilkins. Harvard. \$7.50. A history especially designed as an introduction to Italian

literature from the beginning. A brilliant treatment of the subject and a model for literary historians in any field. Especially timely for those seeking some background for the amazing revival of Italian fiction in our time.

COLLECTED POEMS. By James Stephens. Macmillan. \$5. A revised and enlarged edition of the earlier "Collected Poems" by the much-loved author of "The Crock of Gold." Stephens sings the simple Irish song, clear and sweet, but knocked alive by wit and manliness.

SELECTIONS FROM LES AMOURS JAUNES. By Tristan Corbière. Translated by C. F. MacIntyre. California. \$3.75. A generous selection from certainly the most irreverent and the most puckish of the French poets, brilliantly made into English verse, and with facing-page French texts.

AN ITALIAN VISIT. By C. Day Lewis. Harper. \$2.50. A narrative poem, half travelogue, in a skillfully managed conversational tone. Interesting but not very exciting.

THE DEATH BELL. By Vernon Watkins. New Directions. \$3. A new collection by a gifted and conscientious poet. Watkins is for those who care.

JOHN CIARDI

Philosophy and Psychology

APPARITIONS. By G. N. M. Tyrrell. Pantheon. \$3. A masterly penetration into the field of telepathy, precognition, etc., which psychologists such as McDougall, Rhine, and Gardner Murphy have made respectable. Recommended to the scientific student of extra-sensory perception.

THE HUMAN ANIMAL. By Weston La Barre. Chicago. \$6. Brightly written, charmingly illustrated, this is a work of the positivistic schools of anthropology and psychology; the "nothing but" school for which "man's human nature derives from the kind of body he has." Those who are satisfied with Hooton and Freud as philosophers, who are content to explain the greater by the lesser, will like it.

PYGMIES AND DREAM GIANTS. By Kilton Stewart. Norton. \$3.75. The author, specialist in primitive cultures with a talent for adventure, lives among the Negritos and other tribes of the Philippine jungle and—without sentimentalism or romanticism—manages to prove that some of these barbarous peoples (not all) have found

wiser methods of adjustment to the basic needs of man than our Western civilization.

THE COLLECTED PAPERS OF OTTO FENICHEL. First and Second Series. Collected and Edited by Dr. Hanna Fenichel and Dr. David Rapaport. Norton. \$6.50 each. One of the brainiest and broadest of the orthodox Freudians discusses subjects both technical and cultural, ranging from metaphysics and anti-Semitism to the psychopathology of coughing.

SPIRIT AND NATURE: PAPERS FROM THE ERANOS YEARBOOKS. By Erwin Schrödinger, C. G. Jung, Adolf Portmann, Paul Masson-Oursel, and others. Translated by Ralph Manheim and R. F. C. Hull. Pantheon. \$5. These studies, a selection of those read at the annual Eranos meetings on Lago Maggiore, reflect the significant integration that is taking place between Eastern metaphysics, Western psychology and the latest implications of physics. Archetypal is Schrödinger's "The Spirit of Science."

WALDO FRANK

New Books in Brief

Evolution of Socialism

A HISTORY OF SOCIALIST THOUGHT. By G. D. H. Cole. Vol. I. The Forerunners: 1789-1850. \$5. Vol. II. Marxism and Anarchism: 1850-1890. St. Martin's Press, \$6.

Professor Cole has spent too much time in recent years producing rather thin popular "guides," so that it is good to welcome his return to the main track of scholarship. This new work, perhaps the most ambitious of his prolific career, provides us with both a lucid summary and a critical interpretation of a huge mass of Socialist literature, much of it indigestible but of no less historical importance on that account.

Socialism, like individualism, democracy, and other explosive abstractions, is incapable of exact definition. In this book it covers a wide variety of political and economic doctrines which have in common a general hostility to the competitive system and a general enthusiasm for collective action. Indeed, the author goes farther by taking account of non-Socialist thinkers—for example, John Stuart Mill and Henry George—whose ideas influenced Socialist thought.

Starting with Babeuf and the premature socialism of the French Revolution, the first volume takes the story up to the middle of the nineteenth century. This period was the heyday of the utopians and Professor Cole gives adequate attention to Owen, Fourier, Proudhon, and many another now forgotten. In addition he describes the contributions of the early French and English Christian Socialists and such forerunners of Marx as the Anglo-American John Francis Bray.

The wordy battle between the Marxists and the Anarchists, in which the former triumphed, is the theme of Volume II. Professor Cole, whose own non-Marxian socialism is tinged with philosophic anarchism, does justice to both sides. Of particular interest is his objective discussion of "Das Kapital" in which he shows the bogus nature of Marx's claim to "scientific" socialism. His theory of surplus value was "in truth a gigantic metaphysical construction, quite unrelated to any statement or hypothesis that can be tested or verified." Moreover, Professor Cole points

out, Marx ignored developments in the advanced industrial countries after 1850. This helps to explain "why Marxism, in becoming the gospel of the major part of Continental socialism, failed to make any similar impact on Great Britain."

Good and Bad Medicine

THE MEANING OF SOCIAL MEDICINE. By Iago Galdston, M.D. Published for the Commonwealth Fund by the Harvard University Press. \$2.75.

The writer of this little book is a scholarly physician who has long held the responsible post of secretary of the Medical Information Bureau of the New York Academy of Medicine. He undertakes to correct the prevalent confusion in America between "social medicine" and "socialized medicine." The latter means government control of the practice of medicine and is therefore "bad," whereas social medicine is the scientific professional approach to the whole human being in his social setting. Social medicine would correct the overspecialization now common among doctors. Medical education, instead of focusing upon diseases and remedies, would train the practitioner to aid his patients to realize the potentialities of their lives.

Unfortunately, Dr. Galdston fails to suggest how the reform of medical education and medical practice is to be accomplished. The economic influences which encourage many of the evils of specialization are given practically no attention, nor are we told how medical faculties dominated by specialists are to be induced to change their entrenched curricula and ignore their own interests. Practical steps toward social medicine require the enlistment of economic, social, and political forces as well as the intra-professional forces to which this volume is limited.

Before Atonement

JOHANNESBURG FRIDAY. By Albert Segal. McGraw-Hill. \$3.75.

On the Leventhals' silver wedding, which occurs two days before the Day of Atonement and on the eve of the Sabbath of Penitence, the lives of four members of the family—the mother, father, daughter, and second son—are

appropriately laid open. Through retrospect and action the picture is built up of this lower-middle-class South African Jewish family, none of its members wholly admirable, none wholly unworthy. The mother, struggling to run the household with a constantly decreasing income while trying to help her children to "good" marriages; the son, infatuated with his mistress but not strong enough to appreciate her; the father, who has largely resigned material ambition without quite attaining spirituality; and the daughter who, despite her weaknesses and shortcomings, emerges as the strongest character in the novel.

Perhaps the achievement of "Johannesburg Friday" is the presentation of the South African background not as something exotic or unusual but as real and pedestrian—dull, dusty, and vivid. Without shrillness or piling up of horrors the situation of the "non-European"—the Bantu who preceded the white man in South Africa—is revealed, if not in all its wretchedness, at least in part.

Yet despite its competence and insights "Johannesburg Friday" is, except for the last fourth, a rather dull novel. The author has assembled the necessary ingredients and mixed them not unskillfully. All that is lacking is spirit.

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Unmoving Movement

THE GO-BETWEEN. By L. P. Hartley. Knopf. \$3.50.

An unfortunate number of novels encompass much and accomplish little. L. P. Hartley's novel, however, while encompassing very little indeed, succeeds in establishing something rare—depth of characterization in a quiet, structured narrative.

The plot of "The Go-Between" is simple. An English schoolboy spending a summer at the country home of his friend acts (completely unaware) as "go-between" in a situation of secret illicit passion and becomes the trigger for final tragedy. While there is something of violence and sex in Mr. Hartley's book, both are muted by fastidious and sensitive prose. The result will be the despair of some readers and the pleasure of others.

There is much of Henry James in "The Go-Between." Mr. Hartley combines nuance, tone, and finely wrought architecture, neglecting only the Jamesian convolution of sentence. Like James also, his fiction is one of "unmoving movement" in which significant events have already taken place, leaving room only for gradual evolution of situation. As his novel unfolds, Mr. Hartley transmits irony, emotion, and insight with great economy.

The fascination of Mr. Hartley's technique is the lightness of his strokes: a single sentence often suffices for an entire emotional complex. Precisely because "The Go-Between" lacks forward thrust, however, it will have limited appeal. And there are portraits of Victorian ritual, such as the following, which will leave even sympathetic readers nonplussed: "The men walked about to eat their porridge. This, Marcus told me, was *de rigueur*; only cads ate their porridge sitting down."

Cruel Sea

SALT IN OUR WOUNDS. By Jack Harvey. Dutton. \$3.

A depressing implication of this autobiographical novel is the acceptance of war as a natural phenomenon. The survivors of the torpedoed tanker *Richard* make no distinction between the shelling and machine-gunning, as they flounder in the water toward the only remaining

lifeboat, and the deadly perils of the next six weeks on the endless ocean under a burning sun. Sea and humanity are both killers.

"Salt in Our Wounds" describes in detail the voyage of thirty-nine men in a twenty-four-foot open boat. Brutality, meanness, greed, and cunning rise and ebb, but always in lower peaks as the sailors' vitality flows away. The hoarded rations dwindle, the precious drinking water becomes foul, wounds fester, boils and sores become unbearable agonies. Spasms of madness alternate with apathy and moral decay. In the face of impending death the men have only their insufficient ego as a resource.

Despite its careful precision, "Salt in Our Wounds" falls short of leaving the reader with the feeling that he has participated in a terrible experience. Perhaps because the narrator is a rather priggish young man, perhaps because the author has not yet learned the difference between detachment and aloofness, one comes away from the novel too conscious that he has been reading a well-written book and not conscious enough of the terrors of life-in-death.

Céline's Underworld

GUIGNOL'S BAND. By Louis-Ferdinand Céline. Translated by Bernard Frechtman and Jack T. Nile. New Directions. \$5.

"Guignol's Band," Céline's third volume of fiction to be translated, is, he says, the first section of a four-part novel. However, it is reported that this may be the only section that will ever be published, the others having been lost by Céline in 1944 during his escape from France just before the collapse of the Nazi occupation. Céline was notorious then for receiving preferential treatment from his country's conquerors. After his two autobiographical novels, "Journey to the End of the Night" and "Death on the Instalment Plan," had put him in the forefront of French writers, he published a number of pamphlets attacking the Jews, the Americans, and the British. These gave him status among the Nazis, and subsequently this first part of "Guignol's Band" was published.

For its power of projection alone it can be placed alongside his best work,

with perhaps a suggestion in its heightened style of something even still better to come. The qualities that brought him literary fame—his skill in depicting the hallucinatory, the scabrous, the burlesque, and his virtuoso character delineation—have never been evidenced with more extravagance and fire.

London during the First World War is the scene of the story—we are shown Céline's familiar underworld of pimps, prostitutes, petty thieves, dipsomaniacs, and talented murderers addicted to the use of hand grenades in homes and bars. Evident throughout is Céline's exorcism of the war and in particular of the French and Allied side. The translation is colloquial and excellent.

All Was Not Quiet

A TIME TO LOVE AND A TIME TO DIE. By Erich Maria Remarque. Translated from the German by Denver Lindley. Harcourt, Brace. \$3.95.

In "A Time to Love and a Time to Die," Erich Maria Remarque is once again writing of the horror and futility of war. The book focuses on a German private named Ernest Graeber, who returns from the carnage of Russian fighting during World War II to find home and city pulverized by Allied air attacks. Only the informers seem intact, and immune to the fear of concentration camps. Of course, as a German soldier and veteran of the Russian front Graeber is no stranger to death. On his furlough, however, he encounters the death of German civilians, and that makes all the difference. Under the prodding of defeat, Ernest's conscience creaks awake.

Essentially Remarque's novel is taken up with Private Graeber's soul-searching and his love affair with a girl named Elizabeth. The love affair is curiously unreal; a plot mechanism introduced but never developed beyond the point of occasional poignancy. The problem of guilt—Ernest's and Germany's—is not handled much more profoundly. Many readers will find it difficult to identify themselves with the situation of Graeber or of the suffering German population. For these readers there will be the insistent mental picture of millions of people butchered throughout Europe and the question whether conscience, when awakened only in defeat, is conscience at all.

To be sure, Graeber is tormented by the fact that it is too late for simple repentance. But Remarque does not take us deeply into the hearts and minds of either the unregenerate Nazis or the Private Graebers—those who committed or those who ignored methodical bestiality such as the world has never known. Remarque places his stress on events rather than insight, movement rather than motivation. The result is a fast-paced and readable novel whose main effect lies in external description—a horizontal narrative seldom reaching beneath the surface of its material.

Professorial Wencher

A RAKE AND HIS TIMES. George Villiers, 2d Duke of Buckingham. By John Harold Wilson. Farrar, Straus and Young, \$4.

Mr. Wilson believes that the second Duke of Buckingham, a resplendent figure at the Court of Charles II, has been judged too harshly by moralizing historians. But if it is unfair to label

him "the wicked duke," he was, for all his reputation as a wit, an exceedingly foolish nobleman. As a wencher he was as professorial as his royal master, for whom, on occasion, he pimped. Otherwise, he was the dilettante par excellence, dabbling in science, literature, war, and statecraft. Mr. Wilson makes much of the fact that in an age of bigots he believed in "a true and perfect liberty of conscience." However, his championship of persecuted non-conformers was subordinate to political exigencies and fitful at best.

Buckingham is not without interest as a representative Restoration character, but despite Mr. Wilson's efforts he remains a minor historical figure who will continue to be remembered mainly for John Dryden's scathing description in "Absalom and Achitophel":

Stiff in opinions, always in the wrong,
Was everything by starts, and nothing long;
But in the course of one revolving moon,
Was chemist, fiddler, statesman, and buffoon.

Music

B. H. Haggin

IN HER second or third season in this country Flagstad, at a Town Hall concert, sang an aria from "Aida" in such electrifying fashion as to raise the question why not at the Metropolitan. When I put the question to her she answered that "they did not ask me"; and similarly when I inquired why she allowed herself to be dangerously overworked (four Wagner performances in one week, and on one occasion three on three consecutive days) her answer was that "they asked me." For the explanation of these answers I had to wait until "The Flagstad Manuscript" (Putnam, \$4), the story of her life as she told it to Louis Biancolli. And at this point I will add that in our brief talk I got the impression of a wonderfully decent person. I mention this because it makes her a credible witness for me in this book; and also because such decency is the only thing she claims for herself.

A key to everything that has happened in her life is her statement "I am not an artist except when I am dealing

with art, and when I am not dealing with art I am the most commonplace person in the world." The typical celebrated performing musician is someone who early in life made his art and career paramount, and who accepted the distortion of his personal life by their conditions and exactions. But Flagstad from the start wanted what the commonplace person would want—"a simple and tranquil home life, and a husband to love and respect me"; her talent, at first, was a means of achieving this personal happiness; her art, much later, was something carried on by the artist, whose interference with that personal happiness the commonplace person had to endure.

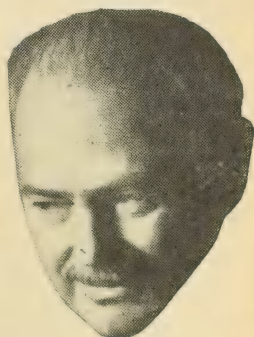
As the child of two hard-working professional musicians—her father a violinist and conductor, her mother a pianist—she got involved with music as the child of two cooks would have got involved with cooking; and the piano-playing and singing that began as something to do for pleasure became some-

Next Week in The Nation

An American Tragedy In the Matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer

by

Waldo Frank



Few of us can take the time to read the 992 pages of small type which comprise the record of the Oppenheimer hearings. But Waldo Frank, astute critic of American culture, has read it, and with care. He writes: "The drama of this matter is so intense, so symbolic and relevant for the lives of us all that the 'record' becomes an experience like a great novel."



Next week Nation readers will share this memorable experience through the sensitive, perceptive talents of Waldo Frank as he reviews the record "in the matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer."

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thing to study to do well, and eventually something with which to earn a living in whatever musical jobs came her way. Whether it was, at fifteen, to play dance music at a ball, or to accompany a lady's recitations of poetry, or, at seventeen, to sing her first role in opera, she thought of herself as a professional musician doing the job she had been given to do; and this continued to be her attitude in all the years that followed. In those years, also, she continued to regard this professional activity as one to be carried on, as any other trade or profession would be, within the frame of a normal personal life.

And so when in 1930 she married her second husband, a wealthy business man, although the commonplace person felt able to give up the hard work of professional singing for a quiet married life and an occasional concert, the professional musician felt impelled to take on now this, now that challenging new role, to accept the opportunity to sing at Bayreuth, then at the Metropolitan. So too, although in a position to limit her work, the professional who did whatever job she was given to do accepted the heavy load of Wagner performances at the Metropolitan and concerts on tour that soon damaged the voice whose unflawed beauty all the way to high C, at her first Metropolitan appearances, was the result of its never having been taxed in this way until then. "At that time I took the high C's regularly," she says of her first Metropolitan rehearsal in 1935: when she said this to Biancolli in 1941 she was no longer taking those squarely attacked and full high C's that were one of the sensations of her first "Tristan" performance. And so, on the other hand, in the spring of 1940, "exhausted to the verge of hysteria," she decided she had done enough and planned not to return here the following season, but to do only a little more singing in Europe and then retire.

The German invasion of Norway kept her here an additional year; and we now have her statements about the incidents in which she was accused of impropriety. She shared the grief of other Norwegians here (she gave a concert for Norwegian Relief in Chicago, and canceled the one in New York only because of difficulties created by the man in charge of it); she went back to Norway because she wanted to see her fam-

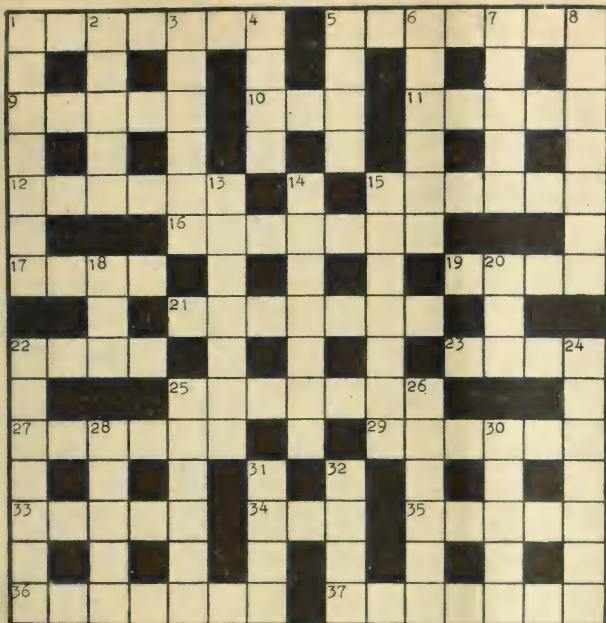
ily; and she didn't know of her government's opposition to her going. The arrangements about passage and visas were made entirely by her management, and in entirely normal fashion with the airplane office and consulates—which is to say no favors were asked of the German chargé d'affaires in Washington and he was not given his box at her Washington concert: presumably he bought it at the box-office. Nor was it any different in Norway. She stayed because she felt she should be with her family and her people; and her life was private, unpolitical, and unprofessional: her only public singing was done in Switzerland, where she went twice for a couple of months, and in Sweden, where she gave two concerts. For these trips the Germans granted exit permits and visas; for a third trip to Switzerland they refused them. As for her husband, he had originally joined the National Socialist Party because he had considered it a defense against radicalism; when she got to Norway she found he did not approve of its war-time role and was waiting for an opportunity to resign, which he did in July, 1941; and she tells us he did nothing thereafter that justified his arrest after the war. The arrest tied up their property; and the prosecutor, a personal enemy, kept her from leaving Norway to resume her singing on the pretext that she was needed in the investigation of her husband's financial affairs. At one hearing the old charge about the Washington concert was brought up; and her denial led to an admission by the Norwegian Embassy that there was no evidence of her having invited the German chargé d'affaires to the concert. And eventually she was allowed to leave. She was, she insists, not cleared—because she was never accused by her government of anything that she had to be cleared of.

That I was politically inactive when others were sacrificing their lives I am prepared, along with millions of others, to admit. That I was neutral in my feelings toward the horrible tragedy that overtook my country is the grossest falsehood, and for a woman who loves Norway as I do, the cruelest unkindness of all. Nor do I think it fair of anyone to hold it against me that to the very end I believed in the goodness and decency of the man I had married.

Flagstad, as she tells it, was not a Furtwängler or a Gieseking.

Crossword Puzzle No. 585

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 and 5 see 15 down.
- 9 Stiffness. (5)
- 10 The time of contingency? (3)
- 11 An alternative to this would make one guilty of treason. (5)
- 12 Grant, it's obvious. (6)
- 15 Part of the flower which suggests the complement of a three-year-old question. (6)
- 16 The gild applied to a poetic phantom. (7)
- 17 The fruit of McAuliffe's encirclement. (4)
- 19 The way some people lie! (4)
- 21 Evidently one of these rings belonged to a lady. (7)
- 22, 18, 23 and 14. A logical reply to the caller of 15 down, etc., if he were outside the barn. (4, 3, 4, 7)
- 25 Given two more than one for the money. (7)
- 29 As near as the fields of battle. (6)
- 33 and 35. Where is the spring being made ready? (2, 3, 5)
- 36 One throws away the shell! (7)
- 37 Expresses the way of the seraphs. (7)

DOWN

- 1 Difficult photographic shot on the lowest level. (7)
- 2 Very appropriate, but on the conservative side. (5)
- 3 Sin as well as duty, perhaps. (6)

- 4 They return in dismay. (4)
- 5 Cronin's were of the 5 across. (4)
- 6 Drooping, suggestive of Charley's relative. (6)
- 7 Hamlet called it dusty. (5)
- 8 Both gas and lines might be. (7)
- 13 X, in a state of condition. (7)
- 15, 1 and 5 across, 34, 27. A question of swap, with mounting trouble. (1, 5, 1, 5, 2, 7, 3, 1, 5)
- 20 The worst student doesn't get by with this expression of disapproval. (3)
- 22 Propaganda put out by the wartime agency (hardly crystal-clear)! (7)
- 24 Sort of sits on things and withstands action. (7)
- 25 Like copper? (6)
- 26 Fewer sometimes associated with this storage place. (6)
- 28 Outreached, but not hurt. (5)
- 30 29 without a breather. (5)
- 31 Affair, if out in the distance. (4)
- 32 Used to catch a certain vehicle? (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 584

ACROSS—1, 12 and 9 TELL ME WHERE IS FANCY BEING; 11, 10 and 20 WILD GOOSE CHASE; 13 BERNARD; 15 FALL FLAT; 16 SEDATE; 18 BALSAM; 21 INSECTURE; 24 SPIRAL; 26 AUSTAIN; 28 and 5 WARD HEELERS; 30 LIEN; 31 INCARNADINE.
DOWN—2 EXOTABLES; 3 LOGICAL; 4 EDOM; 6 ROWAN; 7 ARISTA; 8 CLARET; 14 STAIN; 17 DECATHEON; 19 APPAR; 29 MALACCA; 22 SUBTEND; 23 RAILED; 25 RODIN; 27 PAWN.

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THE *Nation*

September 25, 1954

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In the matter of
J. Robert Oppenheimer . . .

An American Tragedy

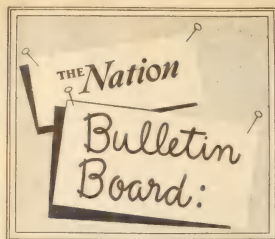
by Waldo Frank

The Defeat of E. D. C. *Alexander Werth*

Report from the Midwest *Robert G. Lewis*

Edinburgh Festival *Bernard Landis*

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865



AFTER A LOOK at the bulky transcript of the Oppenheimer hearings, one of the editors decided it might well be reviewed as a novel. The idea was broached to Waldo Frank and he agreed to take on the job of reading the 992 pages of small type. His review, *An American Tragedy*, appears on page 245.

MOST OF the magazine industry has been hard hit circulation-wise this year. Some of the "giants" are down as much as 10 and 15 per cent—and the downward trend seems to be continuing for most. In the face of this it is pleasant to report that this year *The Nation* circulation is 5 per cent above last year's. What with Maine going Democratic, pro-McCarthy candidates losing out in Wisconsin, and the circulation of *The Nation* going up, 1955 may well be a banner year for liberals.

ONE OF Western Germany's religious leaders, Dr. Gustav Heinemann, attended the recent meeting of Protestant churches from all over the world at Evanston, Illinois, and stopped off at the *Nation* office on his way home. He reported that *The Nation* is greatly admired in liberal German circles and plans an article for us dealing with the position of the major non-party groups in West Germany on the question of German rearmament.

IN AN EARLY issue we will run *The Face of Violence*, by J. Bronowski—a lucid explanation of the role of violence in modern societies. We predict it will occasion wide comment and make Bronowski better known to American readers. Educated at Jesus College, Cambridge, senior lecturer in mathematics at University College, Hull, 1934-42, Bronowski served with the Chiefs of Staff Mission to Japan in 1945-46 and since June, 1950, has been director of the Central Research Establishment of the National Coal Board. He is the author of a remarkable play "The Face of Violence," "William Blake, a Man Without a Mask," and "The Common Sense of Science." His article, *The Dilemma of the Scientist*, which appeared in the August 14 issue of *The Nation*, attracted a good deal of attention.

A RECENT survey made by Duke University's Sociology Department shows that Editorial Director Carey McWilliams, author of upward of a dozen books ("Factories in the Field," "Witch Hunt," "Brothers Under the Skin," "A Mask for Privilege," and others) is among the American writers on contemporary problems most cited in textbooks on sociology.

Earlier this month McWilliams took part in a panel discussion on Anti-Intellectualism sponsored by a division of the American Psychological Association. One of the panel members held that anti-intellectualism is not a new phenomenon, that it has always been present in our culture, that there is no need for undue alarm today, and that the present trend will abate. McWilliams said today's anti-intellectualism goes much deeper than it ever has gone before, that it is not merely a crackpot attitude but a policy sanctioned by various acts of government. He cited the loyalty programs, the character of Congressional committee hearings, and the nature of the material found in F. B. I. files as proof of this.

Incidentally, Boston readers of *The Nation* will have the opportunity to hear McWilliams at the Reverend Donald Lothrop's Community Church in that city. He will speak there on Sunday, October 10.

THE SENSATIONAL STORY in next week's special issue, *The Great Giveaway*—which we hope readers in droves will be

ordering—was forecast by Contributing Editor Bruce Catton when the Republicans came into office. In February, 1953, he wrote: "They are coming in hungry, and they are not hungry for peanuts. The vast public-utility, oil, mining, and lumber interests that supported the Republican campaign are getting ready to move in on America's natural resources, and what they want is all the country has got. The new Administration is prepared to make things easy for them, and the program is beginning to be clear. It adds up to what is probably the greatest raid on the national wealth ever contemplated."

Catton's prediction has come true—in spades! Though there have been no little black bags, what has been going on in Washington makes Teapot Dome look like a penny-ante deal. *The Nation*, by the way, is the first national publication to bring you the full story. (See advertisement in this issue for special rates on extra copies.)

A READER sent us the following item: A woman in New Hyde Park, New York, who wants to ban an assortment of books from the school libraries in her community, says "We have true democracy in our school district. We can ban a book on our own."

For items of a similar nature sent to me—which we can publish—I will send readers the current selection of our book club, *The Nation's Choice*.

MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

Another Deportation

Dear Sirs: I wonder whether *The Nation* is aware that a situation like that described in Hannah Blum's article on David Hyun (issue of August 28) exists here in New York City. Two young Koreans, Mr. and Mrs. Kwak, are scheduled for deportation to South Korea. These two, like David Hyun, have been lifelong opponents of Syngman Rhee.

During World War II Mr. and Mrs. Kwak gave up their careers as musicians in order to aid in the war against Japan. They compiled a Korean-English dictionary for the use of the United States military forces and performed other invaluable services for the United States.

Only a successful appeal to the courts can bar their way to persecution and probable death in South Korea. They ask only that they be allowed to go to a land of their own choice. Considering how long the war in Korea was protracted by this very question, the right of prisoners to go where they chose, is it not ironic that Mr. and Mrs. Kwak are denied that right?

It is quite obvious that our government during World War II distrusted Rhee.

Must they die now because they are the enemies of Rhee? I urge readers of *The Nation* to support their request in communications to the Department of Immigration.

New York

SYLVIA PRICE

In a Nutshell

Dear Sirs: The present situation may fairly be summed up thus. Allen S. Dulles procures information from paid spies, who are obviously more interested in their pay than in giving trustworthy information. John Foster Dulles uses this information as the basis of the foreign policy of the United States. The Information Services publish a slanted view of the information to support that foreign policy. Next comes President Eisenhower, who announces a policy of defending Formosa without mention of seeking Congressional authority for a war with China, as our Constitution requires. Now comes Admiral Stump, who says in effect that a war with China will begin at the will of Admiral Stump.

Berkeley, Calif. CHARLES B. COLLINS

The Shape of Things

Adrenalin for Adenauer

If ever a man needed a shot in the arm to recuperate after a severe shock it was Dr. Konrad Adenauer, whose Christian Democratic Party was decisively defeated in the first important contest since the rejection of E. D. C. by the French National Assembly—the election of a new Landtag in Schleswig-Holstein. The shot was administered by Secretary Dulles, whose sudden visit to Bonn, according to reports, left the seventy-eight-year-old Chancellor looking at least twenty years younger. Mr. Dulles's promise that the era of delays is over and that Germany will get its sovereignty and its army—no matter what happens at the London meeting on September 27 or the session of the NATO Council in October—was surely of immense value to Dr. Adenauer. It is unlikely that the Dulles move will succeed in silencing the growing opposition to the Chancellor's policy. Even the German Free Democratic Party, next to Adenauer's party the most important in the Bonn coalition, has been outspoken in its criticism.

It was significant that after the vote in the French National Assembly people in West Germany showed no ill feeling against France or its Premier. On the contrary, it was Dr. Adenauer who was attacked because of his bitter defiance of Mendès-France and the decision of the French Parliament. This popular reaction seems to justify the statement of James P. Warburg, in his excellent letter in the *New York Times* of September 16, that "if one takes the view that a Franco-German rapprochement rather than a German military contribution is the key-stone of the arch of Western security, then the death of the E. D. C. may turn out to be a blessing in disguise, since it frees all concerned from commitments and opens the way to a reexamination of the premises."

For the German Social Democrats, victors in the Schleswig-Holstein election and second largest party in the country, the way out is clear. They are pressing more strongly than ever for four-power talks. The party is against remilitarization—under NATO or any other plan—before the last possibility is exhausted of achieving German unity through negotiation with Russia. Its position on Mr. Dulles's policy is summed up in this official statement by the party leadership: "Without France and against France no integration of the *Bundesrepublik* and no German army."

In Europe's China Shop

Secretary Dulles's lightning tour to Europe last week was in the worst tradition of the Eisenhower foreign policy. Perhaps he intended only to frighten—and offend—the French by rushing to Bonn and settling things with Chancellor Adenauer while by-passing Paris. But what he succeeded in doing was to affront the British as well as undercutting Foreign Minister Eden's proposals to Bonn, France, and the E. D. C. countries. That Mr. Dulles's call on Sir Winston and Mr. Eden ended as pleasantly as it appeared to is a tribute to British decorum. The atmosphere may also have been improved by Mr. Eden's natural annoyance with the French for their reluctance to accept his plan for a solution of the German rearmament problem based on the Brussels treaty. As the *London Economist* remarked, the Dulles performance suggested "the appearance on a small stage of a second star trying to jostle the first out of the way." Confusion, it pointed out, was the result.

The British did at least succeed in putting over the proposed nine-power meeting in London, which Washington had been resisting. But instead of gathering to consider Mr. Eden's well-defined plan the conferees will now be confronted also with Mr. Dulles's apparent preference for the arming of Germany directly as a member of NATO, and with counter-proposals containing the further safeguards demanded by M. Mendès-France. It will be a miracle if out of this mishmash any common attitude can be evolved.

Reduced to its simplest consequence one can only say that once more Mr. Dulles's clumsy intervention has succeeded in setting ally against ally, increasing French fears and German impatience, and further complicating the immensely difficult issues that now bar the way to a European settlement.

Union Welfare Funds

The exposure by the New York State Insurance Department of union-welfare-fund abuses has brought about the suspension of officials of five locals affiliated with the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, C. I. O. These and other officials under investigation received lavish salaries, automobiles, and sundry other benefits from funds collected for the protection of the members. The R. W. D. S. U. is to be commended for moving so promptly against these men. However, it should be noted that they represented only some 3,500

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members in five locals as against the total union membership of 140,000.

In this issue, Robert A. Bedolis tells the story of District 65 of the R. W. D. S. U. In view of the investigation, it is pertinent to note that this organization of 28,000 was investigated by the State Insurance Department and given a clean bill of health; that the union and employers jointly retained the accounting firm of Price, Waterhouse to conduct an impartial audit of its books which showed the operation of its fund to be wholly in accord with sound principles. The union, in contrast to those under fire, does not permit any official to draw a salary from the welfare fund; administrative costs, which run between 25 per cent and 35 per cent in unions named in the probe, are held below 7 per cent by District 65.

It is inevitable that these probes, highlighted by flamboyant newspaper headlines, should cast a shadow on the operations of all labor welfare funds. Yet, such great unions as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, United Mine Workers, and Ladies Garment Workers operate welfare funds amounting to tens of millions of dollars, all of them free of even a whisper of corruption. With Congress due to get into this particular investigating act, it is important to remember that the unions exposed are far from representative of the labor movement as a whole.

Election Bulletins

The political news of the past fortnight can be summed up in a phrase: the Republicans are in trouble. On the Maine returns, our special correspondent, Frank Sleeper, of the Portland Press Herald, provides expert analysis in this issue. But from Wisconsin also comes word of heavy Democratic voting strength, as is shown in the close margin between Representative Charles Kersten (see The Kersten Show, The Nation, September 4), one of McCarthy's best-known lieutenants, and Henry Reuss, winner of the Democratic nomination, in the Fifth Congressional District, and also in Representative Lester Johnson's vote in the Ninth—the largest Democratic primary vote in the history of the district. It is significant, too, although not surprising, that the veteran Fred R. Zimmerman, a consistent opponent of McCarthy, won the Republican nomination for Secretary of State without official backing. But Mr. Zimmerman is unbeatable in Wisconsin under any conditions. In New York's first Congressional District (eastern Long Island) a McCarthyite contender made a miserable showing in the Republican primary.

In Colorado former Representative John Carroll, in a bitter contest, won the Democratic Senatorial nomination over Mayor Quigg Newton of Denver. With "Uncle Ed" Johnson as candidate for governor—in the past he has

tended to look on Carroll as a rival—the Democrats would seem to have an excellent chance of capturing the state and of sending John Carroll to the Senate, which would be as good news for the rest of the country as it would be for Colorado. In the wake of these primaries—and it was a real wake for the Republicans—came the announcement that Senator McCarthy would make only three campaign speeches—two in Illinois, one in Nebraska. But more significant than any of these developments, perhaps, is the revolt of the prairie farmer, as reported by Robert G. Lewis in this issue. Mr. Lewis has studied political trends in the farm belt at close range over a period of years; his views weigh heavily with us. But add the score as you will, it doesn't look good for the Republicans.

One development on the current political scene, however, falls in a somewhat less hopeful category. In Representative Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., and Averell Harriman the Democrats have two excellent candidates for governor of New York. But Mr. Harriman's fine qualities can hardly be cited as justification of the summary fashion in which the Democratic Party in the state was informed that it must accept him and reject Mr. Roosevelt. The tone and manner of Mr. Di Sapio's statement hark back to an era in New York politics which we had been assured could not be repeated under the new Tammany leadership. For the sake of intra-party democracy as well as to insure his own future, we hope that Mr. Roosevelt will not abide by this high-handed ruling.

Nationalism in the Philippines

In a surge of economic nationalism the government of the Philippines has decided to drive foreigners out of retail business. Under a recently enacted law the alien owner of a retail store may continue to operate it, but the license is not transferable and within six months of the owner's death the heirs must liquidate the business. It is frankly conceded—see the *Philippine Free Press* of May 29—that the measure is aimed primarily at checking the economic expansion of the 200,000 resident Chinese, most of whom are in retail trade. While 88 per cent of the licenses are held by Filipinos and only 12 per cent by Chinese, the Chinese-owned stores control, it is estimated, about 57 per cent of total retail turnover. The measure could seriously endanger the \$150,000,000 American investment in the islands if "retail trade" is interpreted to include companies that import and retail oil or that assemble automobiles for sale. The Americans are protected to some extent by provisions in the executive agreement of 1946, but the Chinese cannot appeal to any former agreement or treaty. Nor can they easily avoid the consequences of the law by becoming citizens. Naturalization is a time-consuming, expensive, and incredibly difficult process.

A Guide to Security

BY NORMAN REDLICH

IN deciding that Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer is a security risk, the Personnel Security Board of the Atomic Energy Commission set down an invaluable set of rules for government employees who want to avoid Dr. Oppenheimer's fate. Lest these excellent criteria be lost to posterity in the board's lengthy report, we list some of them herewith.

1. Never agree with anyone who is not also a government employee so that no one can accuse you of a "tendency to be coerced" or to be unduly "influenced" by outsiders.

2. In dealing with fellow government workers, you are free to express opinions and "deep moral convictions" with the following limitations:

- a. You should limit your opinions to your field of "special competence"; in other words, if you are a physicist, you should express no views on politics, religion, or the Brooklyn Dodgers.

- b. Your opinions should be incapable of influencing anyone. Otherwise you may be called upon to "re-influence" them in case your opinions do not happen to coincide with official government policy.

- c. Any opinion which does not coincide with the theory that the United States must have the "strongest possible offensive capabilities," regardless of the possible effect on the country's defensive potential, you had better keep to yourself.

3. You must support the government's security system by:

- a. Avoiding all independent judgment "with respect to the loyalty and reliability of other citizens" lest you be called "arrogant."

- b. No matter how long-standing the friendship, or your own opinion as to their loyalty, you must terminate all association with people who have been termed a security risk or who have invoked the Fifth Amendment before a Congressional committee.

- c. Report to the F. B. I. immediately all derogatory information you may receive about anyone—friend, stranger, or relative.

- d. Never recommend a security risk for a job even if it is a job outside the country which involves no security, like selling Armenian rugs in the Place de l'Opera.

4. If you have any spare time, you should also become a "loyal citizen" to whom the nation owes "a great debt of gratitude for loyal and magnificent service" and who shows a "high degree of discretion reflecting an unusual ability to keep to himself vital secrets." But remember that you can become all of these things and yet end up like Dr. Oppenheimer unless you also conform to Rules 1, 2, and 3.

SPAIN AND THE U. S. A.

Anniversary of a Treaty . . by J. Alvarez del Vayo

SEPTEMBER 26 marks the first anniversary of the American treaty with Franco Spain. An objective analysis of its practical results would show that, so far they have been meager. And such an analysis would still leave untouched the issue of principle: whether there can be a legitimate alliance between the nation which has assumed world leadership of a democratic crusade and the single surviving fascist dictatorship in Europe.

As to the question of how far the construction of United States air bases in Spain has advanced, reports vary. Madrid does everything possible to give the impression that the new airfields, which are to turn Spain into one of the chief bases of the United States air force in Europe, are hives of activity. But reports from Washington indicate a growing dissatisfaction with the progress being made. After a year of "preparation" work is about to begin on air-base construction worth \$60,000,000 at Torrejon (near Madrid), at El Coperó (near Seville), at Morón (also near Seville), and at Zaragoza. Some \$19,000,000 have been allocated for the development of naval bases, and there are ambitious plans for a pipeline to link the air bases with one another and with Cartagena, site of the important Escombra refinery. But on the Spanish side this work is being started without much enthusiasm and the local authorities are constantly afraid of sabotage.

The effect of the treaties on Spain itself is easier to gauge. It would be naive to deny that the Franco regime has gained prestige through its alliance with Washington. It has also gained financially. Spain's reserves of foreign currency, in alarming decline before the treaty, have since been replenished. But the improvement in the general situation has been slight, since the sums earmarked for developing communications—especially railroads—are only a fraction of what Spain needs.

In a well-documented article appearing in the current issue of *Harper's*, F. George Steiner, an American on the

staff of the London *Economist*, has this to say: "Spain is in so unhealthy a state that the intake of unearned dollars in large quantities will merely bring more inflation. Already the release of 3.5 billion pesetas in counterpart funds has meant an increase in fiduciary circulation equivalent to nearly 15 per cent of the Spanish budget." In simple terms what these figures mean for the Spanish people is the deterioration of a standard of living already appallingly low. One year after the treaty hunger is still the dominant characteristic of Spain.

Precisely for this reason opposition to the treaty has spread in the most unexpected circles. Today its critics are to be found in the three chief institutions supporting the regime—the Falange, the army, and the church.

Elements in the Falange, Spain's only legal party, charge Franco with having sold the nation's independence for a few million dollars. Every time one faction shouts "Gibraltar," another replies, "The treaty has turned the whole of Spain into an American Gibraltar," or "Why should England give back Gibraltar? So that it, too, can be sold to the Americans?" Mr. Steiner points out how dissatisfaction with the treaty has contributed to the growing antagonisms inside the Falange. That supposedly monolithic organization is turning into a conglomeration of factions, with Republicans and even Communists in its ranks. Steiner is especially accurate when he says: "The average Spaniard is a shrewd and suspicious observer. In many cases he has already convinced himself that American aid will not be of use to him."

In spite of undoubted benefits the treaty has brought to the army—training and equipment for its modernization—many military experts are beginning to realize what they should have known from the terms of the treaty: the largest part of the \$226,000,000 to be spent in Spain under the Mutual Security Act will be used for those military purposes that directly benefit the senior rather than the junior partner.

The more militant, and dominant, wing of the Catholic hierarchy in Spain also regards the treaty with suspicion rather than satisfaction. It dislikes any orientation toward the West and explicitly opposes help from Protestant sources. The clergy did their best to keep American personnel out of Spain altogether and, failing that, to segregate Americans within the confines of the bases. These conditions were naturally refused by Washington, but the continuing hostility of the church is illustrated by the closing last week of a church in Madrid belonging to the American Baptist Convention. It was charged with "illegal proselytizing." Spain is now the scene of a new wave of anti-Protestant acts. One of the paradoxes of modern politics is that a predominantly Protestant country like the United States should have become the chief support of a regime sworn to the persecution of Protestantism. One can imagine the flood of protests that would appear in the American press if a Baptist church should be closed in Russia.

THE treaty has also intensified the demand, even from persons close to Franco, for a solution of the ticklish problem of the succession. The Duke of Maura, a devoted Monarchist and one of Spain's most distinguished historians, has recently produced an able and severe criticism of the regime under cover of a "serene examination" of this problem. The Duke would never have dared make such a strong attack if the atmosphere in Spain had not radically changed of late. As it is, his statement is circulating all over Spain in mimeographed form.

Another document widely commented upon in Spain is a serious technical study of the treaty by Pablo de Azcárate, former Assistant Secretary General of the League of Nations, recently in the service of the United Nations. A recognized authority on international relations, Mr. Azcárate shows that the Franco government has put its signature to a treaty which authorizes American

intervention not only in the military affairs of Spain but also in its financial and monetary policy, including the preparation of the state budget. Azcárate puts his finger on the most neuralgic point of Spanish susceptibilities when he says that since the Franco government has agreed to turn Spain into a concentration base for American planes carrying A-bombs and H-bombs, the country will be exposed to immediate atomic reprisals if World War III breaks out. "This would mean Spain's total destruction," he concludes. The prospect has provided anti-government propaganda in Spain with an unparalleled popular appeal. The argument will have even greater effect if international tension rises and the threat of war grows more imminent.

An effort has been made, both on the Spanish and on the American side, to make the presence of the United States in Spain as inconspicuous as possible. But some 400 Americans, 280 belonging to the armed forces, are there on missions connected with the carrying out of the treaty. The people of Madrid see a growing number of cars marked "U. S. A.-Germany Forces." These cars appear most frequently in front of the sumptuous new Air Ministry on Romero Robledo Street and the España sky-

scraper, where the "principal contractor"—the person in charge of the United States relations with Spanish firms looking for dollars—has his office. The label "U. S. A.-Germany Forces" is surely symbolic. To the Spanish people it seems to unite West Germany and Franco Spain, the two "replacement allies" chosen by the Pentagon to compensate for the loss of E. D. C.

A Madrid cable on September 11 from United Press correspondent Peter Knox, appearing in the *New York Prensa*, states that in the "agonizing reappraisal" which is sure to come if efforts to find a substitute for E. D. C. fail, official circles are sure "Spain will be assigned a most important part in the military future of the Continent." Knox gives interesting details about the closer American-Spanish collaboration that has come with the defection of France and the growing sense of crisis in Western Europe: "In the new plans for the peripheral defense of Europe, the United States will depend on bombers and other types of planes stationed in Spain to face any act of Communist aggression. The United States air force, using Spanish bases, will be able to attack the faraway Soviet territory. Though the United States has a series of bases in Europe and

parts of North Africa, it is the Spanish bases, protected by the Pyrenees, that are regarded by experts as most valuable for the ultimate defense of Europe."

It is certainly curious that this interesting U. P. cable was not published in the chief New York newspapers. I don't know whether it was because the story seemed indiscreet from a military point of view or because Mr. Knox concluded his report with the following significant and honest comment:

It is the purely military aspect that makes the Spanish bases so important; but at the same time American democracy is involving itself in too many future risks for a country where there have been no elections for almost twenty years and where freedom of expression is non-existent. As long as the regime of Generalissimo Franco continues, the United States can trust Spain in its fight against communism; but it is difficult to predict what will happen after the Caudillo disappears, since nobody knows what the Spanish people think.

In all modesty I believe I *do* know what the Spanish people think. And I can say without hesitation that the question of the "succession" should be worrying not only the Duke of Maura and Spaniards generally but even more the American government.

AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY

The Oppenheimer Case . . by Waldo Frank

THE transcript of the hearings before the Personnel Security Board of the Atomic Energy Commission runs to nearly a million words. It is not comfortable reading. Spoken speech without the presence of the speaker flattens to the elliptical; syntax is often lost as new thoughts invade. The matter here is both complex and repetitious, touching depths without exploring them. And one encounters sentences like this by David Lilienthal: "It is the reasoning

that I adduced was not the reasoning in substantial part the reasons that are stated in the G. A. C. report and that is evident by reading it." Yet the drama of this "matter" is so intense, so archetypal, so symbolic and relevant for the lives of us all, that the fat tome of the United States Printing Office becomes an experience like a great novel. Here, for those who lack time to read its 992 pages, is a glimpse of the story.

The reader is soon immersed in a climate, pervasive, obsessive, like a nightmare: a climate of unchallenged axioms and dogmas.

1. The world has only two parts: the United States and Russia.

2. These two parts are joined in absolute opposition. For America, Russia is "the enemy"; Russia's one interest in America is to destroy it.

3. America's security, in terms of *fact* and *act*, is a matter of weapons to be brandished or to be used.

4. Although each individual American may have values that transcend physical security and survival, values that may move him to risk life for them, the nation shall have no such values. Its supreme aim, like the beast's, is to survive. For the individual, values dearer than life; for the individual's nation, life at the cost of all values.

5. In the three weeks' hearing the

WALDO FRANK, novelist and critic, contributed a widely discussed article, *The "Anti-Communist Peril,"* to *The Nation* of June 19.

word *genocide* is not used; the relevance of fission and fusion bombs to genocide is not mentioned.

6. There is occasional reference to "our civilization" and to the fact that fission-fusion bombs might destroy it. There is no inquiry into the nature of this civilization; into the bond between the bomb and the culture which produced it; into the perilous possibility that the bomb, *even if not used, even if merely made*, to "defend" this civilization, might undermine it and destroy the values of the men and women who live within it.

7. Although Russia and communism are the ever present "other" in this schizoid world, there is no hint by any of the free-ranging witnesses, who are not limited by court procedure, that deeper understanding of Russians and communism, of our mutual hostility and of ourselves, might contribute to defense and survival; and that some of the traits of which Oppenheimer is accused might make him a national asset for such understanding.

Of course, the business before the board is to measure the man by specified rules as a security risk. But Oppenheimer's personal motives and the nation's needs are a constant presence in the meanings of his conduct. His *character* is the issue. And the problems involved belong to politics, history, sociology, psychology, ethics, religion. They are never pursued beyond a superficial range within the reach of a schoolboy.

SO MUCH for the ideological scene and climate. What of the actors? The most emotional of the forty witnesses are the men of science. Within their concrete minds glows love for the accused. They have worked with him; they do not understand his former associations, and when the board prods them to explain, they are simply sure that this is a loyal and safe man. They cannot analyze their conviction (as they can analyze the atom), because love is in it. And this same quantum of the man that makes most of them love, makes a few of them hate: the victorious few—Teller, Latimer, Borden, Pitzer, et al. The hate also is below the threshold of intellectual conviction. "He is the most persuasive man in the world!" cries Dr. Latimer, with no hint of why this persuasiveness is a peril. Dr. Teller, presiding genius of



J. Robert Oppenheimer

the H-bomb, has nothing definite to say against his enemy: not that he is disloyal or unsafe, not even that he opposed or discouraged the project. But the same quantum which others love and which moves Oppenheimer to be less than passionately for the H-bomb, moves Teller—who loves the bomb as his own child—to hate him.

The bumptious General Groves, the sedate security officer, Colonel Lansdale, have more cause than the scientists to doubt this ex-radical and inventor of "a cock-and-bull story"; they trust him, nevertheless. "I want you to know," exclaims Lansdale in a talk registered by planted dictaphone, "that I like you personally, and believe me, it's so! I have no suspicions whatever and I don't want you to feel that I have. . . ." A quality in the man moves those who know him to love or hate *beyond*—not necessarily *against*—their rational convictions about him.

With others, the motivations are not personal; in their minds, clearly, Oppenheimer "stands for something" and they're against it. Roger Robb, the board's counsel, for instance. The hearing is not supposed to be a "trial." But

Robb is nakedly the prosecutor, working for a kill. He uses both net and poniard. Even the brilliant Lilienthal is tangled by him. When Dr. Von Neumann, generous-minded mathematician, is challenged to explain Oppenheimer's tale about the physicists and gropes for a psychological clue to help his certainty that Oppenheimer is both loyal and safe, Robb tosses him out:

Robb: One further question, doctor. You have never had training as a psychiatrist, have you?

Neumann: No.

Robb: That is all.

One cannot doubt what Robb's stand would have been had a psychologist been called to shed light on Oppenheimer's vacillations. But Robb's aggressiveness at times exceeds what a pettifogging lawyer in a more carefully restricted court of law could get away with. Dr. Vannevar Bush expresses outrage at a "paragraph" in General Manager Nichols's letter of charges which implies that Oppenheimer is being impugned for his opinions. In its original form this item is merely part of a very long paragraph which the *New York Times*, following common newspaper usage, has broken into several—for greater readability—but without changing the text by a word. Robb tries to trip Bush on the fake point that he is complaining about a "paragraph" that doesn't exist! This might have effect before a jury of twelve bewildered men. But Robb is working for a board of three experts. Clearly he is moved by an intellectual—or an anti-intellectual—passion.

CHAIRMAN Gordon Gray's emotional state is not so lucid; and his muddled language shows it. There is conflict in Dr. Gray, formerly Secretary of the Army, now president of the University of North Carolina. Unto the end he keeps insisting that the board has not yet made up its mind—protesting too much. Often he seems to plead with an eminent witness, justifying the board's "rights" and "duties." He needs to appear just; to preserve the esteem of these men of power who are fighting for the accused; above all, he needs to be "correct" in his obeisance to the unspoken dogma that is the hearing's climate. Oppenheimer, as we shall see, is not a prophet. But Gray's role recalls that of

the grand inquisitor in Dostoevski's novel—or of Caiaphas, the sincere high priest whose love of the official order is so pure that he finds blasphemy in all dissent. At times this strongest motive of Gray flashes sharp and free, like lightning from a storm cloud. When John J. McCloy, formerly of the Department of War, now of the Chase National Bank, testifies that "all of the scientists, I believe, but certainly Dr. Oppenheimer, were in favor of dropping the bomb on Japan," and goes on to speculate how Oppenheimer's misgivings about the H-bomb could be legitimate, Gray summarily silences the witness. When Dr. Walter Whitman, head of chemistry at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, corroborates two previous witnesses in their "feeling" that perhaps it was unwise to proceed with the H-bomb *before a new attempt was made to get Russia to agree not to produce it*, Gray ignores the supposed freedom of the hearings and shuts him off sharply.

Whitman: I do not feel that the future of civilization—

Gray: I don't question your feeling. *I don't want to pursue it.*

THE professional soldiers are the coolest actors, the ones most at ease in the hearing's ideological climate. General Roscoe Charles Wilson, for example, lives in the simple world of a military airman. "Russia," his sole syllogism goes, "is a land power . . . practically independent of the rest of the world"; neither naval blockade nor foot invasion can destroy it—and of course it must be destroyed; therefore "I am first of all a big bomb man." Oppenheimer is soft about the big bomb? What's the difference whether this means he is disloyal or merely mistaken?

Concerning Dr. Oppenheimer's future usefulness, General Wilson agrees with Dr. Teller that the creator of the A-bomb "might as well go fishing for the rest of his life." In the witnessess of this class, man's problems are simplified by elimination of all but the bare military facts as they happen to see them. Yet here too there is emotion. When fire-eater Wilson is asked if thermonuclear weapons are important, his reply, "Vastly, yes sir!" reveals a glowering appetite, a *gourmandise*; one can almost hear him purr, "M-m-m,

good!" like the Texan on the Campbell-soup radio program.

THE statesmen of science, of "big business," and diplomacy (Conant, Kennan, Bush, Lilienthal, Rowe, McCormack, et al) offer the best *reasons* for not letting Oppenheimer "go fishing." They have not so intimately worked with the man; they know and respect what he has done rather than love or reject what he *is*. They try to suggest, against stubborn opposition of chairman and counsel, that they can understand Oppenheimer's interest in social justice, in Russia's "experiment," while Russia was still our ally; even his failure, in that atmosphere of 1943, to rush at once to the F. B. I. with a vague story that would have injured a trusted friend. But this is dangerous ground! Not even Oppenheimer's counsel dares to tread it. One feels that the brilliant men, Kennan, above all (and one remembers how he was severed from State office), could have been clearer in analyzing Oppenheimer if the "dogma," the "climate," had not barred them.

The essence of the case—the quantum in this man which made some love and others hate him—is never approached directly. It glows briefly in the lucid testimony of Oppenheimer's wife. But Robb shrewdly declines to cross-examine her. He can count on the "irrelevance" of what she has to say.

Related to this essence, of course, is "the feeling about the future of civilization" to which Gray grants no quarter. The scientists are not experts in this "feeling," nor is Oppenheimer; but in him they sense their own preoccupation. When Oppenheimer expresses doubt as to the political, strategic, economic wisdom of a certain program for H-bombs, they know he is on legitimate ground even if he is wrong. But they know also that a deeper, inarticulate instinct moves him, and that *there* he is right! The Tellers—the haters—also feel this instinct, and that it is a risk to the paranoiac world, "the climate" of the hearing, to which they are committed.

We come close to the tragic heart of this story in the effort of Oppenheimer's liberal lawyer, Lloyd K. Garrison, to minimize the unorthodox in his client; to hide from view his "wrong" early friendships and interests by disposing of them as mere indiscretions of ig-

norance and youth, and by piling high the inventory of his "correct" later actions. Mr. Garrison cannot be blamed for this; he wants to win his case. But the need to hush up what is generous and noble in the man, even if mistakenly directed, points frighteningly to the sick spirit of our country. And why does Mr. Garrison disdain to cross-examine William Borden, the man who openly accuses Oppenheimer—on no evidence whatever—of being a Soviet spy? Why does he miss this opportunity to reveal the type of mind which, confronted with intellectual beauty,* "reaches for the gun" of character-assassination? Nothing Mr. Garrison and his associates could do would, I suspect, have changed the verdict. But at least by exploring the facts they might have got the truth more clearly in the record.

OPPENHEIMER is not a good witness for himself. His report on his leadership in the General Advisory Committee (G. A. C.) is exact, exhaustive, assured. But on the question of his early associations he hardly goes beyond the plea that he "had no framework of political conviction or experience to give me perspective in these matters." He is a scientist of practical genius. If he cared to solve a problem in physics and his first efforts failed, would he cease to experiment? Would he not try again and again? His first "experiment" in search of social justice moves him toward the Communists. He soon learns his mistake; before the Hitler-Stalin pact, returning scientists from Russia convince him of Soviet tyranny. Thereupon, according

*The reader who is barred from the language of mathematical equations can taste the quality of Oppenheimer's mind in his recently published volume of lectures, "Science and the Common Understanding" (Simon and Schuster, \$2.75).



to his word, he chucks the whole matter and becomes an orthodox believer in the capitalist system. Is this in line with the man's nature? Is there no trace left of the motives which warmed him to Communists and Russia in the first place? The board thinks so.

"The matter which most engaged my sympathies and interest was the war in Spain . . . but I knew nothing of its history or politics or contemporary problems." Perhaps: a man can't study everything. But he now calls his whole concern for Spain "idiotic." Did he not know at least that Spain's republic, whose aim was to liberate a long-suffering people, was struggling for its life against the fascists? What's idiotic about that? The board doesn't believe that he has lost the motives which made him champion Spain, although he may have outgrown a particular method of expressing these motives. These are the unforgivable; these make him a "risk."

His friend, Haakon Chevalier, tells him of Eltenton's pipeline to the Soviet consul in San Francisco. Oppenheimer dismisses it as evil—and for months does not report it. Yet he is on record as having said that he regretted that our Commander-in-Chief could not openly share our technical know-how with the Russian ally, in order that there might be no ground for information slipping in by "the back door" of espionage. A wise remark. It could be argued that our war-time distrust of Russia stratified the previous twenty years of active capitalist hostility, confirming Stalin in his suspicious, soon aggressive post-war policy against us. Oppenheimer makes no such case for himself.

I am sure Oppenheimer told the facts to the board. What he leaves out are the motives: normal, in part noble, which, jarring with his role of conventional service to his country, caused confusion in him. Perhaps he omits the motives because he does not clearly know them; perhaps because he fears their effect on "practical" men and through a defensive instinct feels that these elements in his nature, linking him with the poets, would disqualify him for his privileged place in the political and military world. The judges feel *something* is left out, and they are not likely to fill the gap with a generous picture the defendant himself fails to draw. If they had possessed more insight, they could have

sensed, as Ward Evans and Henry Smyth sensed, what remained unsaid. Would they then, in our civilization, have been the majority judges? Yet the whole story is there, in the record; all it needs is to be assembled.

OPPENHEIMER'S well-to-do New York Jewish background was a rich culture bed for all the new century's drives and trends. In this lush world the go-getter was nourished, and the poet; the mechanist and the mystic; the exploiter of economic and intellectual wealth for his own success and the rebel who feels insecurity and guilt because he is rich and aware of the have-nots. In most individuals one strain prevails, the others are buried. In the man of genius all the drives clash, creating the need of integrating chaos, which is the work of genius. To this over-endowed group Oppenheimer belonged. Even his features, asymmetrical as Poe's, reveal it. The eyes command a half-face of sensibility, bland and open, and a half-face

of tough analytic power. In the mouth the division is horizontal: the upper lip tense and coldly resolved, the lower lip aggressively sensuous.

The young man becomes a physicist. But the aesthetic of the age lures him also; the aesthetic of mysticism, above all, which has its strongest structures in the East (he studies Sanskrit to learn of deeper causes and cures of human bondage than the Marxist). He never becomes a Communist, but the new modalities of social justice, the new horrors of injustice exemplified by Hitler, move him. His conscience as the son of a rich man impels him, before his marriage, to make a will bestowing his entire inheritance on the University of California for the founding of fellowships in nuclear physics. Like every sensitive Jew, who for all his ties feels subtly detached from his fellow-countrymen, he is sympathetic to revolutionists, less perhaps because he respects their doctrines than because they too are minority persons. At the same time acceptance and success in majority



"W'bo's Being Walled Off from W'bat?"

HERBLOCK
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terms appeal to him strongly. And so the war years found him, and thrust him, through his special gifts, into leadership of a majority cause.

IT IS unthinkable that the motives which made him sympathetic to radicals should have died in him because he has rejected some of their convictions. He does not "cut" his friends when he becomes the leader of Los Alamos. On the contrary, his job of making bombs, repulsive to any imaginative man, must have heightened his thirst for contacts with what is humanly fresh, free, and creative. He believes there is good cause for what he is doing: he knows through Einstein that Hitler has been seeking the atomic bomb since 1939. He is defending America and the free world. Ironically, he is also defending Russia. And the ambivalence of this, which troubles no one in 1943, will in a decade make it appear possible for his enemies to hint that he was directly serving Russia. What indeed could a Soviet spy like better than that America with its infinite resources should perfect a weapon against Hitler?

His literary friend, Chevalier, alerts him vaguely to Soviet espionage. Why does he keep silent? It is 1943, and he is busy, and he has never dealt with policemen, and Chevalier is his true friend: why subject *him* to that trouble? And Russia is our ally, so what's the danger? And deep in his heart does he feel that America may have been wrong in not sharing secrets with an ally? Later the threat of espionage at Berkeley is made more clear to him; and now he reports Eltenton, stubbornly withholding the name of Chevalier whom he *knows* to be innocent. He is nervous, and the vacuum of what he has to say disturbs him. *They* may not be impressed by his scant news; and by now *he* is beginning to fear Russia. Before he knows it, in his nervous confusion and trouble about not naming his friend, he speaks of "three scientists" who, he affirms, have been approached. He cannot name them. But this will at least give more weight to his warning.

At this point, we assume two "guilts," deep and vague in Oppenheimer's mind. One is due to a residual tenderness for the old image of Russia as the home of social justice; the second is that this tenderness is a wrong to his own coun-

try, threatened perhaps through espionage by the actual tyrannical Russia. The two "guilts" contradict each other. He opts in favor of the second feeling, and enforces it by inventing his three physicists. There is another hint of this "over-determination."

Dr. Zacharias testifies that, more than his colleagues, Oppenheimer came close to advocating a preventive war against Russia. This is as foreign to the man's organic nature as his tale of the physicists. Neurotic nervousness can explain it. I don't know how plausible this "reconstruction" may appear to the reader. Surely, it is less incredible than that this man voluntarily appeared before his judges in order to lie under oath.

The cloudy affair gives the board and the commission their pretext for deciding as they do. Similar ambiguities exist in the lives of every man—even the most simple. They are not usually exposed. If public service were confined to men with no ambivalence in their souls, we would be ruled by robots; and perhaps this was the true will—unconscious, of course—of the tribunal.

BUT Oppenheimer's real "sin"—the hearing resembles a theological inquisition in that no "crime" was even suggested—began with the long sessions, about which Lilienthal testifies, to shape an agreement with Russia for control of the bomb. We hear of the months of solemn deliberation by important men before the Baruch plan is perfected; and of Oppenheimer's major contribution to its main ideas. Any shrewd peasant, knowing the facts of the distrust between Russia and the West since the invasions of Russia in the 1920's by capitalist armies, and knowing the continuance of this distrust in the second war, could have predicted that Russia must reject the Baruch plan. That the pompous "big men" did not know this is credible; but surely Oppenheimer knew it. Which means that, while he deliberated, in good faith, there was conflict in him. His work on the bomb had been justified because of the danger of Hitler's making it first. *But the bomb was dropped on Japan after Hitler's death.* How justify that? "It saved lives by shortening the war," Oppenheimer is far too intelligent to be moved by this dishonest nonsense.

Now the difficulties—before Teller's

invention makes it feasible—in producing the H-bomb seem to Oppenheimer to give the world another chance to reach agreement with Russia. Let no one create this genocidal weapon whose existence, even if it is never used, warps the very organs of our culture! Such thoughts, such reserves and deep concerns in the man, must have been felt by his accusers. They are enough in 1954 to doom him as trusted servant of a state already taking on the rigid lines of its fears and of the forces which produce the weapons of fear.

IF Oppenheimer had honored his misgivings by speaking them out, he would have found countless allies: did not Dr. Conant say the H-bomb would be made "over my dead body"? It is conceivable that the genocidal race in which we are now plunged might never have begun; and from this birth of good faith and of courage, agreements with the Soviets might have deepened and broadened. Such a pact with such an enemy would mean risk? Russia might cheat? The peril would have been infinitely less than the certain one of our present "security course." And the American people would at least have heard, through a conspicuous public servant, that the nation which refuses to risk its life for sanity and honor is as craven and doomed as the man who refuses to risk his life for what man should love more than his life.

Probably Oppenheimer's appeal for such a course would have failed. But the genius that served death would have emerged into a leader of living men. That Robert Oppenheimer was too strongly shackled by his conventional loyalties to rise to this lucid height is his tragedy. That his fate is typical and symbolic is America's tragedy. Our sensitive and imaginative and creative men are placed on the defensive. Their generous gifts are not encouraged to be free and to explore—at the inevitable risk of heresy and error. They are being stifled into rigid conformity with dogmas of fear—or they are not used at all. A national program whose heart is the insanity of seeking shelter from a world in revolution by denying its elements of justice, by reliance on the threat of genocidal weapons, is bound, if it continues, to eliminate mind and spirit from the men who lead us.

AS MAINE GOES



A Jolt for the G. O. P. . . by Frank Sleeper

Portland, Maine

WHAT are the "why's" of Maine's election? Is there any chance that this rock-ribbed Republican state is turning Democratic? The election of Edmund S. Muskie as the state's first Democratic governor in twenty years might, on the surface, indicate a "yes" answer to the second question. There will be no way of knowing for sure until elections roll around again two and four years from now.

There are some 92,000 registered Democrats in Maine. More than 135,000 folks voted for Muskie and more than 100,000 voted for Democrat Paul Fulam, Senator Margaret Chase Smith's beaten foe. Though many Democrats register as Republicans in this state so they can vote effectively in primaries, it is clear that many Republicans shifted over to the Democratic column in this election. Political experts round these parts have been giving many reasons. One may be the splits within the Republican Party as a whole.

Taft-Eisenhower enmities from 1952 still burden the Maine Republicans. Wounds from the 1952 Republican governorship primary race between newly defeated Governor Burton Cross and Leroy Hussey are another handicap. In addition, in this last campaign, there was the seeming apathy of Senator Frederick Payne for Governor Cross.

To take advantage of these splits, Maine Democrats speeded up their 1954 campaign. They put up high-grade candidates, especially Muskie and Fulam—no crackpots or outspoken radicals as some Maine Democratic candidates in the past have been. As far as possible they obtained support from Democrats distinguished in other fields than politics. Among these were K. C. Sills, recently retired president of Bowdoin

College, Leonard Pierce, prominent Portland attorney, and Henri Benoit, head of a Maine menswear chain. They tightened their organization under the supervision of State Democratic Chairman Frank M. Collin, a young man who will go far. They focused on the gubernatorial contest. They received more money from both local and national sources. The C. I. O.-P. A. C., the A. F. of L., the Democratic National Committee, and, it is said, Averell Harriman contributed. They opened their arms to all Republican turncoats. Most notable of the defectors was Neal Bishop, a candidate for governor in the Republican primary in 1952 and an independent candidate for governor in the 1952 election. Bishop actively campaigned against Governor Cross.

It seemed, as the campaign progressed, that the Democrats brought in more national issues than the Republicans did. Not until they saw that Governor Cross was in trouble did the Republicans begin to play the theme: "A vote for the *straight* Republican ticket is a vote for the Eisenhower Administration." Then they played it to a fare-thee-well. Vice-President Nixon, for example, pointed out the importance to the Administration of greater-than-normal Republican majorities in Maine. While the slump in Republican majorities indicates a certain lack of confidence with the Administration here in Maine, most experts agree that local issues were a paramount factor in Muskie's victory and that other Republican majorities were decreased at least partially by Cross's personal unpopularity.

However, it is clear that the Republican "peace and prosperity" theme backfired in Maine. Rising textile unemployment—a New England regional problem—plus bad years in Aroostook County (potatoes) and Washington County (sardines), made the claim often

seem ridiculous here. Muskie played up the true economic story to the limit. The Democrats also played up the question of a \$100 exemption or a lessened income tax. Senator Smith centered her election-eve speech on that issue. Governor Cross's failure to urge potato price supports hit Aroostook County hard. It tied in of course with Secretary of Agriculture Benson's stand on aid to potato growers.

But local issues, growing often out of Republican intra-party splits, had most to do with Muskie's surprising success. Governor Cross made certain unpolitical moves—often for Maine's benefit as a whole—which alienated various regions. Some of his political appointments did the same thing.

In one sense this election marked a great liberal advance in the Pine Tree State. Ed Muskie will be Maine's first duly elected Catholic governor. The built-in Catholic political "inferiority complex" which has existed in Maine at least since Ku Klux Klan days back in the twenties and has been increased by fantastic Catholic candidates like Robert Jones should go by the boards now. The question of Muskie's religion came up only in scattered localities.

While the Maine legislature will have more Democrats in 1955 than at any time in the past twenty years, Ed Muskie will have to compromise with two predominantly Republican bodies, controlled by utility firms, industries, and insurance companies. He will also have a Republican Executive Council.

REPUBLICAN losses in Maine's Congressional districts were not too severe when compared with the 1950 off-year election. The Republicans lost two per cent of their plurality in the first district, four in the second, and three in the third, as compared with the 1950 vote. Losses were much greater when compared with 1952. Mrs. Smith's vote

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dropped almost 13 per cent compared with her 1948 vote. But 1948 was a Presidential year, and her opposition at that time was feeble.

A wedge has been driven into Maine's traditional Republicanism. Whether it can be driven farther depends on how successful Republicans are in winning back split-ticket voters to a straight Re-

publican ticket. It also depends on whether the Democrats can attract liberal Republicans to their cause. If they can, this state will achieve two-party government. If not, Maine will return to a liquid one-party system, with intra-party conflicts deciding who shall hold power. It is too early to make any predictions, but Maine's Democrats are

obviously at a twenty-year peak for organization, funds, and superior candidates.

The Maine election showed a Democratic tendency to concentrate on local contests in this Congressional election year. If applied elsewhere as effectively as in Maine, the strategy should insure them a wide margin of House control.

MIDWEST REPORT

The Prairie Farmer Revolts . . by Robert G. Lewis

A STRONG Democratic trend is running in the Midwest farm belt, much like that which accounted for the surprising victory of Harry Truman in 1948. In that year normal Democratic margins were hit from three sides: the Dixiecrats tore a four-state chunk out of the solid South; Tom Dewey made deep inroads in suburbs and small towns; the Wallace party cut into the big-city vote. But losses were more than made up by the vote in farm states which the G. O. P. had counted as safely in the bag.

Ohio was the most dramatic case. Truman won the state's twenty-five electoral votes by a bare margin of 7,000 out of almost 3,000,000 votes cast. Roosevelt had been beaten by Dewey in Ohio by 12,000 votes in 1944. Truman ran behind Roosevelt's 1944 vote throughout urban Ohio—in populous Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) 70,000 votes behind—but made up the difference and more by running strongly ahead of Roosevelt in the farm precincts. Truman picked up forty-seven electoral votes by carrying Ohio, Iowa, and Wisconsin—which Roosevelt had lost in 1944. His total electoral vote was only thirty-seven more than the bare majority he needed to win.

The farmers deserted the Democrats in 1952, but all indications point toward a repetition of the 1948 pattern in '54.

ROBERT G. LEWIS, editor of the *Farmers Union's* weekly *Washington Newsletter*, has just ended a swing through the prairie states.

The main issue is the same—high versus low farm prices—and it is more clearly drawn than ever.

The speeches and deeds of Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson generated misgivings, then fear, then overt anger among farmers within a few months of Eisenhower's inauguration. A speech made by Benson a year ago in west-central Wisconsin and a special House election in the district a month later furnish a test-tube demonstration of the farmers' political reaction to Administration policies. Benson spoke at the 1953 national plowing contest before some 50,000 farmers. He had billed the speech in advance as the "most important" of his career. But he completely ducked any reference to what would—or should—be done about the past year's 13 per cent drop in farm prices. When he snapped his briefcase shut and turned away, six seconds of thin applause proclaimed quietly that his "most important speech" had fizzled. A month later the Democratic candidate in the special election, Lester Johnson, carried ten of the eleven counties in the district and trounced his Republican opponent three to two.

Johnson is the first Democrat to represent this dairy-farming Wisconsin Congressional district. His reelection is probable this fall. As far as the farmers are concerned, Johnson "heads the ticket"—and it's their ticket this time. A blacksmith in the crossroads village of Strum, just about in the center of the district, summed up the farmers' political mood for me. Those who come into

the shop, he said, almost all grouse at Benson and President Eisenhower. Their milk checks have gone down 15 per cent since Benson slashed dairy-price supports last April, and they see Johnson as their champion against Republican disaster. A usually non-partisan president of a Rural Electrification Administration co-op in Johnson's district said local farm leaders throughout the Midwest were arguing very simply: "There's nothing in the world we can do to help ourselves but vote Democratic."

A broader expression of the farmers' present political mood was the famed "cattlemen's caravan" which went to Washington in October, 1953, to protest directly against the Eisenhower Administration's policies. Ranchers, feeders, dairymen, and diversified farmers who raise or feed a few head of beef—generally agriculture's most steadfast conservatives—joined in a rebellious petition to the Secretary of Agriculture.

Beef-cattle prices had plummeted 25 per cent on the average in the nine months after Benson took office, far more than that in the drought-stricken areas. The cattlemen implored Benson to protect them with direct supports for live-cattle prices. He balked, and instead spent \$104,000,000 to buy processed meat from the packers. The packing companies filled the government orders with beef picked up at a few cents a pound in sacrifice sales in the drought country. Meat-packing profits rose sharply in 1953, while cattlemen took severe and sometimes bankrupting losses.

The surge of new members into the



Burk in the Chicago Sun-Times

"Don't Worry. He'll Let You
Down Easy."

Farmers Union, particularly beyond its traditional territory in the Great Plains, is another significant barometer of the farmers' disaffection. Smallest of the three general farm organizations, the Farmers Union sponsored the "cattlemen's caravan" and alone voices the objections of farmers to Administration policies. After twenty years without a new state unit four were chartered by national headquarters this year, and more are to come. The first was Utah—home state of Secretary Benson. Next was Virginia—a significant crack in the South, which had been as "solid" for the big Farm Bureau as for the Democratic Party. Then came Illinois and Indiana, the union's first break into the corn belt, where rich and powerful state Farm Bureaus function as pro-Administration agricultural political machines.

AS THE mid-term campaign warms up, public-opinion polls in the Midwest confirm the farm issue's political impact. Senator Hubert Humphrey in Minnesota, according to the anti-Humphrey Minneapolis *Tribune's* usually accurate poll, will run miles ahead of Val Bjornson, the Republican contender. The percentages are 67 for Humphrey and only 20 for Bjornson among farmers. The overall sampling gave Humphrey 59 per cent to Bjornson's 30 per cent as of July 25, a 9 per cent gain for Humphrey and a 5 per cent loss for Bjornson since March.

In traditionally Republican Iowa the highly dependable poll by *Wallace's Farmer and Iowa Homestead* showed that 51 per cent of Iowa farmers, as of August 7, were for Democratic Senator Gillette as against 39 per cent for his

Republican opponent, Representative Martin, with 11 per cent undecided. Even in South Dakota, where Democrats "never win elections," the farmers may make trouble for Senator Mundt this fall. A recent state-wide poll conducted by the three leading newspapers showed Mundt trailing in the farm areas with 46 per cent of the straw votes to 54 per cent for Ken Holum, his Democratic opponent. South Dakota Democrats doubled their total vote in the primaries this year over 1952, bringing it to about one-third of the Republican total.

Fourteen United States Senators are up for election this year in the belt of states stretching from Ohio to Oregon. The five incumbent Democrats among them—Douglas of Illinois, Gillette of Iowa, Humphrey of Minnesota, Murray of Montana, and Burke of Ohio—must have strong support from the farmers in their states, along with the normal Democratic vote, to win. Farmers will be decisive also in filling the seat vacated by Colorado's retiring Democrat, Edwin C. Johnson. Republican Senators in five other states—Dworshak in Idaho, Ferguson in Michigan, Cordon in Oregon, Mundt in South Dakota, and Crippa in Wyoming—may be unseated if the trend to the Democrats among farm voters in their states runs strongly enough. There is nothing in sight to indicate serious reelection trouble for the Republicans in the two Nebraska contests or the one in Kansas.

The strong scent of victories in November excited the eager Democratic candidates, party leaders, and partisan farmers who swarmed into Sioux Falls, South Dakota, for the party's Midwest Farm Conference on August 28. They jammed themselves into the Cataract Hotel beyond its capacity for the conference sessions, with both their determination and their hopes high. Yet optimism comes mighty hard for Democrats in the great prairie portion of the fifteen-state "Midwest" represented at Sioux Falls. The prairie states, for the most part, are a Democratic desert so far as Congressional, state, and local candidates are concerned, although they occasionally vote Democratic in a Presidential election.

THAT partly explains Republican political strategy on the farm issue. Albert Clark in the *Wall Street Journal* has

quoted political experts at G. O. P. headquarters as believing, along with President Eisenhower and Secretary Benson, "that the G. O. P. stands to gain more votes by advocating flexible (low) price supports than it can hope to win by accepting another year of the present 90 per cent guarantees." These experts point out, wrote Clark, that most Republican candidates won their House seats in farm areas in 1952 by margins ranging from 56 to 85 per cent or more. Only a major political upheaval could unseat them, and no farmer rebellion against Tower price supports would go far enough to do it.

Moreover, the G. O. P. strategists figure, most of the nation's "close" House districts—those won by margins of 5 per cent of the total vote in 1952 by either party—are in the cities. Of 219 Republican Congressmen, 43 either won seats held by Democrats in 1952 or were elected with 55 per cent or less of the total vote and so are considered doubtful. Of these 43, only 4 represent districts in which farmers form 20 per cent or more of the population; 17 represent out-and-out big-city districts. About 30 seats now held by Democrats are similarly classed as doubtful—and again all but a handful are in big cities.

A possible flaw in the G. O. P. strategy is found in the fact that in order to achieve its "victory" in the price-support vote the White House had to use strong pressure on roughly two-thirds of the Republican Congressmen who had previously voted for high farm-price supports to get them to vote for low supports—and on an occasion when, the issue was at white heat. In many of both the "close" and the "safe" Republican districts Democratic Presidential candi-



Cork in the National C. I. O. News
Breaking 90 at Last

dates have frequently won. The Republican Congressional candidates, characteristically, have stopped the farmers' Democratic tendencies at the top of the ticket by indorsing and backing the Democrats' farm policies. The Republican White House put a stop to this in some fifty House contests and for two dozen Senators—at least for the present. A new political problem has thus been created, and it seems inevitable that its effect will be to carry any 1948-style Democratic trend farther down the ticket.

GRANTING at least the normal mid-term swing against the party in power among town voters, farm votes are most likely to tip the balance in favor of Democratic candidates in the eastern half of the Midwest bread basket, where margins normally are small and both farmers and labor are heavily represented. Clarence

McCormick, Under Secretary of Agriculture in the last Administration, believes that all but Halleck's district are at least "possible" for the Democrats in his home state of Indiana. Such an upset would directly reverse the Republicans' present ten-to-one domination of the Indiana delegation. Other Indiana Democrats agree with McCormick's judgment that three or four House seats now held by Republicans look "probable" for the Democrats this year. With variations, the Democrats have similar expectations in Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Illinois. Senator Douglas, incidentally, has risen high in the esteem of farm Democrats by his latter-day conversion to strong farm-price supports and the blows he has struck for the R. E. A. co-ops.

The intransigent stand of the Republican national administration against the immediate and basic interests of agricul-

ture appears to be forcing a political realignment in the prairie states far more profound than the conventional swing of the political pendulum. The character of the Democratic candidates attracted into the campaign is a telling sign. Kenneth Holum, who is jousting with Senator Mundt in South Dakota, is a sample. Holum is a farmer, prominent in the important R. E. A. cooperatives, farm organizations, and marketing co-ops—and one of the few Democrats in the state who have won elections. He gives himself a "fighting chance" to beat Mundt, and impartial observers believe that's about right. In most of the prairie districts the Democrats have tremendous margins to overtake before G. O. P. incumbents can be ousted, but that does not dismay the party's new recruits. They know there will be other elections, and they believe the revolt of the prairie farmer has only begun.

THE DEFEAT OF E. D. C.

A French View . . . by Alexander Werth

Paris
ON SEPTEMBER 13 the New York *Times* published a letter by Henri Pierre, Washington correspondent of the *Paris Monde*. M. Pierre expressed his astonishment at the bitterness with which the *Times* had treated the French rejection of E. D. C. and at the "hazardous" assertion that the National Assembly "did not represent the French people." He added that there would no doubt have been a majority for a genuine "united Europe"; the E. D. C., however, seemed no more than a caricature of Europe—without Britain, Scandinavia, and certain other countries represented in it. Many, he said, looked upon E. D. C. as an American trick to bring into being twelve German divisions for purposes that had little in common with a real organization of Europe.

M. Pierre added that for too long

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American opinion had been misinformed as to the real state of affairs in France: E. D. C. had been turned down as a result not of political combinations but of mature reflection on the part of the deputies, and its rejection was one of the turning points in the history of France. He further suggested that it was hardly honest to attribute the collapse of E. D. C. solely to the Communists: "Your editorials have constantly minimized the fact that the opposition . . . represented a national reaction." And he recalled that there were, after all, five million Frenchmen who voted Communist, and that not even the most anti-Communist Premier had discovered a way of wholly depriving them of representation.

To Pierre's protest the *Times* responded with uncompromising harshness: "Whatever may have been its reasons for rejecting E. D. C.," it said, "France deeply shocked Western opinion and provided the Russians with what is probably their greatest victory

since the fall of Czechoslovakia. . . . The democratic world has been unanimous in condemning France."

This controversy brings into focus a number of major issues concerning France. First, the argument that the National Assembly is not "representative" of the French people. Well, in a sense it isn't; but not in the sense that the New York *Times* implied. On the contrary, the *apparements* introduced in the last general election—a system especially devised to favor the center groups—resulted in an Assembly in which the Gaullists and the Communists, both anti-E. D. C., were grossly under-represented. Had the election been carried out on the basis of proportional representation—like that of 1946—E. D. C. would have been turned down by more than 400 votes instead of 319.

But it is not only a matter of parliamentary arithmetic. There is a genuine "European" tradition in France—a tradition that can be traced to Briand and, indeed, much farther back: for a short



Can the Genie Be Kept in the Bottle?

time—but only a short time (in 1948-49)—majority French opinion tended to support it. I often talked to rank-and-file Socialists in the provinces who would recall Briand and speak favorably of Franco-German reconciliation, on the understanding, however, that Germany would not be rearméd. Had not Schuman himself solemnly declared, in the debate on the ratification of the Atlantic Pact on July 25, 1949, "Germany has no army and must not have one. She has no armaments and she shall not have any"?

When all is said and done, it was E. D. C. that killed what French sentiment there was for a revival of Briand's "European idea." A very small proportion even of the 264 deputies who voted for E. D. C. believe in it as having anything to do with "Europe." The rest voted for it either because they feared the American "reprisals" which people like Paul Reynaud anxiously prophesied, or because of their dihard anti-communism.

It is significant that among the Radicals, who were equally divided on the issue, the most determined supporter of the E. D. C. was Martinand Déplat, nicknamed "France's McCarthy." It was he more than anybody else who played about with the idea of outlawing the Communist Party, thus depriving it of all representation; hence the famous police frame-up he staged in May, 1952, with the extravagant story of Duclos and his "carrier pigeons"—an episode which failed to have its intended effect

as a "Reichstag fire" and merely made its producer ridiculous. During the formation of the Mendès-France government and the decisive phases of the Geneva conference M. Déplat, according to the *Canard Enchaîné*, was in continuous touch with the American embassy, where he tried to play a part not unlike that played at Brussels by Robert Schuman, who kept "briefing" Adenauer and Spaak, telling them not to give way to Mendès-France, as E. D. C. was "in the bag." He proved to be as wrong as the greater part of the British and American press. How often have we read in these papers echoes of M. R. P. handouts during the last few months: "Ratification of E. D. C. a foregone conclusion"; "Bidauld indispensable and inevitable at the Quai d'Orsay"; and similar bits of wishful thinking.

THAT the rearmament of Germany is profoundly distasteful to the great majority of French opinion there can be no doubt. And this distaste, arising from memories of the Occupation, of Oradour, Gestapo activities in the Avenue Foch, and what not, has been heightened by the ever-growing arrogance of the Germans, by detailed reports of the Nazification of the government machine at Bonn, and, only the other day, by the incredible attack on the French National Assembly and Mendès-France by Adenauer himself. And now comes Adenauer's crushing defeat in Schleswig-Holstein—a clear indication that his "Little Europe" and "Little Germany" idea has become increasingly unrealistic in the eyes of the German people. The argument that E. D. C. will indefinitely put off the unification of Germany obviously counts a lot.

The attraction of E. D. C. as a striking force that will "liberate" Eastern Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc., has also largely vanished. Today an invasion of Western Europe by the Soviet Union would mean atomic war, and therefore a German army is unnecessary for the defense of Europe. It would be useful only for an aggressive war, and while the roll-back policy may still appeal to some American military fire-eaters, as well as to some German *revanchards*, it appeals to nobody in France; the risks would be far too great.

Besides, in the name of what would such a war be waged? The free world? It is important to remember one thing. If in France there are still innumerable enemies of the Soviet way of life, there are extremely few wholehearted friends of the American way of life. The devaluation of phrases like the "free world," "democracy," and such has been rapid and progressive. The patronage extended by the United States to Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee, the continued presence of McCarthy and a sort of all-pervading McCarthyism, have developed in France a distaste for the United States.

And so, above all, has the blatant preference shown by Washington for Adenauer's Germany. The latest reaction not only to American but also to British pressure has been: "Why should they know what is best for France?" In short, with H-bombs on both sides of the "curtain," the rearmament of Germany is considered less necessary than ever—except by the dwindling minority willing to obey Washington's orders whatever the cost.

There has been more clear thinking on these issues in France than in either Britain or America. As so often in France's history, the French intelligentsia has had a great deal to do with the dual process of interpreting the inner feelings of the French people and of explaining the fundamental issues. The influence of the journals which are run by intellectuals, such as the *Monde*, *l'Express*, *France-Observateur*, *Esprit*, and others, has been infinitely greater than their circulations suggest.

So has the fact that most of the public men who for one reason or another enjoy great personal prestige are against E. D. C.—ex-President Auriol, General de Gaulle, Edouard Herriot, and Marshal Juin among them. On the other hand, the group of ex-premiers, like Bidauld, Schuman, Pinay, and Plevin, who are pro-E. D. C. carry little weight. The intelligence and maturity with which people of all walks of life in France can discuss the essentials of the world situation is very striking. The popularity of Mendès-France has scarcely diminished since the Indo-China settlement, and the only fear is that he may not be strong enough to stand up to the terrific pressure the "free world" is preparing to exercise on France.

MIRACLE ON ASTOR PLACE

The District 65 Story . . by Robert A. Bedolis

THE headquarters of District 65, Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union-C. I. O. is a reconditioned—and air-conditioned—eleven-story structure at 13 Astor Place which cost \$1,250,000. The building represents a remarkable philosophy of trade unionism. Ninety per cent of District 65's 28,000 members use it regularly, often for purposes not normally thought of as connected with trade-union activities. They go there to attend lectures, to paint, or to chat over a glass of beer. They go there to dance, or to borrow money, or to draw pensions or insurance payments. They go there to discuss new union contracts, or to buy—at enormous savings—anything from needles to vitamins. They gravitate to 13 Astor Place as the people of a small town gravitate to Main Street.

It is doubtful whether any other union in the country touches the life of its members at so many points. District 65's leaders estimate that 3,000 people daily pass through the doors of 13 Astor Place, an outstanding example of rank-and-file participation in the day-to-day operations of a union. The figure is the more impressive in that in this case the membership is scattered over the five boroughs of New York City and the adjacent counties in New York and New Jersey. Some people who visit 13 Astor Place regularly must travel more than an hour by subway or bus to get there.

District 65's leaders find nothing miraculous in all this, although the leaders of other unions sometimes do. The men who guide District 65 insist that not they, but the membership, created 13 Astor Place. The leadership provided only what the members wanted; but for this intensive membership participation in the affairs of the union the District 65 Center, as the building is called, would never have been created.

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The union's top leaders are Arthur Osman, its founder and first president (now a national officer of the R. W. D. S. U.), who is credited with initiating many of the special activities of District 65; David Livingston, his successor as president; Jack Paley, executive vice-president; Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer, and William Michelson, organization director. From the first these men recognized that the key to successful trade unionism is membership interest and support, and they have always been ready to depart from traditional union practices to achieve both.

An example is the manner in which District 65 treats the check-off, a collective-bargaining provision which calls on



the employer to deduct union dues from wages and salaries and turn them directly over to the union. The check-off is part of practically every District 65 contract—but the union does not use it. Instead members agreed, in secret-ballot vote, that it would be better for them to pay their dues with their union once a month. So the overwhelming majority of District 65's membership put in an appearance at 13 Astor Place at least twelve times a year. In addition, membership-supported policy requires attendance at monthly meetings held in the building. Failure to show up means a one-dollar fine unless the members can show a good excuse indorsed by a shop steward.

The check-off as normally used undoubtedly helps a union's finances, providing an automatic guaranty against members falling behind in their dues. But it also reduces the contact between the union rank and file and its repre-

sentatives, thus reducing opportunities for membership participation in union affairs. And it can also ease the problem of a union leader who is more interested in maintaining a position of power than in providing day-to-day service to his membership. Mr. Livingston explains the District 65 position this way:

We feel the union belongs to its members, that it is a real trade-union democracy. Not only do we want the members to participate in operating the union—they must participate if they are to have a union at all. We have more than 2,000 contracts to negotiate and police—more than 2,000 bosses. We have only thirty-two paid organizers and just a handful of full-time officers. We can't afford more. We have our security plan and credit union to administer, to say nothing of individual bargaining for contracts and the countless other activities. The members must come down and run things. By voluntarily assuming the burden of coming down to the building regularly they are helping themselves, and they know it.

As an example of the extraordinary cooperative attitude of the membership, Mr. Livingston recalled that when the Taft-Hartley law was being debated early in 1947, the union felt a battle with employers would be forthcoming over union-security provisions. The leadership decided to seek an enormous strike fund—one week's pay from each member, payable in five consecutive weekly instalments. The 13,000 members then in the union approved the astonishingly high levy by three to one in a secret ballot. "They all paid, without exception, raising \$600,000," Mr. Livingston said. At the same time officers accepted a 10 per cent wage cut. Mr. Livingston declared that this show of solidarity was a major factor in gaining satisfactory contracts without a strike. The bulk of this strike fund still exists as a source of strength.

The union officer explained that the nature of the firms employing District 65 members is such that extraordinary strike tactics have been necessary. "When a distributing shop with six warehouse-

men is struck in the normal way," he said, "the boss has no real problem. He can move his operation to another location and hire new workers. So we had 6 on strike and 6,000 on the picket line outside the shop." Concerning the union's growth and accomplishments, Mr. Livingston said: "We had to do certain things in order to exist; we had to have widespread membership participation. As Arthur Osman said in the early days of the union, our headquarters had to become the members' 'second home.'" On the union's disinclination to use the check-off, he remarked: "When we see dues are not coming in we know something's wrong there. It's a barometer."

Firms with District 65 contracts include such large department stores as Bloomingdale's and Gimbels, and retail chains such as Vim and Davega. But most are small retail and wholesale businesses employing only a handful of workers and dealing in dry goods, shoes, hardware, toys, gifts, textiles, buttons, knitwear, millinery, mail-order merchandise, television, sets, metal products, needles, cigars, displays, insurance, chemicals, and dental supplies.

Mr. Paley emphasized that all policy decisions must be approved by a membership ballot. He laughed when it was suggested that it usually isn't too difficult for a strong leadership to "command" cooperation. "Our membership is accustomed to running the union," he said. "They can't be commanded to do things. With or without a personal dues-paying policy, if the membership didn't want to come to 13 Astor Place every month they wouldn't."

THE eleven stories of District 65 Center are eleven reasons why the membership does persist in coming in. Aside from customary meeting rooms, the commodious quarters house a pharmacy, a remarkably well-equipped opti-

cal shop, a cafeteria, a bar, a credit union, several ballrooms, and a retail store with an annual turnover of more than \$1,500,000. The retail shop, operated on a self-service basis for the most part, affords savings of one-third and more to union customers. The merchandise includes clothing, electrical appliances, watches and other kinds of jewelry, standard-brand cigarettes at \$2.02 a carton, housewares, drug sundries, books, luggage, and a host of other items. A retail shop conducted by a union representing thousands of retail workers could be expected to run on knowledgeable lines. This one is. Many similar union service stores have failed because the inventory was heavily loaded with merchandise the customers did not want. District 65's shop, according to Mr. Paley, will stock no item that does not turn over at least eight times a year.

The shop got its start almost by accident. In 1946 District 65's newspaper, *Union Voice*, began to offer record albums at cut prices to stimulate reader interest. The response was so favorable that the practice of offering a new item every month was established. After a while the newspaper staff had to erect a sales window to handle this growing business. From window to small store, and then to one occupying an entire floor, was a natural development.

Until Last May the *Union Voice*, a bi-weekly, ran twenty-four pages, sizable for a labor newspaper and lively and imaginative in make-up and in special features. Now it has merged with the *Record*, the official newspaper of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union-C. I. O., which regularly runs an eight-page insert in a special edition for District 65. The merger reflects something of the recent history of District 65, which was originally part of the C. I. O. international but split with it in 1948, along with other locals, in an internal political fight. Some years ago District 65 repudiated pro-Communist sympathies—a policy change accepted and endorsed by top C. I. O. leaders—and rejoined the parent union in May.

District 65's pharmacy fills an average of 200 prescriptions a day, employing six full-time pharmacists. Like the retail store, it operates on a cost-plus-overhead basis, saving its customers up to 60 per cent in drug costs. The shop is designed and equipped as a modern



drugstore but without a soda fountain or other extraneous miscellany. Harry Winocur, chief pharmacist, calls it a "dream layout" and boasts that the prescription area is as large as in any drugstore in the city. The pharmacy's space has been expanded sixfold since its beginning in April, 1952. Its operation has brought interested queries from other unions.

THE building includes five ballrooms—one a penthouse terrace occupying the entire top floor—and thirty-two meeting rooms. The ballrooms, with a seating capacity of from 200 to 850, are used for large union meetings and also for social purposes. The union reports that there is a dance scheduled almost every Saturday night, with attendance as great as 1,200. The smaller rooms, most frequently used for smaller union meetings, accommodate twenty-five to fifty persons, and are available to union members for private gatherings. The charge for the use of the ballrooms and meeting rooms is what it costs the union to keep them open, lighted, and cleaned.

Club 65-originated in 1944 as two tiny bars. Today it occupies the entire tenth floor—10,000 square feet—and includes a new cafeteria seating 450 persons as well as an adjoining modern bar and cocktail lounge. The cafeteria, which like the bar is self-sustaining and operates on cost-plus-overhead, serves an average of 1,500 persons a night and many hundreds for lunch. Prices are reported to be 10 to 15 per cent less than those in neighborhood cafeterias. District 65 is fighting a losing battle to discourage non-members in the neighborhood from using the cafeteria, the one union service which does not require union-card identification.

The bar prices are attractive also—35 cents for a one-ounce shot or highball



drink. The cocktail price is 40 cents for a three-ounce glass and 50 cents for four-and-a-half ounces. Draft beer is 10 cents for an eight-ounce glass. A bottle is 25 cents.

One service regarded with more than ordinary fondness by District 65 is its credit union, described as the country's largest labor credit union, and one of the largest of any type in New York state. While technically not a bank, the credit union, begun in 1941, in effect serves as one. It has 10,000 active participants, more than a third of the District 65 membership. Shareholders, or "depositors," earn up to 2½ per cent on their savings, which today total \$582,000. Some 3,000 members are borrowers, with \$454,000 in loans out. They pay a low rate of interest—3½ to 4½ per cent. A fund of \$225,000 is at present available for loans.

Among District 65's recreational activities perhaps the most popular is its basketball program, which includes a league of thirteen or fourteen teams from District 65's local unions. The District 65 all-stars, drawn from the cream of the intra-District 65 league, last season won the championship of the outside industrial league which it had entered. It wound up in a post-season game in Madison Square Garden, the first union basketball team ever to play

there. District 65 lost, but the Garden management—impressed by the union team and the 1,300 tickets at \$2 and \$2.50 each bought by District 65 rooters—wants the team back again this season.

Another sport is softball, with 650 active participants, 27 local-union and shop teams, and 4 leagues. District 65 also conducts a golf class and tournament. It has a bowling league. Up to 600 members participate in "gym-swim" activities arranged by the union with public high schools.

District 65 also conducts an art class and an art exhibition, a dramatic club, a chorus, a concert orchestra, and a free library staffed by retired members. The union has beginning and advanced typing and stenography classes, a bookkeeping class, English and Spanish classes, a guitar class, a class in ballroom dancing, and a dancing class for the teen-age children of members. It has Negro, Spanish, Jewish, Irish, and Italian "affairs committees" which conduct discussion and social and philanthropic events of special interest to each. The fee for classes is usually nominal—a couple of dollars—and outside professional instruction is often provided.

District 65 members, whose average earnings are \$67 a week, pay weekly union dues averaging 65 to 85 cents. The philosophy behind the manifold

activities described here—with their unique membership participation—has also produced an exceptional record in "union business," including collective bargaining and the administration of high-benefit pension, insurance, and health funds, all employer-paid. An important feature of the various social-welfare services is the fact that they are operated on a self-insured basis with the exception of the medical plan, which provides for coverage by the Health Insurance Plan (HIP) of Greater New York. It is general knowledge in the labor movement that District 65 benefits under these plans are among the highest in the country.

The bulk of the members are covered by pensions, and new ones are being negotiated for those not yet covered. District 65's latest step toward realizing a cradle-to-the-grave welfare goal is its recent purchase of five acres in the Kenosic cemetery in Westchester County, New York. The cost was \$30,000 an acre, a total of \$150,000. The union makes available free burial for its deceased members, or otherwise provides \$280 for funeral expenses.

There are more imposing buildings in New York than 13 Astor Place, but there is none which offers more to the people who use it. It stands as a monument to what a trade union can be.

THEY WON'T GO HOME

Chiang's Guerrillas in Burma . . by Charles S. Brant

WHEN about two and a half years ago Burma, troubled by the long-continued presence of Chinese Nationalist troops in its northeast border region, announced the launching of a military drive against them, it declined any suggestion of a U. N. investigating mission on the ground that Communist China would distrust such a group. Last year the question of the Kuomintang forces in Burma came before the U. N. Gen-

eral Assembly, made the front pages of the newspapers for a short while, and soon afterward receded into the background. But Burma's troubles with Chiang's troops are not over.

The story begins in 1950, when the Chinese Communists came into effective control of Southwest China. In the process some 1,700 Nationalist troops fled across the Yunnan-Burma border to escape capture and disarmament at Communist hands. Situated in very rugged country, the border is difficult to patrol; for centuries people have been crossing it in both directions without detection.

Once in Burma, the Nationalist soldiers disappeared into the indigenous Chinese minorities in the towns, or took to living off the peasants by compelling them to provide shelter and food. They refused to heed the request of the Burmese authorities to lay down their arms and be interned in accordance with international law. Nor could the Burmese, occupied with combating their own insurgents, muster the strength to disarm the invaders.

By 1952 the Nationalist contingent in Burma had been increased to some 12,000 by the arrival of troops from For-

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mosa and by the local enlistment of Chinese, either refugees from Yunnan or Chinese residents of Burma. The 12,000 figure is simply a Burmese estimate. When it has suited their purposes the Chinese Nationalist leaders have openly boasted that their Burma contingent contained as many as 35,000 men. In any event their parasitic depredations, extending at times to cooperation with Burmese insurgent groups, became so serious early last year and the whole situation seemed so fraught with possible international complications, that the Burmese felt drastic action was required. Accordingly, in late March, 1953, Rangoon requested that a complaint of aggression against the Chinese Nationalist government be placed on the agenda of the General Assembly.

Here was a test of whether the great powers and their followers, which on previous occasions had reacted to charges of aggression with electric speed, would do so again now that the political shoe was on the other foot, so to speak. The answer was not long in coming. When the Burmese resolution came up for debate in the First Committee, it was soon obvious that some of the larger powers, anxious not to tread on Chinese Nationalists' toes, could and would roundly defeat it. Ultimately a watered-down substitute for the Burmese text, pro-

posed by Mexico and amended by Lebanon and Argentina-Chile, was passed without opposition, Burma and Nationalist China abstaining. In the plenary session of the Assembly the Burmese were faced with accepting half a loaf or nothing. They chose the first course.

THE inane resolution that was adopted declared that Chiang's men did not belong in Burma, that the situation was deplorable, that no member of the U. N. should help them to stay in Burma, and that they should be interned or leave. It suggested that negotiations in progress through the good offices of some member states should continue to be the means of working out a solution, and invited the Burmese to report on the situation again at the next session of the Assembly.

While the resolution did not remove a single Chinese Nationalist soldier from their country, the Burmese felt that the publicity obtained and the pressure of sentiment expressed in the U. N. might have some effect. They proceeded to enlist the American ambassadors in Rangoon, Bangkok, and Taipeh in organizing a four-power committee of the United States, Burma, Siam, and Nationalist China to work out an agreement for evacuating the Nationalist troops from Burmese soil. The committee got off to a bad start when the Chinese Nationalist delegate took the position that his government could only "persuade" the forces in Burma to return to Formosa, lacking authority to compel them to do so. The same delegate told a *Time* correspondent that Burma's complaint had been inspired by the Chinese Communists, a charge which the Burmese denounced as completely false.

The Burmese submitted several alternative plans for evacuation of the Nationalist forces by road and air under the general supervision of the committee. The Siamese indicated that they were ready to permit the Nationalists to pass through Siam en route to Formosa. But the Nationalist delegate simply reiterated that his government had no authority over the troops in Burma. The meetings dragged on, with one Nationalist delaying tactic followed by another. By the end of June, 1953, however, it appeared that an agreement would be signed and a planned evacuation would take place. A few weeks later General

Li Mi, the Chinese commander-in-chief in Burma, announced flatly that he would not order his men to withdraw. Pressure was put on Formosa, which dispatched another general to the conference. This one delayed matters further on the ground that he had to await a Chinese translation of the committee proceedings. By the end of July it became clear what the Chinese planned to do. Under a Bangkok dateline of July 24, 1953, the *New York Times* reported:

Borrowing a concept held by the United States in Korea, most of General Li Mi's Chinese Nationalist guerrillas along the Burma-Yunnan border are now refusing to be evacuated to Formosa from Burma on the ground that they are natives of the border region and that their removal would violate the principle of "voluntary repatriation."

The *Times* account went on to say that despite a basic agreement reached earlier, which left unsettled only minor details, the Chinese Nationalist command had made a separate report to the United States State Department in which it insisted that only a few of the troops in Burma could be withdrawn because most were indigenous, that those desiring to remain should be concentrated in a neutral zone under General Li Mi's command and with a United States guaranty of cease-fire between them and the Burmese army, and that the United States should support these neutral-zone forces "in preparation for any emergency in Southeast Asia." The report also asked that arrangements be made for the forces remaining in Burma to buy food outside the neutral area. When, according to the *Times* story, the State Department flatly refused these demands, General Li Mi threatened to withdraw from the conference. The correspondent added:

It is an open secret that these forces got some material and financial assistance from the United States for a time. After this aid stopped, the Formosa government began making monthly subsidies to General Li Mi's guerrillas. Formosa is reportedly scheduled to end all financial assistance to the guerrillas this month.

By mid-September the Burmese, weary of the Nationalists' incessant delaying tactics, decided on a real showdown in the four-power committee. On instructions from Rangoon, the Burmese

delegation asked that an initial evacuation of 5,000 Nationalist troops be begun forthwith. The Chinese delegate called the request unreasonable and offered no counter-proposal. Thereupon the Burmese walked out and proceeded to bomb the Nationalist stronghold at Monghsat while the rump conference continued in Bangkok and eventually agreed on the evacuation of about 2,000 men. The Burmese declared this unacceptable as a solution but indicated willingness to cease military operations against such a group while it departed. At the end of October the Chinese delegate stated that no further aid would be given to those troops remaining behind. This amounted, of course, to an admission of what the Burmese all along had asserted and Formosa had adamantly denied: that the Nationalist government was in fact maintaining and was responsible for the Nationalist troops in Burma. There is also evidence on the same point in intercepted letters written by General Li Mi to his field commanders in Burma, which show clearly that the forces in Burma are closely tied in with the military command and the government on Formosa.

During the last three months of 1953 a few hundred of the Nationalist forces were evacuated. Typical of Nationalist Chinese tactics even in this very limited withdrawal was their attempt to impress some Shans—a people of Burma who look much like Chinese—into their forces and to evacuate them on the pretext that they were part of their contingent. The Associated Press correspondent at the evacuation point last November aptly named this "Evacuation Phony." Last November 16 the London *Times* said:

The Burma government is still convinced that the promise to withdraw 2,000 out of the estimated 12,000 Kuomintang troops in Union territory is only a face-saving device forced upon the Chinese Nationalist authorities in Formosa by the renewal of Burmese complaints in the United Nations and by steady diplomatic pressure by the Americans. The contention that Formosa controls only 2,000 of these intruders is belied by what is happening at Tachilek. The evacuees are being picked for their poor physical condition and lack of fighting value, apparently with the intention of making up the promised 2,000 without any serious weakening of the intruders' effective strength. Nor does the Burmese government be-

lieve that all who are evacuated from Burma will be flown to Formosa. The government of Siam has been helpful, but its frontier with Burma is long and difficult, and many things can happen without its knowledge. It looks as if the authorities in Formosa may be trying to take the sting out of United Nations criticism by a token evacuation of ineffectives. This cannot be tolerated.

Since the beginning of this year the freeing of Burmese forces from much of their long preoccupation with native rebel movements has made possible a more concerted drive against the Chinese Nationalists. The result has been some acceleration in the tempo of their withdrawal. Yet after nearly five years at least half the invading force—about 6,000 men—are still on Burmese soil. Burma's chief U. N. delegate declared a year ago that a threat of ouster from the U. N. issued to the Formosa government would cause the Nationalist troops to leave Burma within a month. The General Assembly may have opportunity at its forthcoming session to consider some such action. The Burmese are entitled to know whether in the lexicon of the West nothing is aggression unless carried out by Communists.

EDINBURGH FESTIVAL

Interlude in the Cold War . . by *Bernard Landis*

Edinburgh

THE Edinburgh International Festival, brain-child of Rudolph Bing when the controversial manager of the Metropolitan Opera was directing the Glyndebourne Opera, has enjoyed a resounding success each year since its inception in 1947. This year, during the three-week period that ended September 11, nearly 250,000 persons visited this ancient city to enjoy the music, art, dance, and drama that the Festival offered, leaving well over \$10,000,000 in the hands of local merchants. Unfortunately this

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financial prosperity has caused a serious conflict between performers and composers on the one side and program directors and merchants on the other, and not only in Edinburgh but in every European festival city. Festival managements have become increasingly reluctant to put on new or experimental works for fear of alienating the tourists who lay the golden eggs.

In spite of the protests it must be acknowledged that Edinburgh presented a most impressive program. There were concerts by the Statsradiofonien Orchestra from Copenhagen under the direction of Erik Tuxen, Thomas Jensen, and Paul Kletzgi; by the L'Orchestre National de la Radiodiffusion Française, conduc-

tor Charles Munch; by the Nordwest-deutscher Rundfunk under Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt; by the Hallé under Sir John Barbirolli; by the Philadelphia under Guido Cantelli and Herbert von Tarajan. Outstanding performances were given by such soloists as Claudio Arrau and Isaac Stern; excellent chamber recitals by the Pascal String Quartet, the Kehr String Trio, the Amadeus String Quartet, the Jaques Orchestra, and other ensembles from every corner of Europe. Further, the Festival provided some superb theater, opera, and dance.

The major theatrical event was the production of "The Matchmaker," Thornton Wilder's revised version of his earlier "The Merchant of Yonkers."

This philosophical farce, in which Sam Levene and Ruth Gordon were featured, played nightly to a crowded house. Wilder himself admitted that the Festival authorities slipped up in not offering more fresh new material, but he rationalized that the international character of the program more than compensated for this lack by demonstrating that "the things which unite all peoples are more important than those which separate them. Only when this fact is fully known will world peace be a reality."

The Old Vic Company's production of "Macbeth" was thoroughly satisfying thanks largely to the genius of Paul Rogers in the principal role and the use of an apron stage, which added drive to the drama. The Sadler's Wells Ballet presented a Homage to Diaghilev program to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of the famous Russian impresario. Margot Fonteyn, ballet's most perfect instrument, danced in Stravinsky's "L'Oiseau de Feu," which Diaghilev first produced in 1910. Leading the orchestra was Ernest Ansermet, his conductor and friend, who had left the podium when Diaghilev died. This was Ansermet's first appearance in twenty-five years, and it was brilliantly received.

The Glyndebourne Opera turned out competent if uninspired renderings of Mozart's "Cosi Fan Tutte" and Rossini's "Le Comte Ory." The revival of Strauss's "Ariadne auf Naxos" suffered from an excruciatingly dull dramatic vehicle and all the clichés of nineteenth-century staging. However, as compensation, music lovers were treated to a magnificent performance of Stravinsky's "The Soldier's Tale" starring Moira Shearer.

In putting on Schönberg's "Gurrelieder," a work requiring a vast orchestra, five soloists, a twelve-part male choir, and a tremendous chorus, the Festival authorities partially vindicated their boast of presenting the very best of the world's music. In few other places could all the necessary talent have been assembled. And no better conductor could have been found than Karl Rankl, a former student of Schönberg.

WHILE the Festival proved a first-rate tourist drawing card, contemporary artists were undeniably neglected. The void, however, was partially filled by the

dozens of small theater groups from all over England and the Continent which came and set up tent around the Festival area. These migrants, considerably more numerous this season than ever before, provide what has come to be known as the "Fringe" Festival. It turned out to be one of the most rewarding attractions.

Here, in Edinburgh's "off-Broadway" regions, the Oxford Theater put on the first British production of "Dog Beneath the Skin," the Auden-Isherwood satire which was so successfully produced by the Interplayers five years ago in New York. Other groups put on puppet shows, late-night musical revues, folk dancing, poetry recitals, and experimental films. At least six new plays were produced in makeshift theaters. By these means writers and musicians have tried to convince the Festival authorities that they make a mistake in not sponsoring contemporary works.

A more disturbing charge has been voiced by leading Scottish citizens—that the Festival has taken little from Scottish arts. One newspaper referred to the sessions as the "London Festival in Edinburgh." The few bones thrown to allay this complaint served only to increase it. A performance of "The Other Dear Charmer," a play about Robert Burns, was dull and uninspired. A revue featuring Scotland's traditional songs and dances lacked real flavor. The New-haven Fisher Lassies' Choir, which boasted not a single genuine fisher lassie, was effective in popular Scottish ballads but inadequate to the ancient Gaelic songs that are still sung in the Highlands.

One group of citizens protested against the paucity of Scottish material by organizing the People's Festival, which ran concurrently with the International Festival. Designed to "make the real music and drama of Scotland more accessible to the working classes at reasonable prices," it was in fact a futile and unhappy gesture. When Hugh MacDiarmid—Scotland's greatest poet since Burns and the leading spirit in the literary activity of the past quarter-century (known as the Scottish Renaissance)—addressed the opening session, the dim hall contained scarcely a hundred persons.

Again the "Fringe" Festival came to the rescue and partially made up for the

lack of Scottish material in the International's program. Duncan Macrae, the famous Scots comedian, acted in "Gog and Magog," a play written especially for him by James Bridie. A company from the Church of Scotland Gateway Theater performed Byron's "Cain." The Saltire Society, an organization dedicated to the revival of early Scottish culture, provided genuinely stirring recitals of contemporary and ancient Scottish music and poetry.

THE International Festival's film program was an unqualified success from every point of view. From 38 countries came 30 feature-length films and 200 shorts. Most of the major showings were films of ideas dealing with such themes as the cold war and the atomic threat. The most interesting—were "Young Lovers," a British product directed by Anthony Asquith, and "Avant le Deluge," a French film directed by André Cayatte. The former was not only a moving love story but a forceful indictment of the cold war. The latter, a rather terrifying picture of the young generation in France, was discussed by Alexander Werth in *The Nation* for July 19.

The theme of the Polish film "Five Boys of Barska Street" also had social significance, being the difficulties of youngsters adjusting themselves to the changing conditions of post-war Warsaw. More violent, but also to be classed as films of ideas, were "Riot in Cell Block 11," from the United States, and "The Dark River," an Argentine film that describes the inhuman treatment of workers before the advent of unions.

Not all the films were serious, of course. Relief was provided by "Trio Ballet," a Soviet item; "The, Show Is On," a highly entertaining circus film from Czechoslovakia; Walt Disney's "Prowlers of the Everglades"; and a number of documentary, experimental, and scientific films.

Whether the International Festival has more than entertainment value was the question tossed about in the press club in the late hours of the nights after the theaters, music halls, and movie houses were shut. Dozens of journalists from all over Europe and the Americas discussed the matter over their drinks, and perhaps the answer was implicit in that very fact.

The Unconscious of a Race

THE PALM-WINE DRINKARD. By Amos Tutuola. Grove Press. \$2.75.

MY LIFE IN THE BUSH OF GHOSTS. By Amos Tutuola. Grove Press. \$3.50.

By John V. Murra

IN 1952 the United Society for Christian Literature in London received for publication a manuscript from Lagos, Nigeria, whose author was Amos Tutuola, a messenger in a government office. It was not the kind of material they usually handled; still, they were willing to pass it on. Soon afterward Faber and Faber brought out "The Palm-Wine Drinkard" to considerable critical acclaim; since then an American edition and a French translation have also been published. Writing in the *New Statesman*, V. S. Pritchett found in the tales an expression of "the unconscious of a race and even moments of the nightmare elements in our own unconscious. The slimy or electric movements of nightmare, its sickening logic, its hypnotizing visual quality, its dreadful meaningfulness, are put down by an earnest and ingenious story-teller." The work received no such welcome from West African readers. Babasola Johnson, in the weekly *West Africa*, went so far as to say that it "should not have been published at all."

Mr. Tutuola's second book, "My Life in the Bush of Ghosts," has just appeared. Like the first, it uses elements and tales of traditional Yoruba folklore; a seven-year-old boy escapes from his village during a slave raid and wanders through the off-limits forest of the Ghosts for twenty-four hair-raising years. His adventures include transformations into a cow that cannot eat grass and into a chief judge in the Ghosts' Assize Court who is a graduate of a Ghost Methodist School; he is sentenced at least twice to be sacrificed and for a while is elevated to godhood and in turn

receives sacrifices; he marries two ghost women, one of them a super-lady, who live in Nameless Town where women have mustaches because they have been abandoned by their husbands and "now none of them could marry any male again except to marry ladies as husbands." Eventually the hero gets home, but not until his head is cut off and "mistakenly a ghost head [is put] on my neck instead of mine. But as every ghost is talkative, so this head was always making various noises both day and night and also smelling badly. . . . It would be talking out the words which I did not mean in my mind and was telling out all my secret plans." At one point in his odyssey a ghostess who knows the way home refuses to help him unless he spends ten years licking the sores which have beset her for two hundred years. To encourage him to stay "she told me to look at her palm and opened it nearly to touch my face, it was exactly as a television, I saw my town, mother, brother, and all my playmates, then she was asking me frequently . . . tell me, now, yes or no?"

The images from Western technology which so delighted the literary critics in the "Drinkard" are still here: "If all the heads and herself were eating at the same time their mouths would be making noises as if one hundred winches were working together." There are fewer pleasant experiences; the good life occasionally found by the Drinkard as he searches for his palm-wine tapster is almost absent in the "Bush." Christianity and God with a capital G, unmentioned in the first work, provide us here with a striking example of syncretism, the intimate blend of two cultural traditions: in the Tenth Town of the Ghosts the hero's cousin introduces Christianity. He "goes direct" to H. M. the King of the Bush of Ghosts and gets permission to erect a "90 x 70 [church], the roof covered with flat bark of the big trees, because there were no iron sheets. . . . Written with bold letters with the white juice of a tree [was a sign] . . . THE METHODIST CHURCH OF THE

BUSH OF GHOSTS." He reports on church and Sunday-school attendance: "It was very poor . . . at the evening service and was forty-eight in all, because all ghosts like to go to their farms for their food every evening." In time the Tenth Town becomes headquarters for an elaborate organization, with a synod, schools, and hospitals; the ghost cousin becomes a bishop, ordained in a dream.

Like any first-class teller of folk tales, Mr. Tutuola has modified and projected while retelling his traditional material. A second reinterpretation took place when he chose to write in English, not Yoruba; the reader who discovers African literature here does so through Tutuola's wonderfully terse, graphic, and personable use of what Dylan Thomas called his "young English." The author's formal, Western-style education did not begin until he was ten, and continued off and on for some six years. We are told that "his own spoken and written English are identical." Turns of phrase which so charm the Western reader are frequently literal translations from the Yoruba. He does not hesitate to coin words: the Drinkard was not a drunk—he just drank palm-wine in a serious and purposeful manner; Dead's Town may be a literal translation, but it also seems poetically more appropriate than Town of the Dead.

IT IS just this poetic use of the English language that facilitates the rejection of Tutuola's work by many West African readers. They are shocked by its crudities, the lack of inhibition, the occasional obscurities; it seems "a long tale in a language we did not understand." To a reader whose excellent English or French is gained at the cost of neglecting his own tongue, mostly in mission schools with their distrust of the pupil's spontaneity and imagination—Shakespeare and the Governor's Annual Report are the proffered models in matters of style—all this recognition for "translating Yoruba ideas in almost the same sequence as they occur to his mind" must indeed be a puzzle and a shock. To clarify the author's "Unreturnable Heaven's Land," one reader proposes "the undiscovered country from whose bourn no traveler returns."

The rejection, actually, goes deeper than the matter of language. Articles

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and letters to the press point to the "commonplace" character of the stories ("I heard these from my own grandmother") and even suggest plagiarism from another collection; Tutuola's obvious immersion in the mythological past, with its gods, ghosts, wars, sacrifices, and submerged terrors, seems a preoccupation which delays progress; the genre shows "no marks of possible future development" into a modern West African literature. They end by wondering at the reasons why Tutuola's books so delight the outsider. As Adeagbo Akinjogbin put it in *West Africa*, "most Europeans are pleased to believe all sorts of fantastic tales about Africa. . . . Incapable of giving accurate information, [Tutuola] just suits the temper of his European readers as they seem to confirm their concepts of Africa."

Here the effects of colonial status on intellectual attitudes can easily be seen. Unfamiliar, because of a colonial education, with the creative role of folklore in

the development of Hindu, Slavic, and Chinese literatures, the West African middle class rejects, we hope temporarily, its own rich oral tradition and sees in Tutuola's success only the European's preference for an Africa where savagery is the dominant theme. As African political problems are resolved through independence, the development of imaginative literature in the major West African languages is likely to become a dominant interest, as is now happening in India. The skepticism about their future as literary languages is akin to that which existed in 1800 about the possibility of a Rumanian, Brazilian, or Finnish novel. West African newspapers are already deluged with notices by persons shedding mission-given European names for African ones, and a demand for fiction in Twi and Wolof, for Ewe or Ibo poetry, and for drama in Mandingo and Kru is sure to confront the European-trained West African leaders in the years to come.

flagration. Yet inevitably their policy or lack of clear policy created a degree of international tension of which they were finally to bear the consequences.

But even the high degree of international tension did not make war inevitable. It could have been averted, as it had been in preceding crises, if wiser counsels had prevailed among statesmen and peoples alike. Sazonov maintained that an open promise of British support for France and Russia of a purely defensive character would have prevented Germany from starting too confidently on the dangerous road. But the Russian ambassador in London at the time, Count Benckendorff, painted a picture of British public opinion, applicable to American public opinion as well, which made such a prevention of war impossible. "Along with Utopian radicalism," he wrote on February 25, 1914, to his Minister of Foreign Affairs, "and the present utter lack of interest of the country in foreign affairs there still exists that terrible insular spirit which, though a bit shaken, is still too all-pervading. Not until the eve of some tremendous crisis would the English of today wake up."

THE most exciting pages in the second volume concern the atmosphere around the assassination of Francis Ferdinand. He was immolated precisely because he had embraced the idea of federalism and of concession to the Slavs. Nor did he relish the subordination of Austria to Germany and sought instead the friendship of Russia. He disapproved of the repression of the Slavs and Rumanians, for which he put the chief blame on the compromise of 1867 and on the Magyars. "The outrage organized against [Francis Ferdinand] was inspired by nationalism, a political concept of great moment for the future of the Yugoslav people and the history of Europe. It gained its end by one of the greatest tragedies the human race has ever known." Volume II carries the story to the last day of July, the general mobilization by Austria-Hungary, when a European war seemed almost inevitable. A third volume will discuss the German and British declarations of war.

Albertini writes with great lucidity and with an intimate knowledge of men and sources. The three volumes taken

Was World War I Inevitable?

THE ORIGINS OF THE WAR OF 1914. By Luigi Albertini. Oxford University Press. Two Volumes. \$20, or \$11 each.

By Hans Kohn

LUIGI ALBERTINI was for many years editor of the leading Italian newspaper, *Corriere della Sera*, and senator of the Italian kingdom. Thus he was in close contact with international events from 1900 to 1914. Before his death in 1942 he left a detailed work on the origins of the First World War, which has now been translated into English and edited by Dr. Isabella Massey. Its first volume covers the period from the Congress of Berlin in 1878 to the eve of the assassination of the Austrian heir to the throne at Sarajevo in June, 1914. The second volume deals with the personality of Francis Ferdinand and the threads of the conspiracy of which he became victim, and with the events of the fateful

month of July, 1914. While Western historians have viewed World War I largely as an expression of Anglo-German divergence of views and interests, the Italian author rightly directs his light of observation above all on the Balkan peninsula.

The first volume discusses the more remote causes of the catastrophe. The defeat of Austria by Prussia in 1866 and the ensuing "compromise" with Hungary in 1867 gave the Magyars a dominant position in the Hapsburg monarchy and prevented the transformation of the empire into a federation in which the Slav nationalities could play an equal part. The Berlin Congress of 1878 set the stage for the growing antagonism between Germany and Austria on the one hand, Russia and Serbia on the other. At the beginning of the twentieth century the German program of naval armament, the immoderation of the Kaiser's language and the boastful utterances of the German nationalists, the overbearing policy of prestige carried on by Bülow in 1905 and 1908—all these laid up a store of mistrust and suspicion against Germany, though the Germans, for good reasons, did not wish to provoke a general con-

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together may well be the definitive work on the origins of the war of 1914, so far as diplomatic history can deal with it. But diplomatic history is not enough. Statesmen do not act in a vacuum. The situations with which they have to deal were created by popular forces, and governments themselves are in modern times subject to the pressure of popular moods and nationalist attitudes. These are different in each nation and even vary within a nation at different times. The history of international relations—and the "responsibilities" for war and peace—will only be understood

in their great complexity if the historical backgrounds and inner motivations, the national ideologies and social structures of the various peoples are taken fully into account. In modern times these relations are not so much determined by the ambitions or mistakes of individual statesmen—though they play their part—as by nationalism in its various forms, which has made Germans and Serbs, Russians and English, French and Italians react differently to the challenges with which the European situation in the twentieth century has confronted them.

Pioneer Government Scientist

BEYOND THE HUNDREDTH MERIDIAN. John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the West. By Wallace Stegner. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$6.

By Keith Hutchison

JOHN WESLEY POWELL is remembered today, if he is remembered at all, as the man who led the first exploring party through the Grand Canyon. This exploit launched him on the career of government scientist and led him in due course to Washington, where he encountered more savage enemies than he had met in the Western wilderness and was finally wrecked in the political rapids.

Mr. Stegner gives a detailed account of the Grand Canyon adventure, and a thrilling story it is. But, as he recognizes, Powell's historical importance is related to his subsequent activities. He was the founder of the Bureau of Ethnology that has systematized the study of American Indian culture; he inspired the organization of the Geological Survey and later became its chief; he established government-sponsored scientific research on a firm basis; above all, he was the man who first surveyed with a realistic eye the limitations and potentialities of the arid lands of the West and developed plans for their productive use.

It was Powell who insisted that beyond the 100th meridian, where the

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average rainfall was below twenty inches, successful farming demanded irrigation. Consequently, the traditional survey-settlement pattern developed in the East was inapplicable. The homesteader's quarter-section was more than one family could handle if it was irrigated, while for cattle or sheep it was totally inadequate. Moreover, to get maximum benefits from the available water it was essential to prevent owners of favored lands from monopolizing the supply; each hydrographic basin should be treated as a unit and developed as a self-governing irrigation district, with each settler guaranteed his share of water.

These ideas clashed both with the myths of rugged individualism and with the myths of unlimited plenty. The drought of the late 1880's, which fulfilled Powell's prophecies, illustrated the folly of imposing wet-weather institutions on dry-weather country. That shock helped to secure authorization of the irrigation surveys that Powell advocated. But the work required temporary closing of the public domain in the arid regions, a step that aroused Western politicians, and in due course vested ignorance, vested prejudices, and vested interests combined to halt the survey and force Powell's retirement.

In the sixty years that have since passed most of Powell's ideas on land use and management have been adopted. But as Mr. Stegner points out, "the forces that he fought all through his public life are, as of 1953, not only still there but active and aggressive. The agencies that he helped consolidate still persist in division and antagonism. The

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private interests that he feared might monopolize land or water in the West are still there, still trying to do just that. . . . in 1953 a public-land policy that a few years before looked reasonably consistent and settled was in danger of complete overturn."

Since this is the case, Stegner's book,

the fruit of many years' labor, is brilliantly timely. May it have the readers it deserves! It is beautifully produced, with good maps and magnificent illustrations; it is the work of a careful scholar who writes with artistry. I am prepared to nominate it for the next Pulitzer Prize for American history.

Books in Brief

On Puberty Rites

SYMBOLIC WOUNDS. By Bruno Bettelheim. Free Press. \$4.75.

Clinical observation of young adolescents at the Sonia Shankman Orthogenic School of the University of Chicago, where Dr. Bettelheim is professor of psychology, led him to review the hypothesis held by anthropologists and psychoanalysts concerning the meaning of puberty initiation rites. The observed children developed fantasies and rituals similar to those rites of primitive peoples which it had previously been held were imposed by elders as symbolic castration or as *rites de passage* to introduce the adolescent into adult society.

The author's studies show that these rites are initiated by the adolescents themselves as an attempt to master instinctive wishes in the terms of the roles they wish to play in society. Circumcision and subincision are seen as efforts of the envious male to give himself some semblance of female sexual functions, especially fertility. A reexamination of pertinent anthropological and psychoanalytic writings supports Dr. Bettelheim's thesis.

This scholarly work is well written and is easy to follow, even though it deals with rather difficult technical themes. Anthropology and psychoanalysis are admirably woven together. The book illustrates two modern trends--

the integration of knowledge from several scientific disciplines, and the enlarged recognition of the role of the mother in the developmental and conflictual areas of human behavior. The latter trend has become so strong that, despite its correctness, there may soon be expected a reaction in the form of a Society for the Reintroduction of the Father into Anthropology and Psychoanalysis.

Colette's Wonderful Life

COLETTE: A PROVINCIAL IN PARIS. By Margaret Crosland. British Book Center. \$3.50.

A chatty, anecdotal book about the woman who began as a writer of spicy semi-autobiographical novels and in her eighties became the Grand Old Lady of contemporary French letters. An odder story was never told. By birth and inclination Colette was a provincial ingenue almost obsessively devoted to her mother, her many pets, and the Burgundian village where she grew up. Married at twenty to a Parisian boulevardier and hack journalist named Willy, she was soon added to his stable of ghost writers and before too long she was writing the "Claudine" books of which he was the supposed principal author, although he seems to have contributed little except the insistence that they be peppered up with scandalous incidents. Finally rid of him and subsequently married twice more, she began to find herself but did not publish the first of her most successful books, "Cheri," until she was forty-seven. Curiously innocent of political opinions and of moral judgments, she was endowed with tremendous sensibility, a fine eye for concrete physical detail, and a rueful wit. Apropos a short biographical film shown four years ago she said: "What a wonderful life I've had. I only wish I'd realized it sooner."

GOD AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

(Beyond selling space for publication of the accompanying material, *The Nation* is not to be held responsible for statements contained in the material)

The term "God" (*Elohim*) has come to us out of the fierce warfare of the Hebrew prophets against the tyranny and injustice represented by "Baal" and other heathen gods. "The name Baal became the very signature of heathenism", writes Prof. G. F. Moore (Commentary on Judges, p. 195). The struggle for social justice, against Baal and other gods was the driving force which, in Canaan, or Palestine, carried the idea of God authentically upward from heathenism to Ethical Monotheism. In its essence, therefore, the term God became the concrete, emotional symbol of social justice.

The churches, accordingly, must prepare themselves to cease using the powerful term God as the synonym of a merely personal, or individual, righteousness; and they must begin to use it as a concrete, emotional instrumentality of social vision. This is not the claim of some obscure sect; it is the mandate of scientific Biblical scholarship in our progressive theological seminaries and outstanding universities. We have reached a new epoch in which the leading religious question must be, *What think ye of God?*

No sooner did triumphant monotheism come down from the highlands of Palestine into the vast and sordid plain of world history than bookish men—indoor philosophers—went to work on the term God. They robbed it of its concrete, emotional value as a symbol of objective, outdoor, social justice. And they transformed it into a theological abstraction, "The Supreme Being", enthroned in the heavens, and endowed with "attributes" to be discussed at leisure for many centuries in class rooms.—This is not the whole story. A few suggestions will be found in a circular which will be sent to you for a three-cent stamp to cover postage. (Requests without stamp will bring no result). L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

Technician of Violence

KESSELRING: A SOLDIER'S RECORD. By Field Marshal Albert Kesselring. Morrow. \$5.

In the century of total war military specialists, like scientists, tend to become cogs in machines. Marshal Kesselring here stands self-revealed as an automaton, ably and loyally serving a cause

which he never questioned and of which he had no comprehension. Kesselring was sentenced to death in 1947 for the shooting of 335 Italians in the Ardeatine catacombs near Rome on March 24, 1944. But the sentence was commuted. He was released from prison and pardoned in 1952 and thus enabled to write his memoirs, which, as is usual in such cases, demonstrate that the motivations of all his acts were pure and lofty.

These reminiscences, prefaced by S. L. A. Marshall, the United States army's chief historian of the European Theater, who says he respects Kesselring as a man, add grit to the mills of military historians. "Smiling Al" joined the Bavarian army in 1904 and ultimately became commander of the Nazi Luftwaffe, invader of Russia, Mediterranean commander, defender of Italy, and finally Rundstedt's successor as commander in the West in the last desperate months of the war. He holds that the Luftwaffe was not defeated in the Battle of Britain and that an invasion was possible. He denounces Rommel, ridicules the Italian war effort, and criticizes Hitler for not appreciating the importance of the Mediterranean arena.

As to what the tumult and shouting were about Kesselring professes innocent ignorance. "Whether our indifference to political events was right or wrong, we had no need to, nor could we, bother our heads about them." Yet he realized that the building of the Luftwaffe "resuscitated trade and reduced unemployment." And, under arrest, he found "that soldiers are often better and more sensitive politicians than those who feel they have a vocation for that profession." Kesselring was never a soldier-turned-politician. Yet in his blind subservience to politicians-turned-soldiers, he and his fellow-officers of the Wehrmacht, now all restored to respectability, are frightening portents of our time.

Steamship Saga

ABOARD THE FLYING SWAN. By Stanley Wolpert. Scribner's. \$3.75.

"Aboard the Flying Swan" is an odd name for this first novel by Stanley Wolpert, since it brings to mind the slim ships and gallant sailors of the days of sail. Wolpert's heroes, however, are the great machines that drive modern steam-

ships and the sweat-drenched men who drive the machines.

A young man, Bob Williams, returns as a third assistant engineer after years away from the sea—years during which he has forgotten his job. An old "work-bull," Nikolai Karenkov, hammers him back into shape, and the two become fast friends after an initial period of mutual exasperation. The engine room's superior officers, however, are corrupt; they steal and sell vital machine parts and try to frame Karenkov. After several tragedies the villain gets his just deserts and young Bob Williams faces a better future, having learned the deeper meaning of engine rooms and the men who work there.

Wolpert evokes characters and setting in language which at times becomes a poetry of power. There are flaws, to be sure: insistent use of dialect, for example, is an almost constant irritation. And there are unfortunate attempts at sophistication and some awkwardness in narrative structure. The author of "Aboard the Flying Swan," however, has a sure instinct for pace and characterization.

Political Nightmare

THE NIGHTMARE. By C. S. Forester. Little, Brown. \$3.50.

According to recent reports the West German government has begun atomic research, while the foes of Nazi Germany, involved in new world tensions, make every effort to achieve collective amnesia. C. S. Forester's volume of short stories, "The Nightmare," deals with the blood-drenched years of the Third Reich. The book may be diplomatically embarrassing, but it seems a needed corrective at the present time. The ten stories, many of which are based on actual records, provide an incisive portrait of an entire civilization reeking with death. A master of narrative structure, Forester reinforces understatement with irony. The result is a vivid and bitter recreation of Nazi power manipulations.

The horror, however, does not lie in the violence of the material. On the contrary, the very absence of emotion provokes the deepest repulsion. From the "honorable soldiers" who themselves were finally destroyed by the Nazi re-

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September 25, 1954

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time to the commandants of concentration camps and death factories, there is a nightmare of propriety and order. Papers are filled out; forms are observed to the letter; the good people avoid asking themselves disturbing questions. The wives of S. S. men and other élite "smiled and discussed airy nothing, perhaps as a butcher's wife will talk to another butcher."

"The Nightmare" is not completely successful as fiction, for Forester occasionally depends on device rather than drama, event rather than motivation. What emerges is a new type of mind, killing scientifically as if killing were not involved at all, acting as simply and righteously as a hired hand leading cattle to the slaughterhouse. The book renews doubts as to whether these minds, conforming to a national double-think of moral murder only a decade ago, have been entirely transformed into dependable allies in the present disordered world. Many readers will feel that this, perhaps, is the greatest nightmare of all.

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Selected New Books

American Affairs

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By Oscar Handlin. Harvard. \$3.75. An excellent review of changes in the melting pot during the past fifty years, changes brought about by restriction of European immigration, the influx of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, and internal shifts of population induced by two wars and the depression. It is a story with some ugly episodes, such as the war-time uprooting of the Japanese Americans, but Dr. Handlin emphasizes improvements in interracial and intercultural relations and progress in the direction of the American ideal of unity coupled with diversity.

MINORITIES AND THE AMERICAN PROMISE. THE CONFLICT OF PRINCIPLE AND PRACTICE. By Stewart G. Cole and Mildred Wiess Cole. Harper. \$4.50. This tenth volume in a series sponsored by the Bureau for Intercultural Education, a study of the structure of American society, complements Dr. Handlin's work and arrives at similar conclusions. Its final chapter, "Americans and Their World Neighbors," discusses problems of intercultural relations on a global scale.

STORMY BEN BUTLER. By Robert S. Holzman. Macmillan. \$5. Probably Major General Benjamin F. ("Beast") Butler, never stole any spoons in New Orleans, but the South had good reason to detest the man whose later political career provoked President Hayes's charge that he was "the most dangerous and wicked demagogue we have ever had." In this objective and voluminous documented biography Dr. Holzman refrains from judgments, but the ex-

amples he gives of the brutal vindictiveness of this Congressman from Massachusetts recall irresistibly a certain Senator from Wisconsin. Illustrated.

THEY CALLED HIM STONEWALL. By Burke Davis. Rinehart. \$5. The last full-scale biography of the dour and eccentric Covenanter who led the Southern Cavaliers with such amazing skill appeared many years ago. Civil War enthusiasts will therefore welcome this book, although Mr. Davis, newspaperman and novelist, has been more successful in his portraiture than in his elucidation of Jackson's strategy. Illustrated.

BOHEMIAN BRIGADE: CIVIL WAR NEWSMEN IN ACTION. By Louis M. Starr. Knopf. \$5. A lively account of the men who reported the Civil War and in the process transformed the character of the American press by changing its emphasis from views to news. Mr. Starr has done a thorough piece of research, but his emphasis on the bohemianism of his cast, which includes such men as Henry Villard, Whitelaw Reid, and George Smalley, seems a little forced. Illustrated.

ANNIE OAKLEY OF THE WILD WEST. By Walter Havighurst. Macmillan. \$4.50. By herself, Annie Oakley, whose life was compounded of phenomenal but monotonous shooting exploits and conjugal bliss, would hardly fill a book. However, her biographer has successfully padded the story with much colorful material about Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and produced a very entertaining piece of Americana. Illustrated. KEITH HUTCHISON

Records

B. H. Haggin

BYRD'S Mass in four parts, sung by members of Safford Cape's Pro Musica Antiqua on EMS 234, is a more somber, and for me more affecting, work than the Mass in five parts on the reverse side (it is sung by three male voices and one female, the other by three male and two female). It impressed me even more as sung on a London record a few years ago; but since I am unable at the moment to listen to that record

again I can only hazard the guess that the more impressive effect may have been due to use of a larger chorus and a different—and possibly less correct—style of singing. The evenness of the lovely and sensitively inflected singing in these EMS performances tends to make the beautiful writing seem unvarying; but the style and effect may be the correct ones, to which our taste must adapt itself.

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Buxtehude's Cantatas "Herr, auf Dich traue ich" and "Singet dem Herrn" for soprano, violins, and continuo, and "Lauda Sion Salvatorem" and "Jesu, meine Freude" for chorus and instruments are the first works of his I can recall having found interesting to listen to. They are excellently performed on Overture 6 by Helen Boatwright, the Choir of St. Thomas's Episcopal Church in New Haven, and a small group of players under Howard Boatwright's direction.

Bach's Goldberg Variations are played, on Bach Guild 536 by Gustav Leonardt, who pounds them out on the harpsichord with the same relentless stolidity as he did the Art of Fuge, and with the same accompaniment of noises of the harpsichord mechanism.

Epic LC-3054 offers a group of fine pieces by Berlioz—the "Roman Carnival" and "Benvenuto Cellini" Overtures, the Trojan March from "The Trojans at Carthage," the usual three pieces from "The Damnation of Faust," and the sequence of *Romeo Alone, Melancholy, Concert and Ball, Great Fidelity at the Capulets* from "Romeo and Juliet" (Berlioz's titles are a more reliable guide to the "Romeo" sequence than the accompanying notes, which make of *Romeo Alone* a "love theme," and of *Melancholy* a theme suggesting "Romeo's longing for his beloved"). Beautiful performances by Van Otterloo with the Lamoureux Orchestra, confirming previous impressions of his outstanding quality as conductor and musician. It is regrettable that Epic didn't have him record the other instrumental movements of "Romeo," or the entire work with chorus and soloists.

Epic 3052 offers several of Hans Sachs's solo passages from Wagner's "Die Meistersinger"—*Was duftet doch der Flieder; Wahn! Wahn!*; the Cobbling Song; *Euch macht ihr's leicht*; and *Verachtet mir die Meister nicht*—sung by Otto Edelmann with the Vienna Symphony under Wilhelm Loibner. The first three excerpts are very fine; the last two I find less interesting; and I suggest that the next such record include instead Sachs's superb baptism of Walter's new song. Edelmann was the Sachs of Columbia's Bayreuth "Meistersinger," with a fresh voice that ravished the ear; after only three years of Wagnerian wear and tear the freshness and some of the velvet

are gone; but it is still a superb bass, used with impressive effect. The orchestral parts are played well, but their detail is not heard clearly with the singing. On the reverse side are excerpts from "The Flying Dutchman," "Tannhäuser," and "Parsifal."

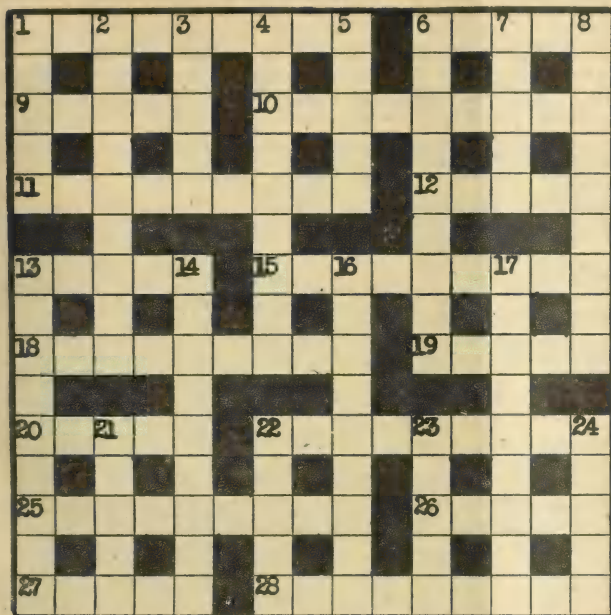
Reviewing the first RCA Victor Treasury LP a few years ago I said that great singers and singing had not ended with the Golden Age—that Ponselle, Rethberg, and Schipa could have held their own with Farrar and McCormack. I had the same thought as I listened recently to the Scala LP's of acoustical recordings of Destinn and Ponselle in their youth; but in addition I wondered whether Ponselle's flowing sumptuousness and lusciousness was any less extraordinary than the voluminous luster and splendor of Flagstad's voice when she first sang here. And thinking further about why Flagstad impressed many of us as the most phenomenal soprano we had ever heard, I reached the conclusion I had expressed once before—that it was not just the voice but the way of singing.

With other singers we had always been aware of the activity of singing—including the overcoming of difficulties, even though, as in the case of young Ponselle, it was an overcoming of them with sensational ease and beauty. What was sensational with Flagstad was her way of deploying that voluminously lusty voice in a long phrase, in which it simply began at the beginning and went wherever it was called on to go, rising without effort to a squarely attacked and securely held high note, and going on from this one to another and still another, in thrilling fashion, before descending to complete the phrase—all as though there were no difficulty to overcome, and breath were not even involved.

Nor was it only the ease and naturalness of the deployment but its musical rightness—the way, as the voice proceeded, the phrase emerged perfectly shaped, "as fresh and glistening as creation itself." The unflinching perfection, in those first years, was that of simply inflected phrases; in later years it was that of increasingly subtle inflection, involving more subtle use of a voice that in those later years had to be used with more care and discretion.

Crossword Puzzle No. 586

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Evidence that a Russian has long hair? (3, 6)
- 6 He might raise paper or the value of it. (5)
- 9 Cupid's weapon that is a kind of knife. (5)
- 10 The sort you put on the barrel-head? (5, 4)
- 11 Little I down might be one of these. (9)
- 12 Association the Chinese have with a Polynesian kingdom. (5)
- 13 Enlarges the size of sheets of paper? (5)
- 15 Put some time in the service branch—several seasons, in fact. (9)
- 18 The salt of the earth might be here, but they suggest 17 somewhat. (4, 5)
- 19 Fish with cords. (5)
- 20 Carriage I would deem hard. (5)
- 22 Not simple disagreement. (9)
- 25 Does it smear tar without touching anything? (9)
- 26 The race is started in case you want to see it. (5)
- 27 Do they wrap things up in banks? (5)
- 28 A false story about a tattered sail belonging to a king. (9)

DOWN

- 1 It's marked by 13-down. (5)
- 2 The time of little feathers? (9)
- 3 Overpower. (5)
- 4 If you see an oar coming, it might be from the land. (9)

- 5 Formerly a paper had to be passed. (5)
- 6 Gives the right pitch to the notes? (Or just jangles?) (9)
- 7 Get ready for the following! (5)
- 8 Listens to the clarinet around it, perhaps, if practiced. (9)
- 13 What the communist makes clean, upon interrogation. (9)
- 14 Should dressing for such times be modeled after the French or Russian? (5, 4)
- 16 Scrape the hip of the rose, perhaps. (9)
- 17 A classic one of these was not really an aviator from Amsterdam. (9)
- 21 Peg, as extended up north. (5)
- 22 One man you should feed well. (5)
- 23 Opening responsible for a bird-like sound. (5)
- 24 So is a different place welcome after a dry spell. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 585

ACROSS:—9 RIGOR; 10 MAY; 11 TRAIT; 12 PATENT; 15 ANOTHER; 16 DELIGHT; 17 NUTS; 19 ABE; 21 WASHERS; 22, 18, 23 and 14 OPEN THE DOOR RICHARD; 25 ALERTED; 29 ARENAS; 33 and 35 IN THE WORKS; 36 EJECTOR; 37 PHRASES.

DOWN:—1 HARDPAN; 2 RIGHT; 3 ERRAND; 4 YAMS; 5 KEYS; 6 NUTANT; 7 DEATH; 8 METERED; 13 TENABLE; 15, 1 and 5 across, 34, 27 A HORSE; A HORSE, MY KINGDOM FOR A HORSE; 20 BOO; 22 OPALINE; 24 RESISTS; 25 ASCENT; 26 DRAWER; 28 OUTRE; 29 NARES; 31 APART; 32 TRAP.

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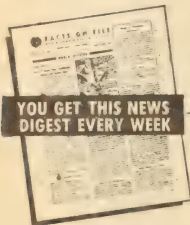
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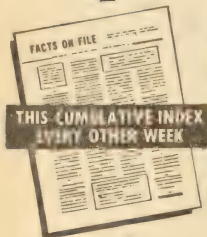
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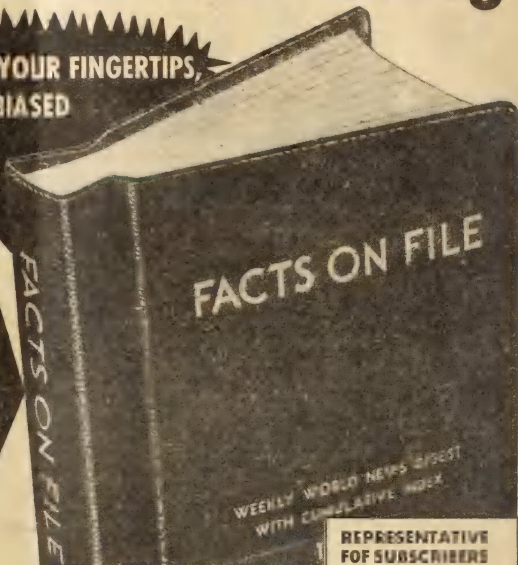
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The Great Giveaway

BACK in February, 1953, when the first trainloads of eager lobbyists began pouring into Washington to greet the new Administration, Bruce Catton, our correspondent there, took one look and reported:

They are coming in hungry, and they are not hungry for peanuts. The vast public-utility, oil, mining, and lumber interests that supported the Republican campaign are getting ready to move in on America's natural resources, and what they want is all the country has got. The new Administration is prepared to make things easy for them, and the program is beginning to look clear. It adds up to what is probably the greatest raid on the national wealth ever contemplated.

A man with a sense of history, Catton brilliantly anticipated the Great Giveaway. In two years the Administration has carried forward a giveaway program unmatched in our history, and the next two years may be more extravagant than the first. For despite stout opposition on some issues—the twelve-day filibuster on the atomic bill is a case in point—the Administration has every intention of going steadily forward with its giveaways unless the voters call a halt.

The first real test will come on November 2. For the key *partisan* issue in this campaign, we believe, is the Great Giveaway. On such vital questions as foreign policy and civil liberties, responsibility for the present unhappy state of American affairs is basically bipartisan. But since President Roosevelt's first term, the two major parties have steadily affirmed sharply contrasting concepts of the role of government in the management of the economy; on this issue the voters can sense a difference. In any case, it has been with bread-and-butter economic issues that voters have shown the most consistent concern. Farmers may be worried about foreign policy and civil liberties, but their votes are likely to turn on the issue of parity prices—in the absence, that is, of clear-cut differences between the two major parties on other key issues.

Everyone is interested in peace or war, but how can foreign policy be a major issue when neither party has a clear-cut policy, when both are responsible for recent American diplomatic defeats, and when the voters, no matter how deep their concern, are offered no real alternatives? The same with civil liberties. However tragic the

fact may be, the electorate cannot fairly be expected to decide this election on any issues other than those relating to the Great Giveaway, since only here are they able to feel and weigh significant partisan differences. It is hard to see how any voter's feelings about NATO and E. D. C., for example, could persuade him to vote one way or another in this election, but every voter understands that a hundred billion dollars—Representative Franklin D. Roosevelt's estimate of the value of the Great Giveaways to date—is a lot of money.

No one, of course, can reckon the total for the giveaways to date; only estimates are possible. Who knows the value of the underseas oil reserves? Is it ten billion dollars or thirty billion or three hundred billion? Who knows the value of atomic power? "It is a fact," writes Senator Herbert H. Lehman, "that in the unleashed energy of the atom there is more power potential than that contained in all of the unmined coal in the United States, more than that contained in all of the developed and reserve oil pools in the United States, more than that produced by all the hydroelectric plants now in existence. . . . This is not a million-dollar giveaway or a billion-dollar giveaway. This is a giveaway of such proportions as to dwarf the imagination, and to beggar any numbers which are used to describe it."

HOWEVER the sum is reckoned, one thing is clear: if the Republicans don't get in power for another twenty years, they have already succeeded in doing right well for themselves and their chief contributors.

Last year was a banner year for dividend payments—\$9,300,000,000—but this year the total may well be greater and this despite, in some cases, reduced sales. For example, duPont's sales in the first quarter of this year were \$35,000,000 below the same quarter of 1953, *but taxes were nearly halved and net profits were higher by \$7,000,000*. General Electric's sales were \$62,000,000 lower, but taxes were \$8,000,000 less and net profits were nearly \$16,000,000 higher. General Motors sales were \$136,000,000 lower but taxes were \$177,000,000 less and net profits were up \$36,000,000. "It is obvious," comments the *Madison Capital Times*, "that the decision to let the excess-profits tax die at the beginning of 1954 was 'good for General Motors,' but the average person

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In order to give fuller coverage to the Great Giveaway, The Nation's book, music, and theater pages, as well as foreign editor J. Alvarez del Vayo's regular column, have been omitted from this issue.

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who has noticed no significant difference in his take-home pay will ponder what good this is doing the rest of the country."

Not only is the Great Giveaway the key partisan issue in this campaign—the issue on which most voters will make up their minds—but, seen in proper perspective, it is of major political interest. The Great Giveaway is quite unlike anything of the sort that we have known heretofore. It is not in the pattern of the Great Barbecue of the Grant Administration, and it would be even less realistic to say that it follows the pattern of events that unfolded when Harding and the Ohio gang took over in Washington. "Little black bags" have no part in the current giveaway: It is as misleading to think that the Great Giveaway is merely another in a long history of similar episodes as it is to believe that the current assault on civil liberties is "just another" episode like the Palmer raids.

This, so far as we know, is the first time that an Administration has come to power in Washington determined to give away all public assets not securely nailed down by constitutional or statutory provisions. In the past unscrupulous individuals and greedy interests, working impartially with Democratic and Republican administrations, have used political influence to enrich themselves. In the past, however, individuals and interests have been the initiators, and they have usually exploited some weakness in government, as, say, a corrupt official. But today the government is the initiator. This is an Administration dedicated to the giveaway. It has actively sought out opportunities to dispose of assets and resources. It is not being used so much as it is seeking to be useful. Let's face it: the Great Giveaway of the Eisenhower Administration is based on principle.

THE Great Giveaway gives us a chance to measure the enormous distance we have traveled, historically, politically, socially, since the days of Grant. "The Robber Barons"—Vanderbilt, Jay Cooke, Carnegie, Huntington, John D. Rockefeller, and the others—started out poor and ended up rich. In the process they were aided by favors from government—rebates, franchises, tariffs, land grants—and by favorable court decisions. But they fought each other harder than they fought to win these favors. Government aided them most, perhaps, by simply not interfering with their activities. The key words used by Matthew Josephson to characterize these robber barons suggest wherein they were unlike the corporate executives of today: "aggressive men," "sometimes lawless," "of volcanic energy" and "courage," possessed of qualities, that "under another economic climate, might have fitted them for immensely useful social constructions, and rendered them glorious rather than hateful to their people." Characteristically this generation of tycoons wanted to

exert their influence in *propria persona*. In most instances it was only after their spectacular achievements as empire builders that they began to think of exerting direct control over the federal government. It was to safeguard their empires and to keep the electorate in check that men like Leland Stanford, George Hearst, Chauncey Depew, Henry B. Payne, William Sharon, James G. Fair, Stephen B. Elkins, and William A. Clark appeared in the Senate.

NOR is the Great Giveaway to be compared with the giveaways, such as they were, of the Truman Administration. The Eisenhower team does not operate at the level of deep freezes and mink coats; it is not offering personal handouts to fixers, five percenters, close relatives, and "deserving" county committeemen. As a matter of fact, a key to the interest of this Administration in giveaways is to be found in the scarcity of available political patronage. Lacking jobs to give after twenty years of Democratic rule and civil-service priorities, they are giving away "business opportunities." This, definitely, is not a "government by cronies."

Besides, Republicans have somewhat different obligations than Democrats; they raise money at the top, the Democrats at the bottom. The corruption characteristic of the Truman Administration took the form of cases "fixed" by Internal Revenue officials, of cost-plus contracts granted on the suggestion of mysterious five percenters, of R. F. C. loans arranged for bankrupt concerns which retained the right lawyers and accountants. Indeed, all comparisons of this sort are likely to be misleading. To understand the Great Giveaway one must take a look at the circumstances which set it in motion.

As the 1952 campaign approached, the Republicans began to look about for popular issues. Up to this time they had fumed and fussed about "big government," but apparently it had not occurred to them that crusades are usually organized not to defend something but to get something. Finally, by just working at the issue of "statism," like a dog worrying with a bone, they hit upon the idea of giving it a more affirmative emphasis by suggesting that "big government" had some things which might be given *back*, not to the people, but to certain people. It is one thing to resist "creeping socialism" defensively, mournfully, with an eye on the past, but the response is much better when the barkers step forward and shout "Come and get it!"

The first significant intimation of something new in Republican tactics was provided when Charles E. Wilson, former president of General Electric, came forth with a "plan to end socialism in the United States." The plan had the merit of simplicity: Mr. Wilson wanted the government to sell as many businesses, power projects, and the like as possible, and to apply the proceeds in reduction of the national debt. Dismissed as somewhat

fanciful in some quarters, the suggestion was greeted with enthusiasm by the Republican brain-trusters. For example, *U. S. News and World Report* suggested (September 26, 1952) that if the Republicans gained control of Congress and the White House, the Wilson plan would be quickly put into effect. Thrilled by these bold new vistas, various Republican spokesmen began to talk about the "profits" that might be realized from the sale of the Post Office franchise.

By the time of the inauguration interest in the "goodies" that the Administration had promised to distribute had become the major political passion among Republicans. "A new era is dawning," said *U. S. News and World Report* on May 1, 1953. Soon the Administration would begin to "desocialize" government. The tide of "socialism" which had crept up until the government found itself in possession of \$130,000,000,000 worth of loans, insurance, factories, railroads, ships, and "countless other things" was about to turn. To inflame the imagination of the business executives among its readers, *U. S. News* prepared the following chart, which appeared under a dollar sign (\$) caption:

UNCLE SAM'S BIGGEST BUSINESSES: HEADED FOR PRIVATE ENTERPRISE?

Insurance (face value, veterans' policies)	\$49,354,000,000
Banking (loans to farmers, homeowners, miners, states, industries, cooperatives, foreign governments, etc.)	18,600,000,000
Armament factories	8,600,000,000
Stockpile of strategic materials	5,845,000,000
Merchant shipping	4,000,000,000
Atom facilities	3,800,000,000
Electric power	3,660,000,000
Housing, community facilities	1,064,000,000
Surplus farm products, U. S. owned	1,123,000,000
Synthetic rubber plants	750,000,000
Inland Waterways Corporation (barges)	27,000,000

As though stunned by the very boldness of the concept, the editors did not compute the total: \$96,823,-000,000, or, roughly, a hundred billion dollars.

ONCE in power, the Republicans set about preparing a more complete inventory of what was available for giveaways other than the major items of the type listed above, of which everyone was aware. By June, 1953, the House Committee on Government Operations could report, in a preliminary way, that the government had become the nation's largest insurer, electric-power producer, lender, landlord, grain owner, warehouse operator, and shipowner, and that it monopolized the world's biggest potential new industry—atomic energy. (Later a four-volume report was issued.) By midsummer, 1953, business executives had begun to worry about

the "inventory recession" and were eager to find new business opportunities. As though by magic a strong pressure campaign got under way to compel Congress to turn over some of these highly advertised plums to private business. Indeed, the first business giveaway—of the Mississippi barge lines (see page 289)—was consummated within a week after the committee's first inventory was released.

The big government enterprises like T. V. A. did not, of course, need to be advertised; for these items eager bidders were standing by. What the House committee did was to whet the appetites of the "little business men," who were quite as eager as the big ones to get a slice of whatever it was that this Administration wanted "to give back." As its hearings continued, all sorts of new opportunities were unearthed. It was discovered that the government manufactured paint and rope, roasted coffee, made spectacles, dentures, and wooden legs, stored furniture, ran tugboats, repaired office furniture, cleaned windows, processed ferrous scrap, manufactured wooden boxes, operated supermarkets, sold liquor, and did all sorts of other things that might better be done, or so it seemed, by private business, for a profit. The big fat giveaways are of course the major concern of this special issue, but a word or two about the minor ones which have been held out, as lure, for the small fry helps to underscore the meaning of the Great Giveaway.

IN each instance an organized pressure group brought the initial complaint of "creeping socialism" to the attention of the House committee. Thus the Cordage Institute complained of the navy's famous ropewalk in Boston (established in 1828). The National Paint, Varnish, and Lacquer Association complained bitterly of the navy's equally famous paint-manufacturing establishments (founded in 1902). The National Retail Liquor Package Stores Association felt as outraged as the Women's Christian Temperance Union over the sale of package liquor in officers' clubs. The National Wooden Box Association called attention to the government's box-manufacturing plants. And the International Association of Ice Cream Manufacturers reported that the government was making ice cream, and of all flavors too, in exactly 162 locations. And so it went.

As the hearings went on, anxious retailers, worried about dwindling sales, began to grow pop-eyed with wonder, like youngsters staring at store windows full of Christmas toys and gadgets, when they learned of a far-flung system of Post Exchanges in which government personnel can buy, at remarkably low prices, many items other than necessities—everything, in fact, from earrings to salt shakers. In 1948, the last year for which complete figures are apparently available, 375 such exchanges did a business of \$250,000,000. But the investigators were

also brought up hard by some unpleasant facts. They had to admit, for example, the existence of something called "military socialism," which, more than any other factor perhaps, accounts for "creeping socialism" of the PX variety. And they were soon forced to realize that, on a strict cost basis, it would be difficult for private business to compete with many of these government operations. The shrewder members of the committee must now realize that many of the "goodies" promised Main Street store owners will never be delivered. But this promised giveaway, whether or not it will ever be fulfilled, has helped to keep the small fry happy while big business has walked away with major items that were not securely nailed down. And as a sop the little business men have been promised enactment of a bill known as the "Termination of Federal Commercial Activities Act," which theoretically will throw a little business their way.

SEEN in this perspective, the Great Giveaway has novel dimensions and aspects. For the last decade or so Congress has shown spasmodic interest in "reversing the trend toward socialism," but as Roger Stuart has pointed out in a recent series of articles for the Scripps-Howard newspapers, "until the present Administration came into being, relatively little was accomplished beyond mere talk." This Administration, however, is committed to a program of "rolling back" the trend toward socialism by giving away government assets and enterprises that private business might operate at a profit.

Admittedly this is a bold and ambitious program, but there is little reason to doubt that it will be systematically executed unless the people decide to put a stop to it on November 2. The Republicans, it must be emphasized, do not feel apologetic about the program; they are proud of it. They do not regard it as a "raid" on federal resources; nor have they been "bribed" to execute it. As they see it, they are engaged in a great effort to rewrite twenty years of history. "The central theme of the Eisenhower Administration," according to Senator Karl Mundt, "in all of its policies and programs, is to expand the opportunities and to increase the freedoms . . . of Mr. John American." Back in 1952 this same Mr. John American told Senator Mundt: "I've had enough of 'take-away' government. I want a government which will 'give away' some of its authority and its power by placing it back in the hands of ordinary people of America."

This, then, in Republican language, is the program which the Administration is carrying out as rapidly as it can. In short, the "public" side of our economy is to be kept to a bare minimum; at the same time the "private" side is to be expanded at the expense of the public by taking over all that is giveable and profitable from the other. Basically, this is the domestic program of the Eisenhower Administration, and it will be carried out to the letter if its proponents win in November.

BILLIONS IN TRIBUTE

The Giveaway Score . . by Harry Levine

THIS is an accounting of what the Eisenhower Administration has so far given to the few at the expense of the many. The table on page 276 shows that the giveaway has been at the rate of \$13,000,000 a day, at the minimum, not including atomic energy. This is no abstract statistic; it represents a sum which is being taken directly out of the pockets of the American people in the form of inequitable tax levies, higher utility rates, higher loan rates, and other higher costs. What it does not cover, what no figure can adequately cover, is the bil-

lions in potential national wealth which, because of the giveaway, will eventually be realized not for the public good but for the private profit of the few.

The giveaway takes many forms. In the bulging cornucopia of the G. O. P. dams are jumbled in with quick tax write-offs, barge lines with price decontrols, great national resources with special tax provisions streamlined for the corporations. But whatever the form the outcome is the same: he that hath gets more and he that hath not gets it in the neck.

Utilities Grow Fat

UNDOUBTEDLY the biggest giveaways of the national wealth have been made to the private-utility companies. This is by no means an accident of circumstance. The National Association of Electric Companies, according to its own official reports, spent more money on Congressional lobbying last year than any other organization. The investment has paid handsome dividends. More than three billion dollars has gone to private gas, electric, and power companies or combines. Indirectly they are benefiting by even greater sums. At least twenty-seven federal power projects have been crippled by Congressional appropriation slashes which leave consumers at the mercy of the private companies operating in the areas. Senator Wayne Morse has called this attack on public power "the old tribute-collecting game—a form of legalized robbery of the public interest."

The most spectacular giveaway to the private utilities occurred this summer in the now famous Dixon-Yates episode. "Here was a deal," said Democratic National Chairman Stephen Mitchell, "to buy power from a plant to be built by Dixon-Yates, to meet the needs of

the atomic-energy plant at Paducah, A competing syndicate offered to provide the power for \$90,000,000 less than Dixon-Yates—and the T. V. A. would provide the power for \$140,000,000 less. Yet the President issued a personal order to give the contract to Dixon-Yates—over the protest of both A. E. C. and T. V. A.—without competitive bidding." (See Gordon Clapp's article on page 286.)

Because friends of President Eisenhower were involved, the Dixon-Yates contract received more publicity than any giveaway since that of tidelands oil last year. The *Sacramento Bee*, for example, wanted to know how the President could reconcile his directive "with the written law of the land." Said the *Bee*: "The only exception [to competitive bids] allowed by law is a case where the Atomic Energy Commission certifies that 'such action is necessary in the interest of the common defense and security, or upon a showing that advertising is not reasonably practical.'"

In short, it took an outright violation of the law by the President of the United States to bring the power giveaway to the front pages of most of the nation's press. But Chairman Mitchell characterizes the Dixon-Yates scandal as "peanuts" compared to other giveaways engineered by the Eisenhower

Administration. "Because the techniques of the 'big pay-off' are complicated and obscure," the magazine *Democratic Digest* remarked last month, "the general public has not fully realized what has been going on."

For instance, one of the biggest direct giveaways since Eisenhower became President has made no headlines; yet it will cost the American taxpayer \$2,800,000,000. In this instance the technique used was exceptionally obscure. How many people paid any attention to the so-called "quick tax write-off" decision of the Federal Power Commission against the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association last December 4? The electric cooperatives serve fifteen million farmers and residents of small towns throughout the country.

The background to this story lies in the federal government's decision to encourage private capital to invest in war-time plant expansion by granting quick tax amortization, or write-offs, during the Korean conflict. Companies were permitted to depreciate the cost of a new plant, for tax purposes, over five years instead of a normal period of, say, thirty-three years. This meant that electric utilities, for example, were able to deduct 20 per cent of the cost of a new plant from their income taxes each year instead of a normal 3 per cent, thus writing off the cost of the entire plant in five years.

At the end of the five-year period, of course, the companies were permitted no further depreciation allowance. But in the meantime they had in effect received huge interest-free loans from the government. According to official figures gathered from the total of "quick-write-off" certificates granted to electric utilities during the Korean war, these interest-free loans amount to more than \$840,000,000. The National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, in a brief submitted to the Federal Power Commission, pointed out that if the \$840,000,000 had been invested at 6 per cent

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A Handful of Combines

Among the major accomplishments of this past Congress, if you can call them accomplishments, were the most ruthless giveaways of our nation's resources in our country's history. They gave away tidelands oil and the synthetic-rubber plants. They gave \$150,000,000 of electric power to the Dixon-Yates group. They tried to give Niagara Falls to five private utility companies, and if it were not for the efforts of people like Herbert Lehman in the United States Senate in the closing days of the session, they would have given away even more of our atomic resources than they did. The total of all this staggers the imagination. One hundred billion dollars in loot was given to a handful of business combines which had supported the Republican Party in 1952.—Representative Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

over the normal thirty-three-year depreciation period, it would have amounted to more than \$2,800,000,000.

It is true that many industries besides the electric utilities profited from the quick-write-off law, but their profits were checked, at least theoretically, by the 52 per cent excess-profits tax. The excess-profits tax, however, was not applied to utilities, which as regulated monopolies are supposedly limited in the profits they can earn.

The cooperatives entered no objection to the original war-time write-off law. But in their brief to the F. P. C. last winter they raised the question of what should be done now about the huge increase in the electric-utility companies' profits due directly to the write-off law. The brief insisted:

The Federal Power Commission must take appropriate steps to prevent these overcharges, and any accounting changes which it requires must have in mind the prevention of these overcharges.

What were the appropriate steps the electric cooperatives urged the power commission to take? "The amount of the tax saving should be deducted from the rate base and charges to customers should be reduced accordingly," they declared. Actually, the association pointed out, consumers were legally entitled to a return "of the entire amount

of the tax saving." But because such a drastic step might threaten the security of investors in private utilities, it simply suggested reduced rates that would reflect the real profit picture of the electric companies.

The newly appointed Republican majority of the commission found in favor of the electric companies. Only the lone remaining liberal member of the commission, Dale Doty, supported the cooperatives' position.

Dr. Clay Cochran, the N. R. E. C. A. economist who prepared most of the brief, told this reporter recently:

All we really wanted was recognition by the F. P. C. of the true profit picture of the private utilities. Once this was accomplished, consumer groups who are currently being overcharged would then have been able to appear before the F. P. C. and ask for lowered rates. Furthermore, it would have prevented certain electric companies from asking for increased rates—acting on the claim that they weren't making their full 6 per cent profit.

What we—and consumers across the country—got instead was a slap in the face.

ONE of the slickest giveaways to private utilities is accomplished through the little-known Hinshaw bill, which slipped through Congress and was quickly signed by President Eisenhower last March. That flagrant measure will result in higher gas bills to consumers throughout the country, but will attract attention only as its effects are felt in individual communities. No one can estimate what it will cost all told. The Cleveland *Plain Dealer* estimates the cost to the customers of one Ohio company alone—the East Ohio Gas Company—at more than three million dollars a year.

The bill permits any large gas company to set up a wholly owned subsidiary to sell gas within one state and thus avoid federal regulation on that part of its operation. "This opens the way for pipe companies to create subsidiaries to which they may sell gas for resale," commented the *Milwaukee Journal*. "It adds another step to the distribution system, and thus another point at which natural-gas interests can make a profit." In an industry which grossed well over two billion last year this can amount to a tidy profit.

One clear example of how this partic-

ular giveaway operates was cited by Senator Thomas Burke of Ohio in his maiden speech before the Senate:

The Ohio Public Utility Commission allows a utility to value its equipment at replacement cost, minus depreciation, whereas the Federal Power Commission figures equipment at actual cost, regardless of when it was bought. Thus if equipment bought in 1935 at one million dollars and still usable were valued at today's replacement cost minus depreciation, the total would be much higher than one million. The Ohio Public Utilities Commission allowance would thus be much higher than the Federal Power Commission's.

Burke estimated that if the East Ohio Gas Company were removed from the F. P. C.'s jurisdiction, the base on which its investments are figured would be increased by twenty-five million. On this increase, he said, "a 6 per cent rate of return and a 50 per cent income tax rate would result in three million dollars more in annual charges to customers."

What is particularly disturbing about this giveaway is the way it was carried out. Representative Carl Hinshaw of California, the ranking majority member of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, held one hearing on it and promptly sent it to the House, which passed it two days later. In the Senate, John Bricker, chairman of the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, received it, approved it without hearings, and sent it to the Senate all on the same day.

Bricker's hasty maneuver provides a glimpse of the most cynical aspect of the great giveaway rush. It seems a throwback to the depredations of the robber barons of a hundred years ago. Not only is Bricker chairman of the Commerce Committee, but his law firm numbers among its clients such corporations as the Pennsylvania Railroad, which has paid the firm more than \$200,000 in fees during the past seven years, and—what is hardly a surprise—the East Ohio Gas Company.

Even the conservative Scripps-Howard *Cleveland Press* found Bricker's part in the Hinshaw bill difficult to stomach. On March 27, shortly after the bill was passed, the *Press* remarked:

Public servants are public servants. The same standards that are expected of policemen, of Cabinet officers, of internal-

revenue collectors, and of judges must be demanded of all public officials.

Bricker has the obligation to make his decision clear. Either he is a lawyer engaged in private practice, including the influencing of legislation, or he is a United States Senator. He can't be both.

Because of Bricker's role in the passage of the Hinshaw bill the East Ohio Gas Company's bonanza has received some publicity. Bonanzas to other companies have not. Already twenty gas companies have been freed from F. P. C. control. Only a few weeks ago the commission exempted six in one batch—the United Gas Improvement Company of Philadelphia, the New York State Electric and Gas Corporation of Ithaca, New York, the Commonwealth Natural Gas Corporation of Richmond, Virginia, the Hartford Gas Company of Hartford, Connecticut, the Central Illinois Public Service Company of Springfield, Illinois, and the Delta Natural Gas Company of Owensville, Kentucky.

THE assault by the gas companies on the public interest continues on every level of government. The "recasting" of the Federal Power Commission predicted by Bruce Catton in March, 1953, has been accomplished. The new Republican F. P. C. is abdicating its regulatory power with almost reckless abandon.

The case of Panhandle Eastern Pipeline Company last spring is a good example. This is the case which caused columnist Thomas L. Stokes to write: "The federal regulatory agencies now have been made over into the image of the business and financial interests they are supposed to regulate." Here, Stokes added, "is the 'change' hoped for by business men and financiers who contributed so generously to the 1952 Eisenhower campaign."

In the Panhandle Eastern decision the F. P. C. broadened the company's rate base, permitting an annual rate increase of more than twelve million dollars. The facts are these. Many years ago the F. P. C. decided that the gas which pipeline companies produce from their own wells must be sold at a price which gives no more than a "fair and reasonable return" on the pipeline's investment in those properties. The figure was pegged at about 5 or 6 per cent. Because pipeline companies have sometimes acquired gas fields at bargain prices, one or two cents per thousand cubic feet of

gas was often enough to give them the return to which they were entitled on the gas they produced. At the same time a pipeline might be buying gas from independent producers, not in the pipeline business, at 8 to 10 cents per thousand cubic feet. In the Panhandle Eastern case the F. P. C. switched to the view that pipelines were entitled to higher profits on their own gas fields.

Public-Power Grab

BUT the real meat-and-potatoes helpings have been handed out in the field of public power. (See the article by Leland Olds on page 284.) Senator Wayne Morse has described the methods employed. "The Eisenhower Administration, I say, is pulling the wool over the eyes of the American people on this issue. What they are really doing, as the Southeastern power program shows, is asking the people to build dams and then to turn the power over to the private utilities at the dam sites. Who will profit? Not the people. They will pay tribute."

This is exactly what has been done. The principal victim has been the Rural Electrification Administration cooperatives, which are rapidly being bludgeoned to death. The first attack came in the form of a cut in the funds for federal transmission lines and generating facilities. Next two vital clauses were eliminated from federal power contracts—the preference clause and the withdrawal clause.

Under the preference clauses which have been part of our federal law for the past fifty years priority on power generated at government dams is given to certain groups—co-ops, public-utility districts, municipalities—which are willing to distribute the low-cost power on a non-profit basis, passing the benefits on to consumers. Private electric companies are allocated supplies of power from government dams only after the needs of the preference groups are met.

Last fall the new Secretary of the Interior announced revised "marketing criteria" for public-power projects in the Missouri Basin. This turned out to mean what Democrats call "a twenty-year deep freeze" for the preference clause. The new "criteria" required, first, that all preference groups estimate their power demands for the next twenty

"The new F. P. C. decision," reported the *Denver Post* on April 24, "was taken against the advice and arguments of its own staff of regulatory experts. Millions in extra charges by other gas companies will follow this one. This is the greatest victory the pipeline companies have won since the Natural Gas Act was passed by Congress in the 1930's."

years. (Co-ops say it is impossible to estimate how many new milking machines and other power-using facilities will be acquired by their members in that period.) More important, if their demands increase, they will not be able to get additional power. Thus, the preference clause applies only at the time of the signing of the twenty-year contract. Secondly, preference groups must keep their twenty-year estimates low. Under the new contracts, if their actual power purchases fall short of the estimates submitted this year, they must pay a penalty on the excess of their predicted needs over their actual purchases. This vise-like restraint may leave many co-ops short of low-cost power in future years and hence at the mercy of private utilities. Thirdly, as a clincher, the new twenty-year contracts were presented to co-ops on a "sign-or-nothing" basis. Those who didn't sign ran the risk of getting no additional power.

The withdrawal clause was another protection for preference users. It was found in most power contracts between federal power agencies and private utilities and provided that if the demands of the preference users expanded, the federal agency would be permitted to withdraw from its contract with the private electric company, after due notice.

The elimination of these clauses by the Interior Department has drawn protests from many groups feeling the squeeze, among them the Missouri Farmers' Association, the American Public Power Association, the National Farmers Union, and the Emergency Rural Electrification Committee of the ten Missouri Basin states.

The following federal power projects have suffered cuts in funds for transmission lines and generating facilities under the Eisenhower Administration:

Southwestern Power Administration.

Its continuing fund was cut from \$5,500,000 to \$1,250,000. The slash could mean the end of many co-ops in the Southwest. Some will be left with customers but no source of power; others will have power sources in excess of capacity to consume.

Southeastern Power Administration. The \$6,700,000 in the Democratic budget for construction of transmission lines was cut to zero by Eisenhower and Congress.

Bonneville Power Administration. Its construction fund was cut from \$55,200,000 to \$38,300,000, eliminating eleven transmission lines. Maintenance and operation funds were cut from \$24,000,000 to \$18,000,000.

American Falls Dam, Idaho. The dam is completed, but \$833,000 to instal generating facilities was cut from the budget.

Bureau of Reclamation. Funds for four transmission lines were cut out—Yellow Tail-Billings line and substation, Wyoming; Flatiron-Valmont line, Colorado; Sioux City, Iowa, to Omaha, Nebraska, line; Gavins Point,

South Dakota, to Belden, Nebraska, line and substation.

Army Engineers Civil Projects. At least seventeen have been either curtailed or stopped.

THE attack on public power goes on and on. In some cases the Administration has abandoned all pretense of representing the public—as in the now famous Hell's Canyon case. Under the previous Administration the government had planned a multi-purpose dam to harness the million-kilowatt potential of Hell's Canyon on the Oregon-Idaho border, the greatest natural dam site remaining in the United States. When the Idaho Power Company made application before the Federal Power Commission to build three low-head dams on the Snake River as an alternative to Hell's Canyon, the Democratic Interior and Agriculture departments intervened. But on May 5 last year the new Secretary of the Interior, Douglas McKay ("we're here in the saddle as an Administration representing business and industry") announced withdrawal of his department's

petition of intervention. Secretary of Agriculture Benson beat McKay to the punch. He withdrew his department's petition a few weeks after he took office.

If the Idaho Power Company gets its way, the consumers in the Oregon-Idaho-Washington area will certainly have to pay higher rates, and nearly a third of the water power at Hell's Canyon will be wasted—lost forever.

As usual, McKay's blessing to the Idaho Power Company last year emphasized the Administration's desire to let "local interests" play a bigger part in power development. But let no one imagine that the Idaho Power Company is a local corporation. "By an extraordinary coincidence," remarked Senator Wayne Morse, "McKay's May announcement withdrawing the Interior Department protest against licensing the Idaho Power Company in Hell's Canyon came the day before the corporation held its neighborly annual meeting in Bangor, Maine."

Hell's Canyon may yet be saved, but it won't be the doing of the Administration. After the government's with-

Giving Away More Than \$13,000,000 a Day—Minimum

HERE are some of the principal items of the Great Giveaway carried out in 608 days of the Eisenhower Administration—from January 20, 1953, when interest rates on some types of United States bonds were raised, to August 31, this year, when the new tax bill was passed. Omitted because incalculable in dollars is the great atomic-energy giveaway; also omitted are a wide variety of smaller giveaways, some of them mentioned elsewhere in these pages, which together add up to many additional millions of dollars. The total of eight billion represents thirteen million a day.

January 20, 1953

Increased interest rate on short-term bonds and certificates	\$31,000,000
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April 8, 1953

Increased interest rate on 30-year 3¼ per cent bonds	225,000,000
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April 22, 1953

Increased interest rate on farmers' price-support loans	14,000,000
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May 2, 1953

Increased interest rate on G. I. home loans	286,000,000
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Increased interest rate on F. H. A. home loans	87,000,000
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May 18, 1953

Increased interest rate on one-year 2½ per cent certificates	42,000,000
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July 30, 1953

Tidelands-oil giveaway	3,000,000,000*
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December 4, 1953

F. P. C. decision on private utilities' tax-write-off profits	2,800,000,000
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March 1, 1954

Increased subsidies to airlines	2,000,000
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March 15, 1954

Hinshaw gas bill (sample only)	3,000,000
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April 13, 1954

Sale of Louisiana "pilot" synthetic-fuel plant	50,000,000
Panhandle natural-gas decision	12,000,000

June 16, 1954

Dixon-Yates power contract	140,000,000
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July 28, 1954

Helium giveaway (estimate)	15,000,000
Rifle, Colorado, giveaway	3,000,000

August 31, 1954

Tax bill	1,400,000,000
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Total	\$8,110,000,000
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*Estimates of the value of tidelands oil vary astonishingly. Dr. Wallace E. Pratt, petroleum geologist and former vice-president of Standard Oil of New Jersey, puts the figure at three hundred billion dollars. Senator James Murray's estimate is fifty billion. We here use an ultra-conservative figure based on a 10 per cent return on a total tidelands reserve of ten billion barrels, worth about thirty billion dollars (Barron's estimate).

drawal, the National Hell's Canyon Association was formed to represent the public interest before the Federal Power Commission. This group, supported by labor, farm, and civic organizations, has retained counsel to oppose the Idaho Power Company. Hearings have continued for more than a year, and only this last-ditch fight by the association has kept the matter open.

Probably the most ironic incident in the Administration's war on public power has been its own fight against the T. V. A.

Because the Memphis area is threatened with a power "brown-out" by 1957, the T. V. A. requested funds for a steam generating plant near Fulton, Tennessee. The request was rejected by President Eisenhower last January. In his budget message the President suggested that since the Atomic Energy Commission would soon be obtaining some of the power needed by its atomic-energy plant at Paducah, Kentucky, from a private source, the T. V. A. would be able to reduce the amount of power it supplies to the A. E. C. and have more for customers within the T. V. A. system, thus ending the power shortage.

THIS brings us right back to Dixon and Yates.

Not long after the President's speech a syndicate of private utility holding companies—Middle South Utilities and Southern Company—came to the government with an unusual proposal. The syndicate—referred to as Dixon-Yates, the names of the two companies' presidents—suggested that it would sign a contract with the A. E. C. to build a power plant within the T. V. A. area which would enable the T. V. A. to get additional power and to continue to supply power to the A. E. C. plant at Paducah. However, besides costing the taxpayers \$140,000,000 more than the original T. V. A. proposal, the Dixon-Yates plan had a peculiar disadvantage: both the T. V. A. and the A. E. C. were opposed to it.

Democratic Chairman Mitchell has said:

Although the deal is obviously a purchase of power for T. V. A. the Administration refuses to face this fact directly. It refuses to go to the people and say honestly and directly that it will not allow T. V. A. to build any new plants for the power it needs, but will instead

require T. V. A. to purchase that power from the utility industry.

Instead, the Administration persists in the fiction that this deal will release to T. V. A., for its own use, power it is now delivering to A. E. C., and that the issue of having the utility industry furnish T. V. A.'s power requirements is not involved. And it is all fiction—for T. V. A. will still have to deliver to A. E. C. power which T. V. A. produces, and T. V. A. will have to use Dixon-Yates power for T. V. A. customers.

Nevertheless, on June 16 the President ordered the contract to be carried out. It has not been carried out yet, but all attempts to investigate this intricate deal have been stifled. Senator Langer, chairman of the Senate anti-monopoly subcommittee announced on July 24 that "those in control of the Senate" had blocked his request for an investigation of the Dixon-Yates contract. "I have watched them appropriate money for a score of other things; and, as I say, I have listened with amusement to the excuses they have given for not giving us the small sum of money we asked for, after it was unanimously approved and reported by the Judiciary Committee to the Senate," Langer reported.

Many of the more scandalous features of the Dixon-Yates contract have been brought to light by now, but the most important issue seems to have been lost in the shuffle. As the *Milwaukee Journal* notes: "The question still remains—and Mitchell seems justified in asking an answer—as to why the President did direct the contract to go to a private company rather than letting T. V. A., which is in the power-producing business, provide the extra power needed by the A. E. C."

The entire callous attack on the T. V. A.—and beyond that on the whole tradition of public power—recalls

a statement, made long before the Dixon-Yates affair came up, by Clyde Ellis, executive manager of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association. After looking at the new Administration last year, Ellis declared: "It appears to be true beyond all doubt that those in authority today in Washington intend to fix federal power rates at the level established by the profit utilities. Federal power with local ownership of distribution facilities will no longer serve as a measure of the reasonableness of the rates of the profit utilities; instead, the rates of the profit utilities will become the basis for the establishment of federal power rates. This is the concept of the reverse yardstick."

A Message to Voters

Before you go to the polls in November you will want to check the voting records of all incumbents. You will want to know how they stood on the Great Giveaway.

Your Senator and Representative will furnish you with their voting records if you write for it. Or you can write to C. I. O.-P. A. C., 1342 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D. C., for its guide to voting records in the Eighty-third Congress, or refer to "Guide to Politics, 1954," edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and Quincy Howe, and published by the Dial Press, 461 Fourth Avenue, New York.

Did your candidate vote to give away the federal power to regulate natural-gas prices? Did he vote to give tidelands oil to the coastal states? Did he approve the Dixon-Yates contract? Did he vote for the giveaway tax bill? Did he stand firm against the giveaways in the atomic energy bill?

A Million Here, a Million There

THERE are odd corners of the giveaway story which rarely come to light because they involve relatively small sums and relatively few people. But add them together and they run into more millions.

Last year Secretary of Agriculture Benson appointed a twenty-man Seed Industry Advisory Committee to help him get rid of government-held surplus

seed stocks. In August, 1953, seed companies entered bids for 23,000,000 pounds; the bids were refused. Two months later the Department of Agriculture asked for bids on the same seeds and accepted the "best combination of bids." But the price obtained in October was a quarter-million dollars less than could have been got in August. Is it rele-

want that the final sale was made to a syndicate headed by Lloyd M. Brown, who happened to be chairman of Secretary Benson's Seed Industry Advisory Committee?

Raymond P. Brandt, writing recently in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, told of a real-estate giveaway by which the Administration will be able to make "an ostensible showing of economy . . . while later administrations will foot the bill." The plan, approved by Congress, enables the government to buy buildings on a lease-purchase arrangement that substitutes low long-term payments for relatively large immediate appropriations by Congress. Senator Magnuson called the plan "a grab-bag for the money-lenders" which will "cost the taxpayers many millions more than the appropriation method" of purchase.

Whose Atom Is It?

THE greatest giveaway of all, of course, is the atomic-energy giveaway. Involved are sums which are incalculable. Elsewhere in this issue Leland Olds points out that the nation's water-power resources are sixteen times greater than all our coal, oil, and natural-gas reserves put together. But potentially the energy of the waterfall is as nothing compared to that of the atom, in which is imprisoned the energy that may one day prove the source of all power on earth. This is the nature of the energy source which the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 takes away from the public domain and in large measure hands over to private interests.

It is impossible to place a dollar value on this deal. Yet in an account which is a kind of audit one must choose some figure to start with. The most appropriate is perhaps the twelve billion dollars of public money which the government has spent so far on its atomic-energy program, the fruits of which, under the new bill, now go to the private power interests.

"Make no mistake about it," warned Senator Morse during the debate on the bill, "S.3690 is definitely and primarily a power bill, but it is a bill designed to turn over the power features of the atomic-energy program to private industry rather than to guard the public interest in its twelve-billion-dollar invest-

Giveaways have now been extended to the commercial airlines, which have been granted an additional two million dollars in subsidies for 1955—even though the biggest individual beneficiary, Pan-American Airways, has not had a complete audit of its books by the Civil Aeronautics Board since December, 1950. Ostensibly, the airlines will receive a record sum of \$138,000,000 in subsidies for transporting the mail, but present estimates are that 28 per cent of this sum covers the cost of the mails. The remaining 72 per cent is straight subsidy. Pan-American will receive almost \$40,000,000 next year. These figures were made public at the insistence of Democratic Representative John Rooney of New York at a meeting of the House Appropriations Committee this year.

ment in atomic-energy production." This is the most important fact about the Atomic Energy Act of 1954: it is a bill dealing with power—mainly electric power.

A statement prepared by the Federal Power Commission for the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy last year made this very clear:

Current proposals to develop peacetime uses of atomic energy may involve some of the same problems faced in 1908, when federal water-power legislation was first proposed, and resolved in 1920, when the Federal Water Power Act was enacted. For by 1908 the nation had in water power, as it now has in atomic energy, a great energy resource, largely undeveloped but believed to be potentially very valuable.

The same fact was stated more forcefully by Senator Gore on July 22 of this year:

Practically everyone will admit that falling water and navigable streams are natural resources which belong to all the people. There are those, however, who argue that atomic energy does not fall within this category. I submit that it does, because the people have paid twelve billion dollars for the development of this new resource; it is just as much a property of the people of the nation as is the falling water in a stream. The people through their government have discovered and developed this new source of energy; no private corporation can rightfully lay claim to it. The McMahon Act, confirmed

that principle when it vested in the government title to fissionable materials and nuclear processes.

AS first reported back to the Senate from committee, the new bill, entitled Revisions to the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, made possible the crudest kind of giveaway to big business and the private utilities. There was no preference clause, a provision found in every public power law for the past fifty years insuring to co-ops, municipalities, and other public groups priority to power generated at government sources. The Atomic Energy Commission was not empowered to supply its own atomic-power plants with electric energy; private companies would furnish it. Private companies licensed to use atomic energy to create electric power were not placed under the regulatory provisions of the Federal Power Act. Private companies were permitted to take out patent rights on atomic energy after an almost meaningless buffer period of five years, during which all patents would be openly shared by all comers.

The original bill as reported in joint committee was, to quote Representatives Chet Holifield and Melvin Price in their dissenting report, "barren of any recognition of the public interest in securing electric energy from this new resource at the lowest possible rates." "Experience has shown," the two Congressmen added, "that such regulatory authority is entirely inadequate to protect, the public interest in electric power developed from public resources unless supplemented by specific standards governing licenses and the availability of public or cooperative competition in the distribution of electric energy."

Because of the fight by Representatives Holifield and Price, and Senators Gore, Morse, Magnuson, Monroney, Lehman, and a few others, many of the bill's original inadequacies were finally modified in the public's favor; the buffer period, however, was simply lengthened from five to ten years. It is still an almost meaningless provision. It is also the fulcrum for the great atomic giveaway.

One thing that makes the atomic-energy law a giveaway is the very cost of atomic energy. The federal government has had to spend twelve billion dollars so far—more than private industry could have ever hoped to spend—on basic re-

search and military production. Only a few of the industrial giants were able to participate jointly with the government in research—with the government footing the bill.

Under the new law, the Atomic Energy Commission will issue licenses to private firms for development of commercial uses of the atom. It is assumed by the bill's authors that since a license may be issued to any person or firm which meets the qualifications, everyone has an equal opportunity to get a license. "Such an assumption ignores the development of the atomic program from the effectuation of the 1946 act until now," says Senator Gore. "It is painfully plain that those few corporations which have been privileged to be on the inside on research which has taken place to date will have a head start on those not so fortunately situated."

This statement was supported by Senator Magnuson of Washington during Senate debate of the bill. Its truth, he said, had recently been apparent at the Hanover atomic-energy plant, where "only two corporations" were "considered in the negotiations, General Electric and Westinghouse . . . those two corporations, that is all, in all of the negotiations with the commission."

UNDER the McMahon Act of 1946 all patents on inventions and discoveries useful in the production of fissionable material were outlawed. Patents were allowed in the so-called non-military field but were subject to a "public-interest declaration" which represented a form of compulsory licensing. In effect all firms were automatically granted permission to use the invention or discovery. Under the new act the same compulsory licensing is required, but only for ten years. After that all patents go out of the public domain. Since no one expects private atomic-energy plants to be in operation before another five or ten years, the provision is obviously suspect.

Originally, when the bill provided for only a five-year compulsory licensing period, Senator Gore said:

The five-year compulsory licensing aspect of the bill is an open invitation to evasion of the intent of Congress. It is completely unenforceable.

All of the development accomplished so far is a product of government financing. Most of the development which will occur in the next five years will likewise

be a product of government financing. It can be argued that a discovery conceived during a period in which the discoverer is subsidized by the government will still, even under the pending bill, be property of the government. But it must be remembered that patents are based upon discoveries and discoveries result from ideas. Who is to say at what specific time an idea was conceived?

Whatever loopholes existed in the five-year proviso, therefore, still exist in the ten-year proviso. Obviously, the reasonable thing for Congress to do would have been to retain the McMahon Act's compulsory licensing and wait a few years to determine when it should end. Instead, the existing clause was steam-rollered through by the Republicans.

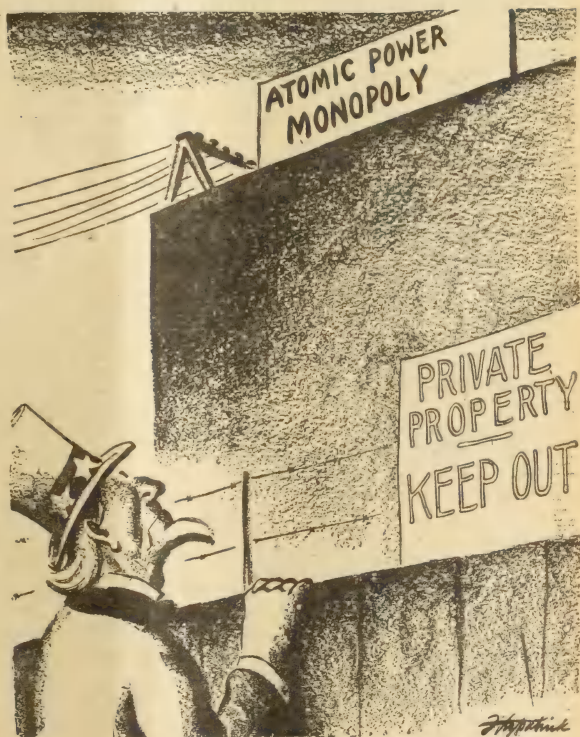
A hint of things to come can be found in testimony given last year before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy by Alfred Iddles, president of the Babcock and Wilcox Company, one of the companies now participating in

the atomic-energy program. Iddles admitted to Representative Holifield: "I know of several instances in which companies have had bright ideas that they have not divulged to anybody because they would not give them out." Later in the hearing the following exchange took place:

Holifield: So during this period of time when we are developing these reactors, which you say will possibly be from five to ten years, there will be no protection to the government against favored participants patenting these processes, or mechanical inventions, even though the five-year compulsory licensing is put into the act.

Iddles: Would you have it otherwise?

Interestingly enough, only nine days after this Iddles wrote a letter to the joint committee asking that his answers to Representative Holifield be erased from his testimony. But it was too late. As Wayne Morse said later, he had "let the cat out of the bag."



Courtesy St. Louis Post-Dispatch

The New Giveaway

Oil Under the Sea

IN ITS attempts to turn over much of the national wealth to private industry, the Eisenhower Administration has had to resort to some fancy footwork. This has been particularly true in the case of the oil and chemical industries, where such cute variations as the "sell-away" and the "lease-away" have been developed.

The first and biggest giveaway, of course, was that of offshore oil, which was accomplished by the Holland bill, finally passed on July 30, 1953. There was no need to be too clever here; the Republicans had promised this gift to the oil industry before they were elected. In one stroke the Holland bill allowed between ten and fifty billion dollars worth of oil and mineral lands to pass out of the federal domain. These lands consist of submerged offshore oil fields out to the historical three-mile limit, mainly off Texas, Louisiana, Florida, and California—along Texas and Florida the lands run out ten and a half miles. The Holland bill simply turns these submerged lands over to the states. The result is twofold: the people of the forty-five states who can't prospect for oil under an adjoining ocean get nothing, and the oil companies, which will do the

actual exploiting, will operate outside federal jurisdiction and will have only the weak regulatory powers of the state governments to contend with. Indeed, prospects are good that the companies will end up with actual ownership of the submerged oil fields.

Oil and gas royalties which normally accrue to the federal government from oil produced on public lands are set at 12½ per cent; sulphur royalties at 5 per cent. Senator James Murray has estimated that on the basis of the most conservative estimate of the value of the oil the federal government has lost more than six billion dollars in revenue.

The significance of the loss was dramatized by Senator Hill's unsuccessful effort to retain the tidelands oil for the federal government and to devote the income to federal aid to education (see his statement on page 288). Hill urged that the billions involved be distributed to the states under a formula based partly on population and partly on need: the allotment would be greater to states unable to provide adequate education from their own resources.

Despite the billions the United States spends on education, this is still a country where overcrowded classrooms are the rule in cities and the one-room school is still standard in rural areas. How the Hill plan could have helped this situation is shown in the following table. The first column shows estimated expenditures on public education for 1953-54, including local, state, and federal funds, as compiled by the National Education Association. The second shows how much additional money each state could expect to get over the years from the Hill plan. The table represents a sampling only; every state in the union would have benefited from the plan.

	1953-54 Expenditures (Est.)	Hill Amendment Revenue
Alabama	\$87,071,000	\$358,000,000
Arkansas	53,000,000	232,000,000
California	747,000,000	404,000,000
Florida	144,600,000	185,000,000
Georgia	140,500,000	365,000,000
Louisiana	126,999,000	273,000,000
Mississippi	48,920,000	284,000,000
New Mexico	41,428,000	72,000,000
New York	777,000,000	470,000,000
So. Carolina	121,000,000	263,000,000
Wyoming	18,600,000	21,000,000

An ironic postscript has been added to this story. When the tidelands bill was first introduced, conservationists and other public-land defenders set ten billion dollars as the minimum value of the properties that would be given away. Oil-industry experts said it would not amount to more than half a billion. A month ago *Barron's*, the business weekly published by the *Wall Street Journal*, in a report on the first explorations being made on these submerged lands by the oil companies, said, "Beneath this part of the continental shelf there is estimated to be some ten billion barrels of crude, or nearly one-third of total estimated on-shore reserves." At current prices this amounts to nearly thirty billion dollars.

Consider that the whole United States consumes only seven and a half million barrels a year, and it is easy to see what kind of bargain the oil interests got.

IT TOOK an act of Congress to give away the offshore-oil lands, but mere policy changes at the Department of the Interior are often enough to effect some of the sell-aways and lease-aways of federal property. The classic formula for this refined form of giveaway has been well described by Oscar Chapman, former Secretary of the Interior: "The first step the Republicans take is to close down a plant and say it's no longer necessary—that this is part of their economy drive. At first there may be some protests, but after they die down, the plant is 'prepared for disposal,' and then there is another respectable time lag. Finally it is quietly sold or leased to private industry."

This was the pattern followed in disposing of the fifty-million-dollar synthetic-fuel plant at Louisiana, Missouri. In March, 1953, eight weeks after the Eisenhower Administration came into office, the Louisiana plant was shut down—this despite the fact that a new five-million-dollar wing had been completed only eight months earlier and never used. Because it was the only large-scale demonstration plant in the country converting soft coal into synthetic oil there were some understandably strong protests by scientists, engineers, and members of the coal industry. After a sufficient wait for the furor to die down, the Interior Department began accepting bids for the plant, and

"A Mischievous Thing."

In a speech on the floor of the Senate, April 13, 1953, Senator Herbert H. Lehman characterized the attempts of three states to capture the multi-billion-dollar under-seas mineral deposits from the other forty-five states as "a mischievous thing"—"wrong in principle" and "perilous in practice." Senator Lehman warned that if Congress turned over to Louisiana, Texas, and California the oil resources that lie under the ocean bed off the coasts of those states, the way would be paved for a raid on the rest of the nation's natural resources. "Those who plead the case of Louisiana, Texas, and California today will not be able to withstand the appeals of Wyoming, Montana, Nevada, and Washington tomorrow. The forests will go. The parks will go. The water-power will go."

"What's Good for G. M."

I thought it was most alarming when the army announced last September that it was awarding a \$208,000,000 contract to Fisher Body, a General Motors Corporation subsidiary, for the exclusive production of M-48 tanks. It was announced that the General Motors bid on the M-48 contract was 10 per cent below that of the next lowest bidder, the Chrysler Corporation. Tank contracts formerly were held by General Motors, Chrysler, and the Ford Motor Company, although the latter has been out of the tank business for several months.

Feeling that it was a dangerous policy to concentrate so much defense business in one company, a company that is already producing 50 per cent of the nation's automobiles and has billions of dollars' worth of government contracts, I asked the chairman of the Armed Services Committee to schedule a hearing on the proposed M-48 tank contract. Senator Saltonstall graciously assented, and various interested parties, including the army, were notified that the hearing was to be held on January 29.

When the hearing opened, one of the first things we discovered was that the contract had been signed on the previous day, January 28. That action, which the army insisted was pure coincidence, struck me as a show of contempt for the prerogatives of the Congress in an area in which Congress had a legitimate interest.

—Senator Estes Kefauver, speaking before the Senate on April 15.

on April 13, 1954, leased the plant to the Hercules Powder Company for six years for slightly more than two million dollars. Under the terms of the lease the company has an option to buy. In the meantime, it has the use of the plant without being obliged to pay property taxes on it.

Hercules Powder was not the only beneficiary of lease-away. The biggest opposition to the Louisiana plant had come from the oil industry, which scented dangerous competition and promptly labeled the Louisiana process "uneconomical under present conditions." The same synthetic-fuel process,



"I'd Just Give You the Whole Works!"

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

however, has just been introduced commercially in the Union of South Africa and is expected to supply roughly one-fifth that country's oil needs in the near future.

Continuing the procedure begun at Louisiana, Secretary McKay announced on July 28 of this year that the Interior Department was selling a synthetic-fuel plant which converts shale to oil at Rifle, Colorado, valued at three million dollars, a zirconium plant at Albany, Oregon, and a titanium plant at Boulder City, Nevada, the last two valued together at two million dollars plus.

But the most improbable giveaway yet, also announced by Secretary McKay on July 28, was the government's decision to turn over its whole helium production program to private industry. This was to be done, McKay said, on the recommendation of a five-man "survey" team planning reorganization of the Bureau of Mines.

Whatever kind of reorganization McKay's survey experts had in mind, it could not have escaped them that about

85 per cent of the available helium supply today is used in government contracts and that government agencies buy it at cost from government producers. In short, this scheme has the government give away its helium plants so that it can buy helium from private industry. "The McKay proposal presents an almost perfect example of the turn-it-over-to-industry policy which emerges more and more clearly from the Eisenhower Administration," observed the Louisville *Courier-Journal* on July 31 last.

Here is a chemical element, essential to national defense, which has been produced in the main by the government, principally for its own use, for thirty years. . . . In terms of the Eisenhower Administration's spokesmen, it may be socialistic for the government to produce helium. One may wonder whether someone will not soon say that it is socialistic for the federal government to mint coins, and propose that the job be turned over to Tiffany and Company.

Helium, so necessary for safe operation of dirigibles, has been a virtual

monopoly of the United States for years. Another Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes, once refused to sell any to Nazi Germany. But Douglas McKay is intent on getting the government out of the helium business—and apparently every other business. His helium announcement of July 28 would "make available for purchase or operation by industry" almost fifteen million dollars' worth of facilities at Shiprock, New Mexico; Otis, Kansas; Amarillo and

Excell, Texas. There is still a possibility that the plan may not go through. Some strong Congressional opposition has been heard, such as the explosive reaction of Senator James Murray of Montana: "This is another one of the giveaway programs of the present Administration. They've done it with public power, rural electrification, and the conservation and development of our natural resources. When are they going to give away uranium?"

hower's Administration isn't just a team of business men—it's also a team of bankers." U. V. Wilcox and Associates, publishers of a banking letter called *Banktrends*, put it more crudely: "The fact that the Eisenhower Administration is dominated by bankers is a source of pride to many in the financial world."

The bankers had reason to be proud. In the first hundred days of the Eisenhower Administration they received top-priority attention. From January 29 to May 18 eight key measures added more than \$672,000,000 to the profits of banks, insurance companies, and large corporations. This was achieved mainly by a very simple procedure, but one not easily recognized by the public. The Treasury simply floated new bond issues with higher interest rates—some with the highest interest rates in twenty years. Large banks, which bought nearly all of these issues, get the increased interest. The public pays it, in taxes.

Here is a calendar of the Eisenhower 100-day banking giveaway:

January 29—\$9,000,000,000 issued in short-term bonds and one-year certificates. Bond interest rate raised from 1½

Bonanza for Bankers

LAST December the American Bankers' Association held its annual convention in Washington for the first time since 1934—with reason. Eleven key men in the Eisenhower Administration were listed by the association as directors of important banks in various parts of the country. They are George Humphrey, Secretary of the Treasury; Robert B. Anderson, Secretary of the Navy; Randolph W. Burgess, Deputy Secretary of the Treasury (former chairman of the Chase National Bank); Thomas E.

Stevens, special counsel to the President; Robert Cutler, administrative assistant to the President; Samuel G. Waugh, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs; Philip Young, chairman of the Civil Service Commission; Joseph Dodge, Budget Director; Glen L. Emmons, Indian Commissioner; John A. Hannah, Assistant Secretary of Defense; and Marion B. Folsom, Under Secretary of the Treasury. A look at this roster caused N. E. A. columnist Peter Edson to remark: "President Dwight D. Eisen-

The "German Bond Thing"

[Early in July, 1953, the Senate ratified a treaty with the Bonn government under which holders of millions of dollars' worth of pre-Hitler German bonds sold in the United States would be paid 100 cents on the dollar plus accumulated interest. The nature of this transaction is explained in the following excerpts from the Congressional Record of July 18, 1953.]

Senator Wayne Morse: During my three days of absence from the Senate I was surprised to encounter the number of people who asked me the question: "Senator, will you tell us what happened on that German bond thing?" They did not have the title, they called it the "German bond thing." However, they knew enough about it to understand that the little people of America were taken for a ride again.

I shall forever be proud that I joined, the other night, in standing up against tearing that wallpaper off

the wall, which is all those bonds were—worthless wallpaper. By acting as it did the Senate guaranteed that the speculators who had picked up those bonds would get 100 cents of face value, plus accumulated interest of 5½ per cent. The principal and the interest amount to a sum in the neighborhood of one billion dollars. Those bonds were sold in the United States by pre-Hitler Germany, and the money was used to help build the Germany of that time.

When the American taxpayer goes to the United States Treasury to buy a bond, he does not get 5½ per cent interest. Yet, as the debate clearly showed and as the report of the committee clearly showed, our representatives first negotiated our government's interest in the treaty at 33½ per cent. The debate also disclosed that a representative of a bond house, sitting throughout the negotiations, exercised a great deal of influence on them. So we were persuaded to allow

5½ per cent accumulated interest on 100 per cent of face value of those bonds.

When the history of this session of Congress is written, that action will stand out as one of the shocking mistakes of the session, because already little people throughout the country knew it was not right. . . .

Mr. Long: Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. Morse: I yield.

Mr. Long: One thing that is clear from the record in connection with the giveaway of one billion dollars or so on the old pre-Hitler German bonds is that the committee report and the speeches made on the floor of the Senate show that this action was intentional. It was felt by the majority that it was better for the American taxpayer to lose his money than it was for some private investor who had invested in worthless German bonds thirty years ago to lose some of his money.

to 2½ per cent; certificate rate, from 1½ to 2¼ per cent. Additional cost to taxpayers—\$31,000,000 this year.

April 8—\$1,000,000,000 in thirty-year bonds issued at 3¼ per cent instead of at the previous rate of 2½ per cent. Added cost to taxpayers—\$225,000,000 by the time the bonds mature.

May 18—\$5,700,000,000 in one-year certificates issued at 2¾ per cent, the highest rate in twenty years. Added cost to taxpayers—\$42,000,000 last year.

OTHER banking giveaways have put the squeeze directly on home-owners, farmers, and veterans. For example, on April 18 the Department of Agriculture increased interest rates to farmers from 3½ to 4 per cent on price-support loans handled by the Commodity Credit Corporation. Since banks and private lending agencies handle almost 90 per cent of these loans, with government guaranties, they receive almost all the benefit. The price-support-loans giveaway was so quietly executed that newspaper reporters did not find out about it until April, although the rate was raised sometime in March. When the Agriculture Department was asked why the action was not publicized, it replied: "It was just one of those technical details."

This technical detail cost farmers \$14,000,000 this year. The only justification for the higher interest rate was offered by Lionel C. Holm, secretary of the C. C. C. board, who told the United Press on April 23 that "it was desirable to keep price-support loans attractive to banks, which now can earn just as much with less trouble by investing in short-term government securities."

Here is the rest of Eisenhower's gift package for bankers: On May 2 the Veterans Administration raised the interest rate on G. I. homes from 4 to 4½ per cent. The sole beneficiaries of this extra ½ per cent are mortgage bankers and others who lend money to veterans for home building. All told, veterans will pay bankers an additional \$266,000,000 on the 456,000 loans which the V. A. expects to make them this year. "The interest increase will cost the veteran just about what an extra bedroom would cost, and will thus tend to perpetuate crowded living conditions," Senator John Sparkman of Alabama noted.

For the public at large there was an additional cost of twenty million dollars

in fiscal 1954 alone, caused by the additional ½ per cent of the first year's interest which the government pays to the banks for all veterans getting loans.

On May 2 the interest rate on home loans insured by the Federal Housing

Administration was increased from 4¼ to 4½ per cent. On the basis of last year's figures, 246,000 F. H. A. loans are expected this year. The additional revenue for mortgage bankers will be \$87,000,000.

New Tax Giveaway

ON AUGUST 30, when President Eisenhower signed the tax bill—HR 8300 into law—big business finally collected its tax pay-off from the Republican Party. The *Nation's Business*, official magazine of the United States Chamber of Commerce, exulted: "The new tax law is the first real overhaul of our tax system in almost eighty years." (Since the income tax itself is less than fifty years old, it may be wondered whether the *Nation's Business* knows whereof it speaks.) "The new tax policy," declared *U. S. News and World Report*, "is another example of the Administration's program to lift the hand of government from private business."

Ostensibly, the new law is a tax cut, but even the modest demand of House Democrats to raise personal exemptions an additional \$100 to help lower-income brackets was slapped down. Instead, the new law grants a quick tax write-off for corporations and a dividend tax credit for stockholders that by 1960 will cost the Treasury close to three billion dollars. According to the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation, the loss to the government during the next eighteen years may be as much as *nineteen billion*. The arrangement is similar to the quick tax write-off for utility companies mentioned earlier—except that no war emergency justifies it.

The new tax bill authorizes businesses to write off the cost of new equipment at twice the ordinary rate. In other words, where formerly a firm would depreciate a thousand-dollar machine at 5 per cent a year over twenty years, it will now be able each year to write off 10 per cent of the unrecovered balance—that is, \$100 the first year, \$90 the second year, \$81 the third year, and so on. This means, of course, that the annual deduction for depreciation of an asset will increase in the early years and decrease in the later years. "For example," explains *U. S. News and World Report* in a folksy report to its readers, "when a

business firm can write off in five years two-thirds of the cost of a machine tool instead of half the cost, the company is likely to buy an improved tool earlier than it otherwise would have made the purchase. This incentive applies not only to machinery in factories but to equipment in offices, stores, and warehouses. Farmers get the same incentives on their tractors, combines, trucks, and other equipment." And not only farmers. General Motors, which has announced a two-billion-dollar expansion program, will pick up a cool \$62,500,000 in a single year by using the new quick tax write-off.

This facet of the new tax law was explored thoroughly in *The Nation* on June 26, 1954, by Joseph H. Crown, well-known tax lawyer. "It is questionable whether present methods of depreciation have noticeably held back expansion," Crown wrote then, before the new law was passed. He continued: "In 1946, when corporate tax rates were 38 per cent, \$15,000,000,000 was invested in business plant and equipment. In 1953, with a corporate rate of 52 per cent and an excess-profits tax rate of 30 per cent, \$28,000,000,000 was invested, almost twice as much."

AN equally cynical feature in the new tax law is the so-called dividend-credit provision. The *lowest* estimate, that of the United States Chamber of Commerce, is that this provision will save stockholders some \$350,000,000 a year. Yet according to the source book, "Statistics of Income, 1950," a tiny fraction, .8 per cent of all taxpayers—those with incomes above \$25,000—get more than half of all dividends every year.

These figures are much more pertinent than the ones Eisenhower used in his radio speech, when he told the country that 56 per cent of United States Steel's stockholders were earning less than \$5,000 a year. The President failed to note that more than four-fifths of the population earns less than \$5,000 a year

and that of this group only $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent report any dividends at all.

Here is the way the dividend tax credit works: Each stockholder excludes from his taxable income the first \$50 of dividends he receives. All remaining dividends are included in taxable income just as before. But then 4 per cent of all dividends received after July 31, 1954, are deducted from the final tax bill. A hypothetical example appeared in last month's *Nation's Business*. "Suppose Mr. Stockholder has \$1,000 in dividends each year and his wife has \$200 in dividends," *Nation's Business* explained. "Each excludes \$50, and on their joint return they include only \$1,100 of their \$1,200 of dividends. When their final tax bill is added up, they subtract from that final tax liability \$44—4 per cent of the \$1,100 of included dividends."

Here again *Nation's Business* failed to cite the case of Mr. Big Big Stockholder, with a dividend income of \$500,000. Using the same figuring, Mr. B. B. S. saves \$17,947 in dividend taxes—or more than 12 per cent, while the person with a yearly dividend income of \$5,000 saves only 2 per cent.

These two features of the new tax law, the quick tax write-off and the dividend tax credit, coupled with the defeat of a higher personal exemption, make it the most inequitable income-tax law in our history. And it will cost the Treasury more than \$1,400,000,000 this year.

WE HAVE come to the end of our sketchy audit of the Great Giveaway. But it must not be thought that the books are closed. New legislative giveaways are in the Congressional hopper to be acted upon next year. Representative Dondero wants to give Niagara Falls power to New York State without any safeguards for the public interest; powerful ranching interests are grabbing for federal grazing lands.

But just as important as legislative acts are the almost daily decisions being made by government boards and commissions in furtherance of the giveaway. By now all these small but powerful federal bodies are dominated by Eisenhower men who have replaced the last of the Roosevelt and Truman appointees. Unless the November elections stop the trend, the 1955 audit of the Great Giveaway could make this year's look like a penny-bank account.

Prosperity for Whom?

by Jacob S. Potofsky

WHILE workers, farmers, and small business have been feeling the weight of economic decline, the Cabinet of millionaires and the Republican-led Congress have been more interested in turning national resources over to big business for monopoly exploitation than in legislating for the public good. Essential public works to meet essential human needs have gone by the board. The crying needs for health insurance, for more adequate public housing, for more realistic unemployment insurance, and for more and better schools have been shunted aside in the stampede to give big business the special privileges it hungered for after twenty years of New Deal and Fair Deal administrations.

President Eisenhower has stated that when his Administration deals with human beings and their problems, "it tries to be human, considerate, and sympathetic." Yet he vetoes a bill granting a 5 per cent pay rise to 1,750,000 government workers who had had no increase in three and one-half years. In the Dixon-Yates contract alone the Republican Administration quietly gave away to a big-business syndicate much more than it would cost to provide these

government workers with a living wage. And in repealing the excess-profits tax the G. O. P. Administration delivered to big business many times as much.

Let us look at some figures—for General Electric, for example. In the first six months of this year its sales were down 7 per cent, but its profits went up 24 per cent. Or the duPont Company—whose sales were down by \$73,000,000 but whose profits went up \$37,000,000. Or General Motors—and listen carefully to this: General Motors' sales for the first six months of 1954 went down by \$375,000,000; its profits went up by \$112,000,000. Is this what President Eisenhower and the Republican Administration mean by "sharing prosperity"? Does the Administration mean by prosperity the prosperity of the great oil and utility interests to which the Administration has turned over first our offshore oil, then the great part of our hydroelectric power, and most recently our most important resource, atomic power? Does President Eisenhower mean by sharing prosperity turning over to private corporations huge government contracts without competitive bidding as in the Dixon-Yates case? The big-business Republican Administration has yet to learn that the prosperity and wealth of our country are not measured by the number of millionaires. They are measured by the health, the well-being, and the moral fiber of our people.

JACOB S. POTOFSKY is president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. These comments are taken from a speech before the New York State C. I. O. convention at Albany.

Not Dollars Alone

by Leland Olds

THE threatened giveaway of the nation's hydroelectric resources through the Eisenhower Administration's reversal of federal power policy would exceed the tidelands-oil giveaway more than ten times over. And huge as it is, it has been

LELAND OLDS, former chairman of the Federal Power Commission, is one of the country's foremost experts on public power.

compounded by the Administration-sponsored Atomic Energy Act, which in effect turns over to private monopoly energy resources perhaps sixteen times as great as all our coal and oil and natural-gas reserves together. Only a final giveaway of the sun's energy for exploitation by giant private corporations could exceed this betrayal of the people's interests. And if the present preference for private over public power con-

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tinues until the chemists have duplicated the photosynthesis process, such a monstrous climax may well be in the cards.

Throughout the first twenty months of the Eisenhower Administration a bitter struggle over the power issue has been carried on. Great battles have been fought: Hell's Canyon; Niagara and St. Lawrence; the assault on preference groups in the Bonneville area, the Missouri River Basin, and the state of Georgia; the abrogation of the federal contract with rural electric cooperatives in the Southwest, throwing them on the mercy of the power trust to avoid bankruptcy; the budget veto on new hydroelectric projects unless "local" interests (mainly private) undertake the power facilities; the Eisenhower-directed Atomic Energy Commission contract with Dixon-Yates, triggering private-power invasion of the T. V. A.; and, finally, the Atomic Energy Act of 1954.

The series of administrative and legislative steps through which federal power policy is being reversed would have been no different if dictated by Purcell Smith, master power-trust lobbyist, who openly boasts that his clients are "getting their money's worth" for the more than half a million dollars which they contribute



Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Hell's Canyon's A-Poppin'

each year to his efforts. Unless the process is halted, the community power systems which act as a check on private-power monopoly will find their days are numbered. Without federal partnership

in the field of power supply they cannot compete.

But the giveaway of public power resources is less sinister in itself than in terms of the future of our democratic civilization. For the past fifty years statesmen like President Theodore Roosevelt, Governor Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania (the "Great Forester"), and Senator George W. Norris (father of T. V. A. and R. E. A.) have warned that private ownership of electric power would prove the most gigantic monopoly ever to fasten itself upon the American people. Controlling the lifeblood of our economy, reaching into every state, county, city, and village, armed with unlimited funds to spend on influencing public opinion, elections, and legislative and administrative action, it would soon go on to complete dictatorship of our political life.

The power giveaway, if allowed to continue, will cost the people more than their right to have a public, or cooperative, power supply, more than the billions in higher electric rates which they will have to pay, more than the resulting check on expansion of employment. It will poison the wellspring of democracy itself.

DIXON-YATES DEAL . . by Gordon R. Clapp

WHEN T. V. A. began its work in 1933, the valley's private enterprise was mostly farming and mining. The private electric utilities supplied one and one-half billion kilowatt hours of electricity for the whole region of 80,000 square miles. They said the flood-control, navigation, and hydroelectric dams T. V. A. was starting to build would create a surplus of power no one would use; a waste of the taxpayers' money, they said.

Today the Tennessee Valley is one of the fastest-growing industrial areas in the country. It is one of the fastest-growing private-enterprise areas in the country. More than thirty-five billion kilowatt hours of electric energy are gener-

ated by T. V. A. dams and modern steam plants and distributed by 150 locally owned and operated municipal and rural cooperative electric systems. Even this amount of power is not enough to meet growing demands from aluminum, chemical, and processing industries, from farms, homes, and hundreds of new private enterprises. Low-cost electricity has had a lot to do with this truly enterprising performance.

Now comes the Dixon-Yates deal, hawked by its architects, the United States Bureau of the Budget, and the Atomic Energy Commission, with the blessing of the President, as a return to the "free-enterprise" system. Under the proposed Dixon-Yates deal the government would financially and politically underwrite the construction and operation of a 650,000-kilowatt steam electric plant to be built by Messrs. Dixon and

Yates—officials of two Southern utility companies not accustomed to building plants of this size. The government would contract to buy the power at rates that total almost twice the cost of the plant during the life of the power contract. Dixon and Yates will put up very little capital but will own the plant even after the government pays for it twice. The government will pay, through the power rate, the state and federal taxes Messrs. Dixon and Yates incur.

What is free or enterprising about this deal? The only "enterprise" involved was that displayed by high officials of the federal government in devising specifications attractive to Dixon and Yates and in the tactics used to block T. V. A.'s better and cheaper solution to the problem—the proposed new Fulton T. V. A. steam plant.

The only "risk" in this "private" de-

GORDON R. CLAPP served twenty-one years with T. V. A., including seven as general manager and seven as chairman of the T. V. A. board.

velopment is borne by the federal government and the taxpayers. There is real risk from severe floods on the site hurriedly selected to checkmate T. V. A.'s plan. And there is risk in relying upon Dixon-Yates to meet schedules or estimates. The A. E. C. and the Budget Bureau are backing again some of the same utility interests which perpetrated the Ebasco fiasco, the slow-motion, high cost, cost-plus Joppa steam plant on the beautiful Ohio near Paducah, sponsored by the A. E. C.. This plant was supposed to demonstrate that T. V. A. didn't know how to build steam plants as fast, as well, or as economically as the private utilities. The Joppa builders, of which Dixon was one, did not meet their schedule or their cost estimates, and Ebasco, the promoter-contractor, was fired from the job. T. V. A.'s Shawnee steam plant, just across the river, started construction at the same time as Joppa and finished its first four units before Joppa was halfway. T. V. A. built within its estimates, paying about the same wages as at Joppa. T. V. A.'s superior performance is saving money for the taxpayer on actual cost of power to the A. E. C.

The only thing "free" about the Dixon-Yates deal is the gift of a huge steam plant to Messrs. Dixon and Yates. And it looks as if the Budget Boys will try to force consumers of T. V. A. power to absorb the extra costs of this gift to T. V. A.'s competitors. When the provisions of the contract are revealed, it will be interesting to discover whether the United States government has also agreed to reimburse Dixon-Yates for the costs of litigation which will probably bedevil this deal.

The stakes here go far beyond the gift of a single large steam plant to a pair of private citizens. The power load of the A. E. C. served by T. V. A. represents five such steam plants. If the Dixon-Yates deal goes through, it may well be the beginning of a program to circle the T. V. A. with cost-plus "gift" plants paid for by T. V. A. consumers under the terms of a federal fiat. If the utilities and the Bureau of the Budget can force T. V. A. to raise its rates by loading on to T. V. A. the excessive costs of these gifts, the yardstick will be gone. Millions of power consumers outside the Tennessee Valley will feel the effect in higher electric rates.

October 2, 1954

George F. Kennan

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Oil for Learning

by Lister Hill

[Senator Lister Hill of Alabama, steadfastly opposing the tidelands-oil giveaway, urged instead that the federal government use the revenue from these fields for aid to education. The following is based on a plea he made to the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs before the giveaway was finally approved in July, 1953.]

OUR education system today faces a severe crisis. Industry and defense-related jobs have taken many of the best teachers from the classrooms; many communities are scraping the bottom of the barrel to get even inadequately prepared teachers. Schools are not being built fast enough to meet the needs of a rapidly expanding enrolment. Over a million more children entered the public schools last fall than entered the year before. This rate of increase will continue for at least the next six years, to judge from the rising birth rate. The

education of four million children is being impaired through inadequate buildings, poorly trained teachers, or part-time instruction. Every seventh child in the nation is being short-changed in his education.

Teacher-training colleges cannot begin to meet the huge demand for teachers. Their graduating classes are dwindling as young people abandon any ambition to teach out of sheer economic necessity. We have let our teachers drop to the absolute bottom of the economic ladder. Teachers are now the lowest paid of all employed groups in America.

The nation's public elementary- and secondary-school population needs additional floor space equal to a one-story building fifty-two feet wide extending from New York City to San Francisco, California. This amount of floor space equals the total residential housing space in a city the size of Philadelphia.

No member of the Senate is unaware of the enormous rate of rejection of men under Selective Service for educational deficiencies during World War II. Some 750,000 young men were found unfit to serve because of illiteracy or educational deficiency. That is the equivalent of forty divisions. The figure becomes all the more startling when we consider that it is equal to almost half the total strength of the army at the peak of mobilization and is greater than the number of men who fought in combat divisions in the entire Pacific area.

WE DO not suggest that the Oil for Education proposal will prove a cure-all for every ill and every need that vexes our educational institutions, but we do feel that the revenues which will eventuate from the development of these resources can contribute importantly to meeting the needs—to giving to our "50 per cent" school system a degree of perfection hitherto undreamed of. Here is a windfall for easing the financial straits of our elementary and secondary schools, for providing more and better-paid and better-trained teachers, and for building desperately needed classrooms. Here is a bonanza for relieving the agonizing difficulties of our colleges and universities.

YOUNG PEOPLE!

ASK YOUR TEACHERS, PASTORS, PARENTS

(Beyond selling space for publication of the accompanying material, The Nation is not to be held responsible for statements contained in the material)

Ask respectfully why it is that in High School and College you can learn what scholars have to say about the history of many countries, but that our educational system gives you no corresponding scholarly instruction about the history of the Hebrew nation.

According to the first five books of the Bible, our ideas about God were given as a revelation from heaven upon Mount Sinai in the wilderness of Arabia. But a new translation of the Bible has just been made by scholars from our leading institutions of higher learning, who do not accept the story of revelation in the first five Scriptural books.

Scholars today, in Harvard, Yale and other great universities, teach that our ideas about God, instead of being given on a mountain in the desert, were developed through a very intriguing process of evolution in the land of Canaan, or Palestine. But young people are completely shut out from this new and highly interesting way of teaching Hebrew history and the Bible.

Our educational system, then, is actually a party to your exclusion from the results of modern scientific research into Hebrew history and the Bible. And as long as this appalling situation remains unchanged, you should not be criticised if you are bored by orthodox religious exhortation. But bear in mind, when raising the question with your teachers, pastors and parents, that they are carrying serious burdens, and are more solicitous for your welfare than you fully realize. Friendly discussion and not controversy is what we need today.—Suggestions will be found in a circular which will be forwarded to young people, from eighteen to eighty, in return for a three cent stamp to cover postage. (Requests without a stamp will bring no result.)—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

Piracy on the River

by Carey McWilliams

THE Eisenhower Administration had hardly completed its survey of a hundred-odd types of businesses being operated by the federal government—valued at forty billion dollars—when the first of these concerns was placed on the auction block and sold to the highest bidder. Elated, the Republican press hailed the sale as a new birth of freedom. "Eisenhower Push to End Federal Competition Nears Its First Victory" was the headline placed on the story by the *Wall Street Journal* (July 2, 1953). What were the facts behind this first major victory in the crusade against "creeping socialism"? What had the President's advisers sold, to whom, and for how much?

Ironically, the first item to be placed under the auctioneer's hammer was a project which had won the approval of that old creeping socialist Calvin Coolidge. Back in 1924, eight years before the New Deal was born, the Republican Sixty-eighth Congress had decided to engage in, of all things, a "social experiment." The idea was to see if a little government initiative could not be used to promote inland water transportation. So the Republicans in Congress appropriated a few million dollars and established the Inland Waterways Corporation, which in less time than it takes to say "creeping socialism" was operating barges on some three thousand miles of the Mississippi and its tributaries in eleven Middle West and Southern states. All told, about \$27,000,000 of the taxpayers' money was invested in the project.

The government barge system provided an admirable service. River shippers pointed out that it quoted special rates on less-than-bargeload cargoes, whereas few of the private lines offered satisfactory service or rates on shipments of this size. On two occasions—under Henry Wallace in 1946 and Charles Sawyer in 1948—the Department of Commerce tried to sell the government barge line because it was not showing a profit, but both times the shippers in the Mississippi Valley protested and were able to stave off the sale.

Once Sinclair Weeks became Secretary

of Commerce little time was lost in selling the barge line to a subsidiary of the St. Louis Shipbuilding and Steel Company for \$9,000,000, payable in not more than ten years with interest at 3¼ per cent, the purchaser agreeing to provide "substantially similar" service. Secretary Weeks announced that it was "good business" for the taxpayers to dispose of the barge line; the facts suggest that it was enormously "good business" for the private buyer.

THE buyer acquired a \$27,000,000 investment for \$9,000,000. Included in the assets were items of equipment valued at \$10,000,000—wharves, warehouses, an eighteen-mile railroad in Alabama, barges, and two steamboats. At the end of 1952 the public corporation which was operating the barge line had \$4,000,000 in cash in addition to \$10,000,000 worth of equipment. Secretary Weeks contended, of course, that the barge line had been losing money. This was true. The line had showed a profit during twelve of the twenty-nine years of operation but a loss in the other seventeen years. The recent earning record of the corporation, however, is of particular interest. During the 1952 calendar year, it reported a net profit of \$379,385 on nearly \$11,000,000 of revenue. "Even brighter are more recent figures," to quote from the *Wall Street Journal* (July 2, 1953). "Complete figures aren't available yet, but the profits reported up to May 31 amounted to slightly more than \$1,000,000, compared with \$199,000 in the first eleven months of fiscal 1952."

The innocent taxpayer may well inquire why the government accepted a \$9,000,000 offer for a business that showed a profit of \$1,000,000 for a year's operations? What had happened in that year to change in such a radical manner the outlook for the barge lines? *Nation* readers in the area have been telling us for months that the movement of iron ore from northern Minnesota to Pittsburgh steel mills was involved. Is this, then, another case of the government initiating a project at the taxpayers' expense and carrying it through the lean



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years only to turn it over to private enterprise when it begins to show profit?

It is worth noting that business interests are by no means united in enthusiasm over the government's sale of the barge line. The two thousand members of the Mississippi Valley Association are reported to be extremely skeptical about the benefits they can expect. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, "Shippers in areas now served by any barge system have been able to exert pressure through

Congress to get government barge service. This won't be possible with the barge line in private hands. Its factors like these that have made it so difficult for the government to detach itself from the barge business—and similar factors are operating to slow down other attempts by Uncle Sam to stop being an industrialist."

And not only the shippers are leery about the consequences of this "first major victory" in the crusade to roll

back socialism. When the government barge line was first established, communities were encouraged to issue bonds for building warehouses and wharves. The city of Dubuque (Iowa), for example, floated such a bond issue. The sale of the government barge line will not relieve Dubuque taxpayers of their obligation to retire these bonds, although a private corporation will now be one of the principal beneficiaries of their initiative.

INDIAN TAKEAWAY

Betrayal of a Trust . . . by John Collier

THE United States is trustee for Indian properties worth tens of billions of dollars. Further, through treaties and other bilateral compacts it is trustee over the political, social, and cultural institutions and group enterprises of the several hundred Indian groups. The Administration and Congress are driving toward the destruction of the trusteeship obligation, after a preliminary costly perversion of it, and thereby toward turning over the Indian properties to whites. In justice it must be stated that this jettisoning of the national obligation toward Indians was begun under Dillon S. Myer, Commissioner of Indian Affairs under Truman. Since the Eisenhower Administration took over, the process has been expedited almost frantically. Comprehensively, the facts are these:

The 460,000 Indians in the United States are citizens, having all the rights and duties of citizens, with one perilous exception. Congress, in Indian matters, exercises a plenary authority. For a century and three-quarters Indian life has been organized within a framework of treaties, agreements, and legislation. No constitutional inhibition can say "Thou shalt not" if Congress acts unilaterally to destroy the Indian political, economic,

and cultural organizations formed and developed within the bilateral federal-Indian relationship. And this is what Congress, under the Administration's leadership, is now doing. The demolition goes on behind a smoke screen of fabrications.

Of these fabrications the central one is the denial, through word and action, of the historical basis of the Indian-government relationship. The second is the assumption that the Indians need to be forced to become full and equal citizens—which they already are—and therefore that the structures they have built for mutual aid, self-protection, self-regulation, and economic advancement must be destroyed through administrative or legislative action. The third is that the Indians have been consulted and that they want this havoc wrought on themselves. Now to some of the details.

JUST before Congress recessed at the end of July, 1953, a bill was rushed to passage without hearings on its essential provision. That bill became Public Law 280. Signing it, President Eisenhower lamented it as "most un-Christian" and voiced the hope that a future Congress would amend it—and his—errors. There has been no amendment. This Public Law 280 authorizes any state government, in its own discretion, to substitute its own law for federal Indian law and its own codes for the Indian tribal codes.

In the session of Congress recently adjourned the Interior Department

pressed its onset, this time not through an "omnibus" bill but through numerous separate bills purportedly dealing with local situations. An example is Senate bill 2745, now signed by President Eisenhower, directed at the Indians of the Klamath reservation in Oregon. This law forcibly fee-patents—that is, removes from trusteeship status—all individually owned Klamath lands and authorizes any enrolled Klamath member to force the tribe to sell its corporate holdings in order to buy him out; it also brings to an early end federal supervision of the immense timber operation in the Klamath forest. Here, for once, the truth came out from the Interior Department—that the termination might result "in abandonment of sustained-yield management presently enforced by the federal government" and that "accelerated cutting would result eventually in serious injury to the entire economy of the Klamath basin."

The Klamath action is a massive one, as is the comparable Menominee, Wisconsin, action now also made law by President Eisenhower. A law directed toward four small bands of Utah Indians will have a statistically infinitesimal effect but is massive as to precedent and policy and representative as to method. These 177 full-blood Paiutes are owners, as groups, of 45,000 acres of poor land believed rich in subsurface oil and minerals. Entitled by law to federal aid and protection, these Paiutes have not been receiving it; hence the Watkins bill

JOHN COLLIER, *United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1933 to 1945, is professor emeritus of sociology and anthropology at the City College of New York and president of the Institute of Ethnic Affairs.*

(Senate 2670) provided that hereafter they should not receive federal aid and protection. Congress and the public were told that these groups had been fully consulted and by implication had indorsed the bill. In fact, all but one of the groups have officially objected to the measure. Search of the hearings and reports reveal nothing regarding the adequacy of consultation. The only indorsement of the bill was wrong from a minority of one of the groups, admittedly counseled by the representative of an oil company which "desired to negotiate a lease without going through the procedure" of competitive bidding. Trivial as well as heartless when locally viewed, this bill, now law, was announced as a model for all termination bills. The federal legal obligation to scores of thousands of Indians has not been fulfilled; past devastating wrongs—such as those done to the five civilized tribes of Oklahoma—have not been righted: therefore, the federal government shall be prohibited by statute from meeting the unmet obligations or righting the unrighted wrongs.

This article must omit other details and conclude with the really massive, all-embracing betrayal. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, together with subsequent amendatory acts, reaffirmed the bilateral Indian-federal-government relation. It empowered the several hundred Indian groups to organize for domestic self-rule and to incorporate for economic self-help and self-defense. The ensuing years saw the creation, by the Indians, of 182 tribal constitutions and 154 tribal corporate charters. The act created a revolving credit fund, resting on the communal aspirations and responsibilities of the tribes but fully attending to individual requirements; the account of this fund until about two years ago stood as a "record-breaker." There was developed a multiform, far-flung, and almost uniformly successful organization of Indian life, in which the individual through his group entered into the wider commonwealth.

Beginning with Dillon S. Myer as Indian Commissioner in 1950, the ruling purpose, harshly intensified by the present Administration, has been to atom-

ize and suffocate the group life of the tribes—that group life which is their vitality, motivation, and hope—and to prevent the continuance and adaptation of those Indian civilizations which have produced great human beings through hundreds of generations. The present Administration's central method is to destroy the Indian Reorganization Act and the life structures which the Indians have built within its authority. The technique is not to use an omnibus bill but a host of special bills—effective in scattering the opposition—designed to destroy the Reorganization Act and its results tribe by tribe and region by region. A looted Indian estate will be the most apparent result, as it was in the case of the allotment acts of sixty and fifty years ago. A less apparent result will be a looted Indian soul and looted national honor, a United States shamed before the forty million Indians of the hemisphere. These results, except in local cases, have not yet been realized. The American public, if it would, could still forbid their irremediable accomplishment.

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ALL FOR ONE

The Corporation Is All . . . by Colonel Beriah Sellers

[The Nation requested and is privileged to present here without comment this strictly personal statement from the least-known but reputedly most liberal member of the Administration's unofficial "advisory team."]

"THERE was a feeling that it was time for a new era of fair play to treat everybody alike, to have no favored classes, and this Administration was pledged to do everything it could for the benefit of 160,000,000 American people and not for any single group," said President Eisenhower as he reported his achievements and appealed for G. O. P. victory next November. He had promised to get the government "out of business," and—"Well, we've been getting out of that and we're committed to it so as to return to you, the American people, the maximum initiative, the maximum responsibility and authority for looking after your own affairs."

Now those are my italics and I am speaking for myself alone, but I think I may say one thing without breaking any confidences. Nobody is privately more keenly aware of how far we are from completing those tasks indicated above than the President himself. Philosophically defined as "conservative in economics, liberal in human relations," the New Era aims, precisely as the President says, to "return to you, the American people," the fullest degree of initiative—by digging communism out of the federal government and ending bureaucratic monopolies of business enterprise. As a liberal myself, in the President's sense, I want first to outline what has been accomplished to date in spite of secret and still powerful pro-Communist elements in Congress. Then I wish to share with you a vision of the future as some of us see it—if the voters give the

COLONEL SELLERS won fame in Mark Twain's "The Gilded Age." He often writes for The Nation under the pseudonym of Edgar Snow.

Administration a Congress truly dedicated to saving our freedom.

The record shows, as Mr. Eisenhower rightly stresses, that this Administration, and this alone, won the people's battle of the century against the federal-government monopoly in the ownership of our offshore-oil deposits. Under bureaucratic monopoly these national resources, worth many billions, would have been exploited in the interest of single groups, such as the navy, making for disunity and constituting a grave threat to fair play in the free price structure of the people's oil companies.

Secondly, the President took pride in the popular tax reforms which will save us some \$7,400,000,000. Repeal of the excess-profits tax alone is saving us billions in revenues formerly extracted from popularly owned corporations such as Standard Oil, General Motors, Continental Can, United States Steel, and so on. Further reductions in corporation as well as personal income taxes will also bring relief to the majority penalized most under the card-carrying bureaucrats. True, some favored classes with much lighter responsibilities have been granted cuts, too. But reductions to the improvident—such as poor farmers, widows, invalids, and low-income groups generally—amount to only half a billion dollars or so, a mere 7 or 8 per cent of the entire tax rebate, while 90 per cent directly benefits responsible owners of business loyally maintaining high-level production and increasing national income.

As a result of far-seeing Administration leadership the Eighty-third Congress also passed the admirable new atomic-energy legislation. This liberalizes resources greatly surpassing offshore-oil deposits in importance to free enterprise, personal initiative, and full employment. Results and tools developed in the building up of our atomic-energy empire, at a cost of eleven to twelve billion dollars of the people's tax money, are in effect taken away from

the bureaucratic monopoly group and returned to the people. Energies beyond our present imagination will be produced from this expensively acquired know-how and plant. In bureaucratic hands such assets would inevitably have borne ugly fruit as communistic projects benefiting only special groups, such as people who don't own shares in public-utility corporations. Now each of us need only assert his maximum initiative to establish his homestead rights, so to speak, on this new frontier of wealth—side by side with Westinghouse, General Electric, and duPont.

THIRDLY, the socialistic expansion of the T. V. A. has been halted. Mr. Eisenhower courageously refused federal credits demanded by the T. V. A. in order to build a new plant to replace the somewhat subversive power it has been supplying to atomic-energy installations in Tennessee at the taxpayers' expense. Instead, he directed that the Dixon-Yates syndicate build a plant for the same purpose. Power from this source may cost the government \$5,000,000 a year more than power from the T. V. A., but the heavy expense and danger of expanding the federal-power bureaucracy have been avoided. Although the project is federally financed as to construction costs, Dixon-Yates have guaranteed to relieve the government of any burden of ownership in the half-billion-dollar property.

Chairman Mitchell of the Democratic National Committee spuriously criticized the President for turning down a New York syndicate which offered to put up the same plant for a hundred million or so less than the Dixon-Yates bid. But Mitchell dishonestly obscures the fact that this New York outfit also wanted the government to hold the bag—that is, ownership of a plant actually financed by the people's own federal tax money! This Marxist proposal was so noisome that no sound economist would touch it, and rumor says Sam Snead curtly de-

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Slander

"I think it is necessary for the House seriously to ponder this question. Can we trust this partisan, politically minded Attorney-General, or for that matter any other Attorney-General, with the power to label any organization as subversive? In the case of the Lawyers Guild he does not even accuse that organization of having done or even planned to do anything that was illegal. Certainly, if the organization had done anything illegal, I would assume that he would prosecute them. To my mind, for the Attorney-General to label and slander any organization that has done nothing illegal, because the Attorney-General does not like the way that organization operates or because it opposes some position taken by him amounts to a gross arrogation of power. I think it time that we put atop to this attempt to govern the country by smear and labeling."

—Congressman Herman P. Eberhart of Pennsylvania in the House of Representatives, Feb. 17, 1954.

Attorney-General Brownell wants to proscribe and, in effect, to destroy the National Lawyers Guild. Why? Because he disapproves of its views and acts. The brochure "APPEAL TO REASON" describes fully the facts and issues in this attempted "listing" of the Guild by the Attorney-General. This brochure is FREE. For your copy, write to National Lawyers Guild, 40 Exchange Place, New York 5, N. Y.

Threat

"A more basic threat has been a growing tendency on the part of our people and their representatives in government to suppose that it is within the competence of the state to determine what is and what is not American."—General Board of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., Mar. 17, 1954.

Attorney-General Brownell wants to proscribe and, in effect, to destroy the National Lawyers Guild. Why? Because he disapproves of its views and acts. The brochure "APPEAL TO REASON" describes fully the facts and issues in this attempted "listing" of the Guild by the Attorney-General. This brochure is FREE. For your copy, write to National Lawyers Guild, 40 Exchange Place, New York 5, N. Y.

(ADVT.)

clined to join the syndicate's board of directors.

Fourthly, the President has forced the bureaucrats out of such businesses as the making of synthetic rubber, uniforms, barges, rope, and other supplies for the armed forces. There is also a plan to return army camps, mess halls, kitchens, and other military real estate to the people, to be run efficiently and lucratively by private initiative.

SUCH are the modest beginnings of our great crusade against Communists, Socialists, welfare-staters, and the whole White-Acheson-Truman "class-favoritism" philosophy. All these "diseased ideas" spring from the same "Marxist virus," as Vice-President Nixon shrewdly emphasized. Illegalizing the Communist Party is only the beginning of the fight to the finish against the bureaucratic trusts and monopolies. Everything must be returned to the people.

Take the T. V. A. as a starter. Mr. Eisenhower called it "creeping socialism"—and socialism is always creeping toward communism, as we know. I may say, without violating security, that the Administration earnestly desires to see the T. V. A. returned to us and will so recommend, whenever Congress irrevocably turns its back on Karl Marx. But the New Era would go much farther. To redeem its pledge of fair play it would liberally return to the people all the hundreds of millions of acres of federal forest, agricultural lands, and grazing lands, with all their oil, uranium, and other mineral riches now monopolized by the bureaucracy. Here again the people's lumber, paper-making, oil, mining, and meat industries stand ready to develop these resources as part of our common wealth. National parks operated in open competition with the people's resorts must also be returned to private initiative. Government rights in lakes, rivers, streams, and canals eat up our taxes for little return. Individuals could develop these parks and inland waters into improved and beautified fishing, swimming, and boating grounds. Not only would these reforms bring new profits to the people; they would provide jobs for honest workers and eliminate tens of thousands of unreliable bureaucrats.

Then take the United States postal monopoly, a scandalous money-loser

ever since early eggheads got the pony express out of the hands of Wells-Fargo. Relieved of the bureaucratic incubus, a first-rate postal service could earn splendid profits at no tax cost to the people. Incidental benefits to business enterprise would be enormous. For example, special legislation should authorize the postal corporation to collect from the addressees postal fees on all advertising matter, including all non-subversive periodicals as well as direct-mail literature. In a democratic country this payment should be regarded as part of the individual's personal educational expense. A wider appreciation of the value of such literature undoubtedly would accrue to its sponsors.

Clearly all state and national roads will soon be run by the people. The Port of New York Authority, now silently owned by the banks and insurance people, provides an exemplary model for a transitional period until special groups are fully educated to the evils of socialistically owned roads, tunnels, and airports. A logical road system eventually will enable anyone to drive from New York to California and back on a round-trip ticket good for every toll gate on the road. The journey will be infinitely more pleasurable for the citizen in the knowledge that tolls are going to the people's National Road Authority and its subsidiaries and earning him good dividends and capital gains.

NEXT, all schools, libraries, museums, aquariums, municipal and state parks, skating rinks, swimming pools, public housing, and buildings of all kinds now adding to the taxpayers' woes must be returned to the people. Run on conservative business lines for the liberal benefit of all, they could provide jobs for a myriad of loyal workers free from any subversive taint. Inefficiently operated public-health and sanitation services everywhere, along with state hospitals and insane asylums, are other survivals of a pre-history or pre-New Era period. Financed by government loans of the Dixon-Yates type, all such real estate and services, including the prison systems, could be taken over by syndicates for the direct profit of the people's enterprises.

The same applies to federal departments such as Agriculture and Commerce, which increasingly compete with

private services turning in good annual dividends. There would then be little reason for a Department of the Interior—except for the F. B. I., long a tax-losing competitor of the Pinkertons, Finks, and other private eyes. Operated by business men, the F. B. I. could become an important people's corporation. After that only a very small Treasury Department would be needed. As for the Internal Revenue Bureau, its functions could be handled by one or several of our modern insurance companies—their agents collecting import duties and taxes along with your annual premiums. They could also put unemployment- and old-age-insurance schemes on a dividend-earning basis.

Incidentally, under the New Era the word "premiums" would replace "taxes," which would cease to have the same meaning anyway once they were freely gathered by free enterprise.

Ironically enough, the armed forces may prove to be the most stubborn hang-over of the Marxist period. Logical action must here eliminate the bureaucracy without fail. Now that all war industries and military real estate are recognized as legitimate fields of private enterprise there is no plausible reason why the principle of "conservative economy, liberally applied" should not extend to the service activities themselves. Given any encouragement at all, the same maximum initiative which recovered offshore oil and atomic energy from the federal collectivists would gladly incorporate the army, navy, and air force. They could easily be liberally capitalized (with Administration loans) and made to yield fair but conservative returns.

Admittedly this vital reform might encounter some psychological or sales resistance at first, but new terminologies could overcome it. For instance, the word enlistment would be changed to enrolment. Then the armed-services corporations could charge citizen-soldiers modest tuition fees, such as they now pay for other kinds of technical education. If service were made a prerequisite of employment by any popular corporation—as it should be—parents would gladly pay tuition. In cases of improvidence—highly unlikely under the New Era—the "enrollees" could merely pledge future earnings against tuition levies. Service units would be named after the people's corporations they actually represent—

say, the Socony, Texaco, Vanadium, Alcoa, A. T. & T., Goodyear, United Fruit (or Banana) divisions—and "enrollees" would be assigned in line with future expectations of employment. In contracting for services of the defense corporations the Administration could place units in areas of greatest potential business interest to them.

There would remain the problem of the Congress and judiciary, notoriously non-self-supporting. These would have to be retained, since we cannot tamper with our fundamental institutions of liberty. But reasonable innovations would occur. With the completion of the major reforms of the New Era all special groups and favored classes will have vanished, and everybody will then see the absurdity of the old methods of election. By common consent and amendment federal representatives everywhere will be nominated directly by the people's corporations.

THUS we shall do away with the waste involved in corporation financing of political parties—a form of double taxation, since contributions now have to be made to both parties. Instead, the corporations themselves may pay the salaries of Senators, Congressmen, and judges, which should be directly tax-deductible instead of indirectly as at present. Another suggestion is that the Administration could itself become a subsidiary of one of the experienced corporations, with the President serving as a kind of chairman-patriarch. As one permissible profit-making function the Administration corporation could be allowed broker's fees on new bond issues authorized to finance undercapitalized corporations anxious to use maximum initiative in developing national, international, or interstellar resources. Congressmen, Senators, and judges could then be paid—liberally, but not too liberally—directly from brokers' fees instead of by the present roundabout method.

One of the brightest features of the New Era will be the liberalization of labor. This will follow the creation of an Immigration Corporation to put the McCarran Act on a sound profit-making basis. The immigrant quota having been fixed by the people's needs in accordance with the principle of "conservative in economics, liberal in human relations," the Immigration Corporation will



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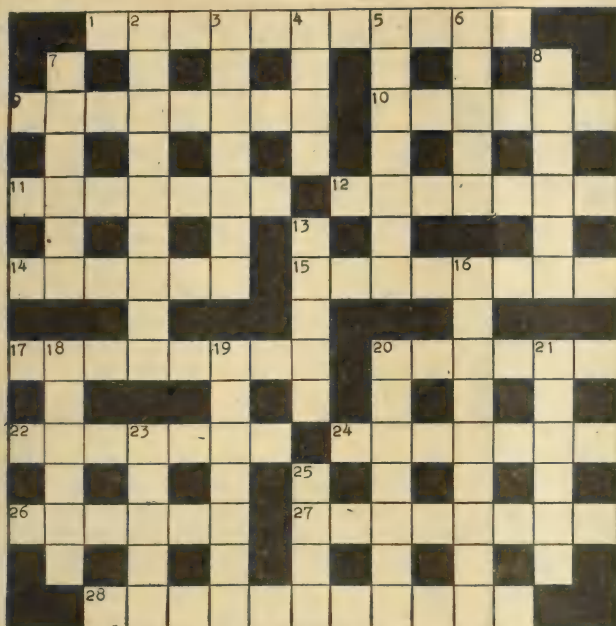
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Yes, we still have a long way to go before we get Karl Marx out of the government and the government out of business. But we're on our way, by George, and we know where we're going!

Crossword Puzzle No. 587

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 It's the circular plate or ball which makes the difference! (11)
- 9 Cease complaining — this involves "Crossing the Bar." (8)
- 10 It's sufficient that one comes back with an expression of disgust! (6)
- 11 Auditor, not now dirty? (7)
- 12 See 22 across.
- 14 Stone found in most of the Iberian mountains. (6)
- 15 Commissars? (8)
- 17 Made ready for the 23, as timers do. (8)
- 20 Decks. (6)
- 22 and 12 across Retirement accounts? (7, 7)
- 24 Fast movement. (7)
- 26 Sounds like a more common tool. (6)
- 27 Small talk sort of allows slaves to come out. (8)
- 28 The stuff in the middle of the tar-barrel isn't over. (6, 5)

DOWN

- 2 Not a deliberate way of introducing yourself to the nurse! (9)
- 3 and 21 down. The problem of entrance posed the U.N.? (7, 6)
- 4 A wild reckless fellow with big teeth. (4)
- 5 Warded off. (7)

- 6 Mary Ann Evans wanted to join the invisible one. (5)
- 7 It's out of this world, my dear! (6)
- 8 Silver clarinet? (6)
- 13 Smetana's was bartered. (5)
- 16 Relating to seizure. (9)
- 18 This playwright is enough to make a person sick! (6)
- 19 Member of a military class. (7)
- 20 Message of Sir Napier, upon the surrender of Hyderabad, Sind. (7)
- 21 See 3 down.
- 22 See 17 across. (5)
- 23 "The weariest and most loathed worldly life
- 25 That age, —, penury, and imprisonment
Can lay on nature, is a paradise
To what we fear of death." (M. F. M.) (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 586

ACROSS:—1 RED SQUARE; 6 KITER; 9 BOWIE; 10 READY CASH; 11 NESTLINGS; 12 TONGA; 13 REAMS; 15 MARINADES; 18 DEER LICKS; 19 SCROD; 20 RIGID; 22 IMBEROLLO; 25 ABSTAINER; 26 INCAS; 27 TIERS; 28 ROYALISTS.
DOWN:—1 ROBIN; 2 DOWNSTAGE; 3 QUELL; 4 AGRONOMIC; 5 EXAMS; 6 KEY-STONES; 7 TRAIN; 8 REHEARSED; 13 REDBREAST; 14 SALAD DAYS; 16 RASPBERRY; 17 DERELICTS; 21 GASTPE; 22 INNER; 23 ORIEL; 24 OASIS.

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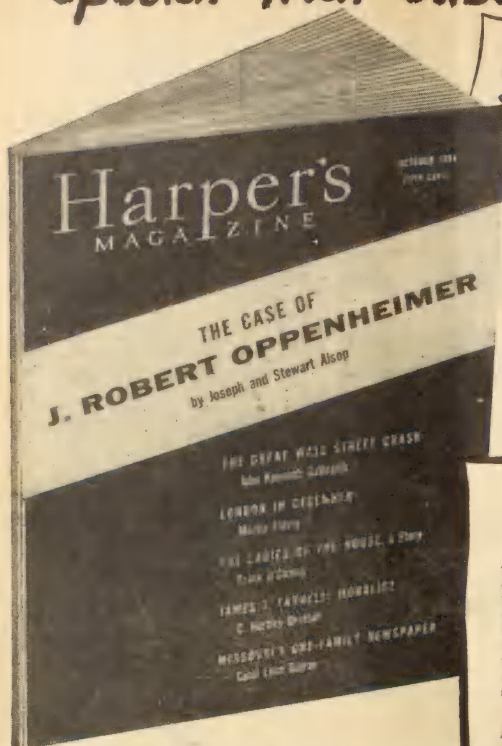
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An Italian journalist and editor describes the shrewd and cautious policy of the Italian Communist party which is edging the Communists steadily closer to victory in that important nation—and the steps which might still be taken to break communism's appeal.

Luigi Barzini, Jr.

THE GREAT WALL STREET CRASH

An outstanding economist tells the dramatic story of the 1929 crash, of the danger signals that were raised for weeks preceding the crash, of the bewilderment of the people and the frantic efforts of the banking industry to ward off the calamity. The author concludes that the time to be frightened about a second similar crash is when some expert explains why such a thing could never happen again.

John Kenneth Galbraith

LONDON IN DECEMBER

A charming, personal account by a noted American novelist, playwright, and world traveler, of the peculiar advantages of a "thrill season" visit to London in December. The tourist who has seen London only in summer, he writes, has missed many of its attractions, even though he has spent far more money to make the trip.

Martin Flavin

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Everybody in Lamar, Missouri, reads the *Democrat*, and subscribers scattered over the forty-eight states, England and Canada insist that the *Democrat* is the brightest gem of American journalism. Here is the remarkable story of the *Democrat*—which breaks almost every rule of journalism, except the regard for accuracy.

Carol Lynn Gilmer

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COMMUNISTS BY DOS PASSOS: HAROLD CLURMAN

THE *Nation*

Because of a strike by the binders, this issue of *The Nation* appears unbound and untrimmed. All other work on this issue has been done by the regular union printers who have not gone on strike.

October 9, 1954

20¢

C. Herman Pritchett

The Supreme Court and Civil Liberties

J. Alvarez del Vayo

U. N.'s Spreading Staff Purge

Elizabeth Weideman

The H-Bomb's First Victims

Fenner Brockway

South Africa's Plan: Seato to Ato

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865



The N. S. A. Congress

Ames, Iowa

THE Seventh National Student Congress convened at Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa, from August 22 through August 31. More than six hundred students from some four hundred colleges and universities came together to set the policy for the National Student Association under the chairmanship of James Edwards of the University of Illinois.

Compared with past conventions, this one was surprisingly dull. It was clear that left-wing attempts to mold the association into an agitational group had been completely crushed. (In the late 1940's there was real doubt whether the N. S. A. could continue in the face of the efforts of certain elements to twist its work in a partisan direction.) The defeat of the left wing, however, seems to have been due as much to national trends as to the students' own efforts to provide stronger, more objective direction.

The N. S. A. has now come of age. Its programs deal with students' international relations, with national affairs as they bear on student aims, and with student government on the campus. It runs a non-profit travel bureau. Since last year it has been able, with the help of gifts from individuals and foundations, to operate wholly "in the black."

The efficient leadership it has had in the past two or three years will continue if the character of the newly elected officers, Harry Lunn of Michigan and

K. Wallace Longshore of U. C. L. A., is a guide.

Two issues which would have aroused fiery debate in the past—academic freedom and relations with students in the Communist orbit—were utter "duds" this year. The defeated motion on academic freedom upheld the principle that "dismissal from membership in the educational community should be only for incompetence or violation of the academic freedom of others, as determined by a tribunal of peers; or for moral turpitude or conviction under the law of the land; and then only after a fair hearing." In a hall only half filled the resolution was lost by a fairly close, though definite, margin. The decisive argument seemed to be that the N. S. A. would be unrealistic if it did not recognize "that membership in any totalitarian conspiratorial group or organization that advocates the violent overthrow of the United States government requires acceptance of certain principles and methods which surrender freedom . . . such membership extinguishes the ability of a professor to be professionally competent." A resolution expressing this view was passed overwhelmingly. One might add that students could hardly be expected to flout what has become "incontrovertible logic" in the mouths of their mentors.

Concerning relations with Communist students behind the Iron Curtain the N. S. A. resolved to continue cooperation with the international coordinating secretariat formed after the International Union of Students was converted into an organ of Communist propaganda. It also resolved to continue its exchanges with countries outside the Iron Curtain, avoiding any concrete statement about effecting contacts with students in Russia or its satellites. In the committees which handled this issue there was some expression of the view that an effort should be made to bring about direct exchanges with Russia. Richard Ward of the University of Chicago, one of the college editors who recently visited Russia, took this position. The view of the N. S. A. leadership was that no statement on exchange with Russia was necessary or politic.

The most interesting aspect of this debate was the close parallel between the position of the United States government and that of the N. S. A. on the

general problem of relations with countries behind the Iron Curtain. While many West European governments and West European student groups want to explore the possibility of making contact with Communist countries, the United States and the N. S. A. are "tightening the lines of separation."

THE N. S. A. has always been opposed to racial discrimination in education, and since it has been boycotted by most Southern colleges it has been able to take an increasingly uncompromising stand. The Supreme Court decision of a few months ago vindicated this attitude; yet the resolution recommending measures to implement the decision had to be hammered out frantically overnight by a special emergency committee appointed by President Edwards. The affair seemed to indicate a singular bankruptcy of internal policy-making. This is not to criticize the resolution itself, which urged, very laudably, "the swiftest possible integration of the races at all educational levels in all parts of the country."

In retrospect, the congress was a rather depressing experience. Instead of a zest for intellectual exploration most students demonstrated an almost neurotic docility of mind. Instead of positive awareness there was passive receptivity to the proposals of past and present leaders. There was no willingness to take the slightest risk, either intellectually or concretely.

It cannot be denied, however, that the N. S. A. has done remarkable work in fostering student government on many campuses, has provided excellent information services, and has opened many channels of student contact, especially in South America. But in expanding and oiling the machinery of operations the N. S. A. evidently has fallen prey to the "curse of bigness." The issues before a congress are too crucial to be mishandled by uninitiated delegates, who, after all, may come but once and then only for the scenery.

HARVEY GLICKMAN

HARVEY GLICKMAN, a teaching fellow at Harvard University, was a delegate to the N. S. A. congress. He is coauthor with H. H. Wilson of *"The Problem of Internal Security in Great Britain, 1948-1952."*

The Shape of Things

The Watkins Report

The report of the Select Senate Committee to Study Censure against Senator McCarthy merits the high praise it has received. It is temperate in tone and manner, meets the issues squarely, and is clear-cut in its conclusions. The report reflects close attention to the record and a careful weighing of the evidence. The committee was at considerable pains to demonstrate, in each instance, the reasoning by which the major conclusions were reached. It reflects, too, a strong sense of the importance of the inquiry and an admirable feeling for the dignity and prerogatives of the Senate. A combination of factors—the committee's prestige, the wide approval the report has received in the press, the alacrity with which Republican National Chairman Leonard W. Hall praised it, and the fact that the report itself is such a convincing document—would seem to insure its adoption by the Senate and a vote of censure for McCarthy. The debate will be bitter, but the end result can hardly be in question. It is worth noting, for the record, that McCarthy's supporters, according to newspaper columnist John O'Donnell, now raise for the first time the objection that no member of the committee with the exception of Senator Johnson represents a state in which Catholics have political influence. None of these critics, as we recall, objected when the Kersten committee, seven of whose nine members are Catholics, undertook recently to probe into the meeting of the Protestant World Council of Churches at Evanston.

Witnesses Have Rights

Two aspects of the Watkins report merit special comment. At the outset Senator Watkins made it clear that the inquiry of the Select Committee was of "a special character which differentiates it from the usual legislative inquiry." Not only was it concerned with the internal affairs of the Senate, but it must determine the issues necessarily involved in passing judgment on "the conduct and possible punishment" of one of its members. Therefore, so Senator Watkins reasoned, the inquiry should be conducted in a judicial or semi-judicial manner.

In effect this statement recognizes a point that *The*

Nation has been emphasizing for some years—namely, that current "subversive activities" inquiries are essentially punitive in character and represent an encroachment on the judicial power. Certainly if a Senator, faced with the possibility of a rebuke or censure that would injure his reputation, is entitled to special judicial safeguards, then any other citizen in the same position should be entitled to the same safeguards. Similarly, in passing on the Zwicker incident, the report is quite specific on the point that McCarthy's conduct would have been equally offensive if the victim had not been a high-ranking military official with a fine war record. The inference is clear. If General Zwicker, standing on his rights as a witness, had refused to answer McCarthy's questions on the ground that the chairman's conduct was offensive, would the Senate have held him in contempt? On these two points, the Watkins report has established new outposts from which witnesses may defend themselves against tyrannical chairmen conducting runaway inquiries.

Echo of Guatemala

It will be recalled that former President Arbenz of Guatemala turned to the Security Council for help when the anti-Communist forces of Castillo Armas were invading the country from bases in neighboring Honduras. But under the leadership of Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., the United States representative, the Council turned down Arbenz's plea on the ground that the Organization of the American States, rather than the United Nations, had jurisdiction.

Today Arbenz is in exile and Armas rules Guatemala, but in the corridors of the United Nations the profoundly disturbing implications of the Security Council's decision have not been forgotten. Last week Dr. Francisco Gamarra of Uruguay, whose stature as a delegate from Latin America's "model democracy" is increased by the fact that he is also president of his country's Supreme Court, reminded the Assembly:

My country believes that the principles of regional understanding and the guarantees this system offers can in no way be invoked either to prevent the states from having immediate and direct recourse to the jurisdiction of the United Nations or to deprive them, even temporarily, of protective action by the organs of the universal community of nations.

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Dr. Gamarra's statement was followed by one equally

forthright from Dr. José Vicente Trujillo of Ecuador. These interventions on a subject which was not, strictly speaking, even on the agenda of the Assembly attest to the deep wounds left in Latin America by Washington's coup d'état against the legally elected Arbenz regime. But more than emotion is involved. The question whether or not the Security Council, or any other U. N. body, can slam the door on a supplicant on the ground that regional agreements have "first" jurisdiction is of basic importance, and we shall return to it in the near future.

The Mystery of the Fields

The value of ranking defectors from the Communist faith may be as great as our government seems to think. Certainly they are treated as prized cold-war trophies in Washington. But when they "surface" and give the public samples of their inside information, it usually seems to confuse rather than clarify the picture of behind-the-curtain operations.

The latest report has been rendered by Josef Swiato, a former Polish security official who bolted during a shopping tour in Berlin last December. At a couple of press conferences in Washington last week Mr. Swiato gave a first-hand story of the disappearance of Noel Field, his wife Herta, and his brother Hermann. The Polish official himself had arrested Hermann, who came to Warsaw presumably to look for Noel. According to Swiato, Hermann is still in jail in Poland, if indeed he is not dead. As for Noel and Herta, both were imprisoned in Hungary. Swiato reported that he and other security officers questioned them at Budapest, where they had been arrested, in connection with the Rajk trial, on charges of espionage for American intelligence and "Titoist elements." He believes both are now dead, for he later attempted without success to get from the Hungarian security authorities a deposition for use by the Polish government in its case against Hermann. On the basis of the information supplied by Swiato—though on the contrary assumption that the Fields are still living—the United States has sent notes to Hungary and Poland demanding the release of the Americans.

The Holes in the Plot

So far, so good. But how far have we really got? Strange doubts attach to some of Mr. Swiato's statements. He said that he believed both Noel and Hermann Field to be "Communist sympathizers"; that Noel had written letters to the head of the Communist Party in Poland referring to his "party activities" in the United States. But the only direct remark attributed to Noel was that he had not engaged in espionage but was gathering material for a book about the "People's Democracies."

As for Hermann, Swiato said he had been a member of a committee which had helped "Communist and non-Communist refugees" through Nazi Germany. This was the only evidence he gave of Hermann's supposed Communist sympathies; it seems rather sketchy to say the least.

However, if all these suppositions are well founded, the mystery only deepens. Swiato reports that Hermann, to whom he often talked and whom he argued out of a suicide attempt, has been held in a prison by administrative order; he was never charged with any offense or his case even brought to the attention of the public prosecutor. But if Hermann was in fact a Communist sympathizer, one wonders why he was arrested in the first place; why he is still held. Mr. Swiato does not explain. And if no charges had been preferred against him why did Swiato try to get a deposition from the Hungarian

authorities? What purpose could it serve? The story seems to leak at several critical points.

Still another unanswered question emerges—a very important one, from the point of view of Americans. The Polish official has been in the hands of the Washington authorities ever since his defection last December. But the State Department's notes to Warsaw and Budapest were dispatched just two and one-half hours before Swiato's press conference last week. Is it possible that the department has had his testimony in its possession for ten months and has moved only now to demand the release of the Fields? We find this hard to believe. If it is true we should like to know how the department explains or excuses its delay in a matter involving not alone the freedom but perhaps the very life of three American citizens.

Headway on Disarmament

WHILE the London agreement and the World Series hugged the headlines last week, a new Soviet disarmament offer, as important as the one and as dramatic as the other, made scarcely a dent in the natural consciousness. The proposals Andrei Vishinski presented to the

A full consideration of the London agreement will appear in next week's issue.

U. N. on September 30 appear to have abandoned positions to which the Russians have clung for many years. Examination of the new Soviet attitude reveals these developments:

1. For the first time Moscow has dropped the demand that a total ban on atomic, hydrogen, and other mass-destruction weapons must precede a reduction in conventional armaments and armed forces.

2. Hitherto the Russians have insisted that disarmament must be accomplished in one swoop. Now they have agreed that armaments and military man-power shall be diminished by stages.

3. For the past six years they have demanded an across-the-board cut of one-third in the forces of the United States, Britain, France, China, and the U. S. S. R.; now they acquiesce in the principle of disarmament to levels which are to be agreed upon by negotiation and which shall apply to a larger group of nations.

4. They have adopted as a discussion basis an Anglo-French plan which Russia rejected three and a half months ago at a London meeting of a U. N. disarmament subcommittee. It is a strange sensation to find the Russians accepting a Western program even "in principle."

The Soviet proposals have their adverse side. They fail to provide for a control organ which shall function

before the nations start reducing their forces and weapons. This is a cardinal point in all Western disarmament projects. Further, in its initial stage Russia's plan would put a temporary control authority under the U. N. Security Council, which means that the veto would apply. They say a permanent control organ would be formed in a later phase, presumably—though this needs clarification—within one year after the proposed disarmament treaty comes into effect. Finally, while the Russian scheme provides for inspection, it lacks specific enforcement powers or sanctions against evasion or violation. Vagueness on this point also exists in the Anglo-French proposals.

The treaty proposed by Russia would include these essentials: within six months or one year signatory states shall reduce by 50 per cent of agreed norms their armaments, armed forces, and military appropriations. A provisional control commission shall be established under the Security Council to obtain from participating states reports on their fulfilment of the disarmament measures. In a second stage the remaining 50 per cent of stipulated reductions in arms and man-power shall be effected. In this second phase would come the ban on the manufacture and use of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

These and other conditions leave plentiful scope for continued wrangling and deadlock. For instance, what shall be the "agreed norms" of armed forces and military spending from which the cuts are to be made? But Russia's move definitely marks headway, and its potentialities must be thoroughly explored.

What induced Russia to reverse its attitude since turning down the British-French proposals in June? Behind the scenes the Mendès-France government has been pressing Moscow strongly to accept that program.

But Russia's adoption of the plan, even in principle, came too late to buttress the French stand at the nine-nation London conference. Before that meeting it might have been possible to arouse greater resistance to West German rearmament by pointing to the improved chance of international disarmament. Now, however, the London arrangements are likely to win a French parliamentary majority. Another possibility is that the Russians

timed their disarmament move to overshadow the United States bid for an international agency to promote peaceful use of atomic energy.

The U. S. S. R. evidently means business in coming much of the way toward the American-supported Anglo-French disarmament project. It is a faulty syllogism that because governments so often act irresponsibly they are incapable of sanity.

THE SPREADING U. N. PURGE

New Crisis for the Staff . . by *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

United Nations

"ARE there any Communists among you? Do you like Mr. Vishinsky? Is it true that your friend Mr. So-and-So is a Communist? Have you any friends among the Soviet citizens in the secretariat? What is your position on the events in Guatemala? Do you think there is any justification for the Puerto Ricans who shot and wounded several Congressmen? Do you sympathize with the 'common man' or with the capitalists? How many enemies of Perón and Trujillo do you know in the secretariat? Is it true that you have played chess with your Soviet colleagues?"

These questions are taken directly from an investigation ordered by the Secretary General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld, to ferret out alleged subversion among the Spanish-language stenographers of the secretariat. For several weeks a board of three under the chairmanship of Señor José Correa, an executive assistant to the Secretary General, plus James Bough and Roberto Unanue, has been interrogating these subordinate U. N. employees. They have been questioned also about their most intimate thoughts, the books and newspapers they read, how they spend their time outside the office, and so on. The object of this particular inquiry has not been made public. The people investigated have no idea of the charges behind the interrogations, and the most fantastic rumors are circulating. Some say the inquiry was started by certain Latin American delegations which transmitted to the U. N. a de-

mand from their governments that all persons disloyal to the regimes of those countries be summarily dismissed. Another version is that the administration having purged the "subversive" Americans whose scalps were demanded by the F. B. I., is now initiating a similar purge of the non-American members of the staff.

A careful check has yielded enough facts to indicate that such a purge is indeed under way. In the course of a few weeks a number of Latin American citizens have lost their U. N. jobs. In all these cases the administration has either offered some pretext or has cited the discretionary powers granted by the Assembly to the Secretary General for reorganizing the secretariat. But it is an extremely suspicious fact, to say the least, that all the people involved happen to be out of sympathy with the totalitarian regimes prevailing in their countries. None is a known Communist, but even if there were Communists among them, the U. N. is not supposed to apply political tests to its employees—despite the contrary practice initiated by the United States.

The worst thing about this development is not, however, the damage and injustice inflicted upon individuals, many of whom have served the U. N. with devotion and efficiency for six, seven, or eight years. An even graver matter is the demoralization that these measures have produced in the staff as a whole. An atmosphere of fear and distrust prevails. Staff members believe that they are being watched, that their

telephones are tapped, and that their movements inside and outside the U. N. building are being constantly checked. Nor are these fears without foundation. The situation has produced a body of informers acting out of fear or the hope of promotion under the tolerant and protective eye of the authorities. Some Latin American functionaries, carrying out directives from their governments, spy upon compatriots who are in disfavor at home and denounce them to the U. N. administration.

The administration acts upon such information often without even confronting the accused person with the charges against him. The Bureau of Personnel, now directly responsible to the Secretary General, is in effect a police agency with practically unrestricted powers. Administrative decisions about appointments, dismissals, and transfer of personnel are often taken without consultation with the directors of the respective services. This upsets staff discipline and destroys the authority of the directors affected.

PERHAPS it was inevitable that the precedent of denunciation, interrogation, and purge established by Congress and the Administration should have encouraged a similar policy among certain other national regimes. The United States has never admitted that international civil servants should be responsible only to their employer—in this case the United Nations. Instead it has held that the security restrictions affecting American government em-

ployees should apply equally to Americans serving the U. N. The theory is naturally an appealing one to such regimes as those in Argentina and the Dominican Republic, whose political methods have driven hundreds of diplomats and other civil servants into exile. Some of the best people in the U. N., people in highly responsible as well as less important jobs, come from the ranks of political refugees. Once the program gets under way it is not likely to stop with a few fugitives from Latin America. What, people here are asking, is to prevent the Communist states from demanding the dismissal from U. N. posts of outspoken opponents among their nationals? The purge, once begun, could set off a chain reaction with consequences that would profoundly disturb the United States, as well as smash the whole concept of an international body.

But if the purge precedent has undermined the prerogatives of the United Nations, exposing its non-American employees to attack, it has also invaded the prerogatives of foreign countries by subjecting Americans working for the U. N. abroad to the same treatment. Four persons employed at the UNESCO headquarters at Paris have recently been notified by Luther Evans, the American director general, that they would be dropped when their contracts expired at the end of December. Of these one is David Leff, whose case has received wide attention in the press—more in Europe than in the United States. (See *The Nation* for June 27, 1953.) In each instance the reason for dismissal was the refusal of the staff member to testify before an American loyalty board. The director general has ruled that such behavior is inconsistent with the "high standards of integrity" maintained by UNESCO. Three other employees, with permanent contracts, are being retained pending action at the Montevideo conference of UNESCO next month. Mr. Evans is demanding a change in staff regulations to give him the power to terminate contracts.

Meanwhile the Administrative Tribunal sitting at Geneva has acted on complaints submitted by David Leff and Gordon McIntire—the latter recently dropped from the staff of the Food and Agriculture Organization. In both cases the Tribunal sustained rulings by the appeals boards of the agencies involved

disapproving the original decisions which the two employees had challenged. This does not, however, clear the men or restore their jobs. In the case of David Leff, the Tribunal refused to pass on a second order from Mr. Evans commanding him to "satisfy the requirements of the judicial authorities of the United States." The Tribunal's decision was a technical one, based on the fact that Leff had failed to submit his complaint to the UNESCO appeals board before coming to Geneva. But on both moral and legal grounds the Tribunal has sustained his basic position—namely, that an international civil servant is not automatically subject to the loyalty orders of his home government.

The Tribunal's ruling on Mr. McIntire was to the same effect. It agreed that the F. A. O.'s refusal to reinstate him—after he had in fact been reapointed—reflected not a sudden change of heart as to his qualifications but rather a sharp demand from the State Department that he be dropped. The letter conveying and explaining this demand was withheld from the Tribunal as well as from the dismissed employee. Consequently the Tribunal ordered Mr. McIntire's reinstatement, or, in the event this was not carried out, financial compensation for salary lost and expenses incurred.

THESE cases have become *causes célèbres* in Europe. They symbolize the resistance of the international organization to the sort of interference from Washington that will, if successful, convert the agencies of the U. N. into protectorates of a country which is not even "host" to the bodies in question. In practical effect it would rob the

individuals, the agencies, and the nations that house them of their Charter rights.

Here in New York the situation has reached a point that has aroused the concern of various delegations not directly affected. I have been informed that some of them intend to raise the question when the plan of administrative reorganization proposed by Mr. Hammarskjöld is discussed in committee. It is now clear that the General Assembly went too far in giving the Secretary General powers even greater than those demanded by Mr. Lie when the famous purges in the secretariat were initiated. Lie announced at the time that the "house-cleaning operations" would be limited to those members of the staff over whom Washington claimed jurisdiction. In support of his policy he always referred to the "prerogatives" of the "host state"—a theory which his juridical advisers had invented for his benefit. Those who opposed the Assembly's grant of discretionary powers to the Secretary General said that the purge would sooner or later be extended to the whole U. N. staff, irrespective of nationality. That is now being done.

People close to Mr. Hammarskjöld insist that he does not intend to repeat the errors that ruined the final period of his predecessor's term of office. He has indicated his intention to so administer the secretariat that even the present reduction of personnel—the so-called streamlining operation—would be accepted as "fair," if not pleasant to those eliminated. He is said to believe that U. N. staff problems can be dealt with as they would be in any large institution, public or business; he hopes to establish trust, and a feeling of security.

Listening to such witnesses, one would like to assume that Mr. Hammarskjöld is not aware of the events I have just described or that his assistants are acting against his will and without his knowledge. But the facts, unfortunately, controvert this theory. One can only hope he will put a stop to practices that both violate the principle of U. N. independence and sovereignty and create demoralization among the staff. It would be sad if he should one day be obliged to write his memoirs as Secretary General in the mood of pathetic self-justification that characterizes Trygve Lie's new book, *"In the Cause of Peace."*



THE SUPREME COURT

And Our Civil Liberties . . . by C. Herman Pritchett

IN ITS recent school-segregation decision the Supreme Court boldly accepted the responsibility of enforcing the libertarian mandate of the Constitution and striking down contradicting though well-intrenched legislative and social policies. This action was in marked contrast with the court's record in other civil-liberties areas, where for the past six or seven years it has rather consistently drawn back from constitutional challenges. Particularly has this been true of the various legislative and executive programs aimed at subversion—the Smith Act prosecutions, Truman's loyalty order, Eisenhower's loyalty-security program, the Internal Security Act of 1950, the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, and the Justice Department's deportation activities.

The Supreme Court has seen little to question here, though the controls established seem in several respects to challenge traditional practices which many Americans had assumed were embodied in our constitutional system. The court's principal role has been to legitimize these activities, either through positive certification of constitutionality or, more commonly, through narrow construction of its own judicial powers of review and deference to executive and legislative judgment. The adoption of a new batch of Communist-control measures by the Eighty-third Congress makes it particularly timely to assess the recent court's performance.

First, the fad for loyalty oaths for public employees could have been stopped dead in its tracks by a court holding that they violated the constitutional "bill of attainder" provision. This ban on legislative punishment was the device

which five justices of the court roused from an eighty-year slumber to decide the Lovett case in 1946. But in 1951 only Black, Douglas, and Burton were willing to take this view in *Garner v. Board of Public Works*. The court majority was clearly affected by a widespread attitude, supported by a considerable number of precedents, that public employment is a "privilege" revocable at the whim of the sovereign, and that consequently almost any exertion of governmental power in this field would be constitutional and beyond the reach of judicial control.

Closely related is the loyalty program for federal employees; arbitrary enough in its operation under the Truman order, this was further stripped of procedural protections under Eisenhower and degraded into a scandalous "numbers game" for partisan purposes. For every Chasanow case where the government has confessed the injustice done to an employee wrongfully discharged and endeavored to make amends for his ruined career, there are assuredly scores of equally flagrant instances of removal due to spite, politics, race, or stupidity which are never redressed.

Judicial review of these proceedings has been foreclosed by the same "privilege" concept of public employment. Justice Holmes may have laid the foundation for this notion by his famous 1892 dictum in the New Bedford police-removal case: "The petitioner may have a constitutional right to talk politics, but he has no constitutional right to be a policeman." At the federal level this principle has meant that procedural protections in the removal of employees are only those that the executive or Congress may choose to provide. No constitutional due-process standards need be met.

The result is that a finding of disloyalty against a federal employee can be based, as in the Bailey case, on "unsworn reports in the secret files to the effect that unsworn statements of a gen-

eral sort, purporting to connect appellant with communism, had been made by unnamed persons." When the Supreme Court considered this case in 1951, it divided four to four—Clark not participating—and was consequently unable to render an opinion, though a New York state loyalty program was definitely upheld in 1952. Justice Jackson, who along with Frankfurter, Black, and Douglas voted against the legality of the government's procedure, showed how due-process requirements could be reconciled with the privilege concept by saying: "The fact that one may not have a legal right to get or keep a government post does not mean that he can be adjudged ineligible illegally."

JUSTICE DOUGLAS returned to a more general examination of the "right to work" problem in his 1954 Barsky dissent. Here the court majority upheld the power of New York to bar from medical practice for six months a doctor who had sought to test the jurisdiction of the House Un-American Activities Committee by the only feasible method, namely, refusing to obey its subpoena. Barsky guessed wrong on the court's views of the committee's powers and went to jail for five months, thereby laying himself open to suspension of his license to practice under New York law. Douglas, commenting on this result, traced it back to Holmes's "pernicious" New Bedford dictum. "By that reasoning," he said, "a man has no constitutional right to work." To Douglas the right to work is "the most precious liberty that man possesses," and interference with that right, whether affecting a government employee or a grocery clerk, should be subjected, in his view, to strict constitutional test enforced by close judicial surveillance. But he speaks for a minority of two on the present court.

Mention of the Barsky case makes it appropriate to take up next the judicial attitude toward Congressional investiga-

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tive power. It is now rather hard to remember when Dies and Thomas, who by the standards prevailing in 1954 must be ranked as bush-league demagogues, were the major source of concern over abuse of investigatory powers, but the Committee on Un-American Activities under their leadership did originate some substantive issues for judicial consideration. These were generally settled at the Court of Appeals level in favor of the committee, and only in the Eiser case did the Supreme Court grant review.

IT IS easy to understand the court's apparent desire to avoid involvement in fixing metes and bounds for legislative inquiry. Particularly might the court feel reluctant to substitute judicial for legislative judgment on matters in which the safety of the country is alleged to be at issue. As Justice Jackson said in the Eiser case, "It would be an unwarranted act of judicial usurpation . . . to assume for the courts the function of supervising Congressional committees. I should . . . leave the responsibility for the behavior of its committees squarely on the shoulders of Congress."

Actually the question is not quite that simple. Obviously the Supreme Court should not supervise Congressional committees. That is not the way these issues arise. They arise because a Congressional committee contends that a witness is in contempt or has perjured himself before the committee, and the courts are resorted to in order to determine the facts and to assess the penalty. Under these circumstances is the court "supervising" the committee if it makes its own independent judgment as to the constitutional or statutory basis for the committee inquiry in deciding whether a witness should go to jail?

The only intimation by the recent court of willingness to assume this review function came in the 1953 Rumely case, and the special circumstances there make it a doubtful index of future action. The Regulation of Lobbying Act requires disclosure of contributions of \$500 or more received or expended by organizations to influence legislation. The self-styled Committee for Constitutional Government adopted a technique of accepting contributions of over \$490 only if the donor specified that the funds be used for distribution of its books and pamphlets. Seeing in this

a transparent device for evading the law, the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities asked the organization for the names of the purchasers of its literature, but the information was refused. The court unanimously reversed Rumely's conviction for contempt. A declaration that the legislative demand violated the First Amendment, favored by Black and Douglas, was avoided by Frankfurter's opinion for the court, which took the position that lobbying as defined in the statute covered only representations made directly to Congress or its members, not the influencing of opinion by the circulation of books and pamphlets.

ONE may contrast the Supreme Court's dexterity in avoiding any indication of limits on Congressional committees with the position taken by four of the nine judges on the District of Columbia Court of Appeals in the recent Lattimore decision. It will be recalled that the full bench, by an eight-to-one vote, sustained dismissal of two key counts in the perjury indictment against Lattimore, but by a five-to-four vote sustained two other counts which had been dismissed by the district judge. The four dissenters on this latter point, in an opinion by Judge Edgerton, boldly challenged the Senate Internal Security Committee's right to roam at will in its questioning, or to go into "immaterial matters." The committee, Edgerton said, was "to study what goes on in the nineteen-fifties, not what went on in the nineteen-thirties." It was to be "a watchman, not a historian." The resolution under which the committee was set up, Edgerton went on, "expresses no interest in persons who were, or may have been, Communist-dominated years ago, when Hitler, not Russia, was threatening the world and many people were Communist sympathizers who are now anti-Communists." Moreover, the resolution creating the committee charged it with inquiry concerning "administration, operation, and enforcement" of the laws. "Even today it is not illegal to publish an article by a known Communist. It was not illegal between 1934 and 1941. Therefore the question whether Lattimore did so between 1934 and 1941 has no connection" with the committee's assignment. Apparently Edgerton and his three colleagues did

not feel that their ruling amounted to "supervision" of the Internal Security Committee.

IN THE matter of subversion-control programs aimed at aliens, judicial review must surmount the double obstacle of broad legislative power and administrative responsibility for the conduct of foreign relations. The absolute power of Congress to determine the standards to be met by aliens seeking admission to the United States is well established. Early discussions of exclusion policy often assumed that Congressional authority to regulate immigration was based on the commerce clause or the war power. The 1903 act excluding anarchists or persons believing in or advocating overthrow of the government by force and violence—the first legislation denying admission to aliens on the ground of objectionable beliefs—scarcely seemed to rest on either of those powers; yet the Supreme Court simply noted in 1904 that the act was "not open to constitutional objection." This is the present policy as well. In fact, the court in the 1953 Mezei case extended the government's power over exclusion to cover refusal of readmission to an alien who had been twenty-five years a resident of the United States.

Deportation of legally admitted aliens

Supreme Court Score on Civil Liberties

The following table covers fifty-one divided decisions of the Supreme Court between 1946 and 1953 involving governmental action against aliens (twenty-three cases) and general civil-liberties issues (twenty-eight cases), such as free speech, Smith Act, loyalty investigations, etc. The table gives the percentage of decisions in which each justice, as well as the court as a whole, supported the individuals' case as against the government's.

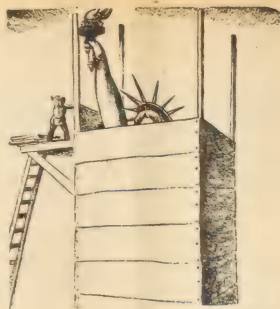
	Aliens 30%	Civil Liberties 21%	Combined Percentage 30%
Supreme Court (as a whole)			
Murphy (1947-49)	100	100	100
Rutledge (1947-49)	100	100	100
Black	100	96	98
Douglas	83	100	84
Frankfurter	82	44	61
Jackson	50	22	35
Burton	35	14	24
Vinson	30	11	20
Minton (1949-53)	19	15	17
Stewart	9	18	14
Clark (1949-53)	14	10	12

presents a different problem from exclusion, but power to effect deportations has been treated as equally broad. Deportation, the court held in 1893, was not punishment, and failure to observe the procedures of judicial trials did not violate due process of law. More recently the court has been less certain on this point, and the 1951 decision in *Jordan v. DeGeorge* appeared to admit that deportation is a penalty and must meet certain due-process standards.

Any expectations built up by this decision, however, were promptly dashed by the 1952 case of *Haristades v. Shangbnessy*. Here the court majority upheld a provision of the Alien Registration Act of 1940 authorizing deportation of legally resident aliens because of membership in the Communist Party though their membership terminated before enactment of the statute. Justice Jackson, writing for the majority, denied that a due-process objection could be based on the fact that the power to deport was "unreasonably and harshly exercised" by this statute, and Justice Frankfurter agreed that "the place to resist unwise or cruel legislation touching aliens is the Congress, not this court."

Perhaps the most striking result achieved by judicial deference to legislative and executive power over aliens is seen in the 1952 case of *Carlson v. Landon*. The question was whether the Attorney General, after taking into custody active alien Communists, could under the Internal Security Act hold them in jail without bail at his discretion pending determination of their deportability. Such proceedings may run on for years, and the foreign country to which they are ordered deported may refuse to accept them. Thus a denial of bail may conceivably amount to a life sentence of "executive imprisonment." But the court majority held that, in view of Congress's plenary power to deport, the Attorney General could be given such discretionary power.

PROBABLY more significant than any of the foregoing, however, is the Supreme Court's acceptance, in the Dennis case, of the constitutionality of the Smith Act as an instrument for jailing the leaders of the American Communist Party. While space is lacking here for any intensive analysis, the court's dilemma can be outlined.



Fitzpatrick in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*
All in the Name of Security

None of the Smith Act trials (except the recent Claude Lightfoot indictment in Chicago) have been for the substantive crimes defined by the act; they have been for conspiracy—that is, for illegal agreements to advocate and teach, and to organize as the Communist Party a group which allegedly advocates and teaches, the forcible overthrow of the government. A criminal-conspiracy charge, Justice Jackson has noted, is "a dragnet device capable of perversion into an instrument of injustice in the hands of a partisan or complacent judiciary."

The routine for proving these conspiracy charges which has yielded almost unbroken success is as follows. The defendants are identified by F. B. I. paid informants and former members of the party as members and officers of the party who had been present at party meetings where party literature was sold or distributed or the principles of Marxism-Leninism were discussed. These writings are then introduced as exhibits, and excerpts are read, with emphasis on key phrases of an allegedly revolutionary character. Usually no effort is made to prove that the particular defendants understood these writings as advocating violent revolution, or that they themselves ever made any statements of that character. The jury's conclusion as to the guilt of the defendants must be based on a series of inferences: that the principles of Marxism-Leninism are the same as advocacy of overthrow of the United States government by force and violence; that the Communist Party, being based on Marxism-Leninism, favors such overthrow; that the defendants, being Communists, necessarily knew that

this was the actual purpose of the party.

The Smith Act prosecutions, then, have not been based on Communist "plotting and scheming against the free world," which, as Justice Douglas says, "are common knowledge." Rather, the prosecutions have been for joining to organize a party and to teach and advocate certain ideas. By confirming the convictions the court has inevitably raised questions concerning the future scope of protection for freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. It is easy to say that the Communist Party is a special case, and that whatever happens to it is no more than it deserves. But the effect of at least two features of the Dennis decision will not be easily confined to Communist Party cases.

ONE concerns a weakening of the standards of proof in criminal cases. The court held in Dennis that the defendants could be constitutionally convicted on speech charges, taking judicial notice of the fact that as members of the Communist conspiracy they were guilty of much graver crimes, though the greater crimes were not charged and no evidence was presented to prove them.

Second, it interpreted the "clear and present danger" rule as requiring a showing, not that the Communist Party had any real potentialities of organizing a revolution in the United States, but only that it had the intention of achieving this purpose as speedily as circumstances would permit. There is of course reason to believe that the protective value of the clear-and-present-danger test has been consistently overrated. In its original statement by Justice Holmes it supplied a justification for sending men to jail, and when Holmes and Brandeis sought to make it a guaranty of freedom, the court denied their interpretation.

Their victory came belatedly on the Roosevelt court, and was short-lived. Even before the Dennis case Justice Frankfurter was seeking to abandon the test entirely, on the ground that Justices Black and Douglas had turned it into a slogan supporting absolutist conceptions of freedom. Jackson's position was that it was a satisfactory and even necessary judicial aid in small street-corner controversies, but that it was unworkable when its application required judicial estimation of the danger from a world

revolutionary movement and the likelihood of its success. The court majority's solution was to maintain judicial responsibility for applying the test, even in Smith Act cases, but to make its standards so easy that no prosecution effort could fail to meet them.

Thus the court accommodated itself to the government's strategy of preserving the technical legality of the Communist Party but subjecting anyone stupid enough to enter it or remain in it to the risk of successful prosecution for conspiracy to advocate overthrow of the government. From the kind of evidence offered in Smith Act cases it seems clear that these have been prosecutions for individual guilt only in form, that in substance it was the Communist Party which was being prosecuted and convicted. The flat outlawry of the party by the recently enacted Communist Control Act, no matter what new problems of constitutionality and enforcement it may raise, can certainly be defended as a more honest method of obtaining this result.

In summing up, it can be said that the court's record has been one of sub-

servience and accommodation to the legislative and executive policy in the fight on subversion. The reasons are not hard to understand—the seriousness of the problems involved, the natural tendency of the court to follow the election returns, the tradition of judicial limitation in certain areas of public policy, and the court's insistence that it is not concerned with the wisdom of legislation but only with its constitutionality. It is possible to grant much weight to these views and still to be unhappy with the stewardship of the recent court.

First, the court may justly be criticized for having failed to convey to the nation a sense of the primacy of libertarian goals in a democratic society. It has done this not simply by its decisions ratifying non-libertarian results. Even when it has taken a liberal position, it has typically spoken with such a confusion of voices that the impact of its teaching has been diffused and lost. In some fashion the court needs to make known, with the decisiveness and authority of its school-segregation decision, that it realizes and will defend the priority which the American constitutional sys-

tem assigns to the basic civil liberties.

Second, the court has done a disservice by giving encouragement to the belief that judicial review is a fundamentally undemocratic feature of the American Constitution. It has done this inferentially by its refusal to examine, or its exaggerated deference to, legislative action. More important, it has done it directly by such statements as Frankfurter's in the Dennis case, where he said that a refusal to enforce the Smith Act would have "impaired or restricted . . . the democratic process," adding: "Courts are not representative bodies. They are not designed to be a good reflex of a democratic society."

This is true. It is also true, as Robert McCloskey has put it, that "arbitrary power is the exception in the American system." And when the result of judicial deference and self-limitation is to place arbitrary power in the hands of the legislature or the executive, then the Supreme Court needs to have some better reason than doubt as to its own ability to interpret the general will before it declines to enforce constitutional limitations.

FROM SEATO TO ATO

South Africa Seeks Allies . . by Fenner Brockway

London

THE whites of South Africa have two fears. The first is of an African revolution. The second is of an assault on their territory in war.

These two fears are so much in the mind of the government that it has just sent to London its Defense Minister, F. C. Erasmus; its Chief of Staff of Land, Air, and Sea, Lieutenant General Dewitt; and the Secretary General of

the Defense Ministry, H. F. Cuff. For a fortnight they were in conclave with Lord Alexander, the British Defense Minister; Duncan Sandys, Sir Winston Churchill's son-in-law and also Minister of Supply; and Viscount Swinton, the Minister for Commonwealth Relations.

The fears have not been removed. No important decisions were made. The British government did not have anything to say at the end of the talks, and Mr. Erasmus could say only that the discussions were conducted in a very friendly spirit and that they enabled a full exchange of views to take place. Of course he said he was satisfied, but two days after his return to South Africa, Dr. Malan, the Prime Minister, delivered a provocative speech on South African-British relations, announcing

that the establishment of a republic was one of the most important aims of his party, and that whether or not it remained within the Commonwealth would be decided solely by the interests of South Africa.

Nevertheless, we shall hear more of this subject. In the coming months South Africa will ask that SEATO be followed by ATO. So we had better be forewarned about South Africa's intentions.

First, the fear of African revolution. When Mr. Erasmus arrived in London he said: "A new cloud has appeared on the African horizon—the 'Quit Africa' policy of anti-colonialism. It not only plays into the hands of Communists but may be inspired by them. For southern Africa this question may become vital." South Africa is so scared of an African

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rising that it will not recruit any colored person in its armed forces. "One does not hand a rifle to a child," says Dr. Malan.

IT IS here that the first difficulty in the London talks must have taken place. In all the British colonies in Africa there are African regiments. The one exception has been Southern Rhodesia, but it has been decided that the Rhodesian African Rifles shall become a fully serviceable fighting unit.

Dr. Malan takes the view that if Africans are trained in arms they may eventually turn their knowledge against the whites, and there is something to be said for his fear if justice is not done to the Africans. The revolt in Madagascar at the end of the war was largely the work of Malagasies who had served with the French troops, and the Mau Mau fighters in Kenya learned guerrilla warfare from service with the British forces in Southeast Asia.

The second obstacle to a London agreement on this subject is Britain's concern not to estrange India still farther. In a speech in the South African Parliament on August 2 Dr. Malan made it clear that he regarded India as the strongest threat to South Africa. "Nehru's anti-colonial policy," he said, "means in practice for Africa that the four European powers—practically the white man—must withdraw from Africa." He wants a pact among all the European powers which have territories in Africa for common action against an African rising, but the difficulty is that France, Belgium, Portugal, and Spain also include Africans in their armed forces, and these countries do not share the color-bar prejudices which are the basis of Dr. Malan's native policy.

Here, perhaps, we reach the heart of the problem. There is a basic difference of attitude toward the African population. Britain, with all the faults of its colonialism, has set itself the goal of establishing self-governing democracies in which the Africans will finally enjoy equal political rights. In West Africa, the Gold Coast and Nigeria are approaching this goal. The French conception of an empire used to be nearer the South African view, but under Mendès-France the right of Indo-China to independence has been recognized and Tunisia has advanced far toward

self-government. Unless South Africa changes its policy, it will not succeed in establishing a community of European powers in Africa. It will isolate itself from the European colonial powers.

On the second issue Dr. Malan and his colleagues have greater reason for hope. The West must be concerned about the unprotected strategic position of South Africa. In the first place, the withdrawal of British troops from Suez and the uncertainty of the eastern Mediterranean in the event of war make the coast of the South African Union of first importance in the control of the Indian Ocean.

Secondly, South Africa is now the largest uranium-producing country in the world. It supplies the Western powers, and particularly Britain, with the raw material of atomic warfare and would clearly be a first object of attack in a world war. Moreover, the new weapons of warfare have changed the whole position since the last war, when South Africa was on the circumference of hostilities and when Dr. Malan and his colleagues could safely urge the



Prime Minister Malan

policy of neutrality. Jet planes carrying hydrogen bombs and the inter-continental guided missiles which are approaching production are conquering space and make South Africa's uranium mines an achievable target.

South Africa could not possibly defend itself. Moreover, it realizes that Britain, which in the past has had this responsibility, cannot defend it either. Theoretically Britain has a naval base at Simonstown in False Bay—an appropriate name—thirty miles south of Cape-town. But the British fleet there is composed of one flagship, and in a world war Britain would be so much engaged in defending Europe and itself that its forces would not be deployable at the

southern end of the African continent.

For these reasons the South African government desires that, in some form or other, the continent of Africa should be included within the sphere of NATO. From what one can gather of the London talks there was a proposal that South African prestige should be satisfied by terminating Britain's exclusive control of the naval base at Simonstown and providing that it, as well as two small naval bases at Saldanha Bay and Durban, should be made available to both British and other Western fleets. France, because of its possession of Madagascar nearby, is specially involved. Any Western strategy in this area would be based upon its natural harbor at Diego Suarez, which could accommodate the fleets of the world.

ALTHOUGH the London conversations did not reach decisions on this matter, more will be heard of it. Soon kites will be flown for an ATO to supplement SEATO. Two comments may be made about this.

The first is that the African people are likely to resent suggestions for the military disposal of their continent just as the Asian peoples resent them. The instinctive attitude of most African representatives is the same as that of India. They feel that they have no responsibility for the division of the world into two antagonistic blocs, and that their worst enemies are the colonial powers. Even when these powers give way to African governments, as in the case of the Gold Coast, the new governments, as illustrated by the attitude of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, declare their independence of both Russian and American combinations. This widespread attitude among Africans would be intensified if the South African government played a leading part in any military pact involving the fate of the continent.

The second comment is that the South African government is openly defying the United Nations in its refusal to regard Southwest Africa as a trust territory. It is a little too much that Dr. Malan should ask for the military aid of America, Britain, and the other Western powers against totalitarianism when, in addition to challenging U. N. authority, he himself challenges democracy and practices totalitarianism in his relations with the majority of his people.

WELFARE FUND PROBE

9,000,000 Futures at Stake . . by Herbert Little

REPORTS of irregularities in the handling of union pension and welfare funds have been featured in the newspapers for several weeks. The situation is worrying not only labor leaders but all persons concerned with social-welfare measures.

The future of nine million workers and their families depends on how union welfare funds aggregating billions of dollars are administered. No laws, federal or state, require audits of these funds to be made and published, though of course the laws against theft and embezzlement can be applied. The sums collected and disbursed are so large that the problem of providing adequate safeguards against the carelessness or dishonesty of individuals in positions of trust inevitably arises. (The bituminous-coal welfare and retirement fund, established in 1946, recently reported that it had taken in three-quarters of a billion dollars in eight years; the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union paid out more than \$36,000,000 in benefits last year.) Standards must also be set to protect investments, and there must be adequate auditing to inform the workers how their money is being handled.

Up to twenty-five years ago unions financed plans for death benefits, disability payments, and the like out of dues and assessments. During World War II, when money wages were frozen, they began to press for "fringe benefits" in the form of sickness and old-age assistance paid wholly or in part by the employer and negotiated by collective bargaining. Such welfare plans were favored by employers and employees alike as a means of improving worker security and job stability and they have been extended and expanded during the last decade.

The 1947 Taft-Hartley Labor-Management Relations Act has a provision requiring that employers be given a

voice equal to that of the unions in the operation of company-financed welfare funds. However, it appears that most employers take little part in the actual operation of such funds.

The major unions, including the United Mine Workers and the I. L. G. W. U., are conscientious about audits and reports, but countless funds established by local or regional collective bargaining have no outside supervision. In many instances the international union's constitution does not give it authority to audit or supervise the funds of its locals.

The danger of corruption and graft is recognized by the union leaders. The American Federation of Labor's Executive Council recommended to the federation's convention in Los Angeles last month that the constitution be changed to require an annual audit of all directly affiliated unions. There are about 800 of these, with about 200,000 members. President George Meany, in announcing this action, commented: "It is my hope that this action will indicate a way in which the internationals can at least make a start toward exercising some supervision of local welfare funds."

ORGANIZED labor's own attempt to assure the honesty and efficiency of its welfare programs is being supplemented by Congressional inquiries. Two of these have already begun their fact-finding in preparation for hearings in the late fall and winter.

Senator Ives of New York is the chairman of a Senate labor subcommittee directed to "make a full and complete study and investigation with respect to the establishment and operation of employee welfare and pension funds under collective-bargaining agreements, for the purpose of ascertaining whether legislation is necessary for the conservation of such funds and the protection of the interests of the beneficiaries thereof." The House Labor Committee has ordered a similar investigation under the direction of its chairman, Representative

Samuel K. McConnell, Jr., Republican, of Pennsylvania. A third investigation, more of the scatter-gun type, is being conducted by a subcommittee of the House Government Committee, headed by Representative George H. Bender, Republican, of Ohio, who is currently very busy running for the Senate. This group is charged with investigating all sorts of union irregularities, including racketeering. It has already touched upon the misuse of local-union welfare funds and is conducting fishing expeditions into jurisdictional quarrels and secondary boycotts.

It is expected that a new statement of the problems involved will be presented in the reports of these committees. New standards of fund administration may emerge. At least one report, that of the Ives committee, will discuss whether there is a need for state or federal legislation to safeguard the billions held in trust for relief of the sick and aged. If the Taft-Hartley Act comes up again for amendment next year, as is likely, some action on this problem is almost certain.

Union leaders dread and distrust the idea of state regulation. They feel that anti-labor groups have more influence with state legislatures and state officials than with Congress, and they are probably justified by the various "right-to-work" and "right-to-scab" laws enacted by states in recent years.

The nearest thing to a crystallization of thinking on the problem has come from President David Dubinsky of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, who has suggested that labor should support legislation setting up "a minimum code of propriety and responsibility" in handling these funds. In a recent article in the *American Federationist*, the official A. F. of L. magazine, Dubinsky pointed out that although the law requires joint union-employer administration, "organized labor has the responsibility of helping to clean up these funds."

Dubinsky's own union has for many

HERBERT LITTLE was formerly director of information for the United States Department of Labor.

years audited the books of its local unions and of the joint boards which handle the separate funds, and has published the full facts on income, outgo, and administrative costs. In the I. L. G. W. U. costs are restricted to 3 per cent of the total paid out in retirement benefits and 5 per cent of the vacation benefits. It is in the "administrative costs" of some funds that scattered and piecemeal investigations have found the

fat which feeds the racketeers—special insurance companies created to carry policies, "overnight" consultants to pick off big fees, and commissions to agents who perform little or no service.

The United Mine Workers' bituminous-coal fund showed in its recent annual report that its administrative costs were 3 per cent during the last year and 2.8 per cent during its eight years of operation. It also published an audit by

a certified public accountant testifying to the adequacy of the controls over the fund's operations.

Labor men who have studied the situation carefully advocate federal legislation establishing standards of administration, and perhaps setting up a reporting agency to provide publicity outlets. But responsibility must remain primarily with the participating unions and employers.

ASHES OF DEATH

First H-Bomb Victims . . by Elizabeth Weideman

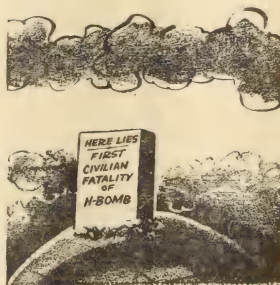
LIKE the gentle rain from heaven the ashes fell on the just and the unjust. They fell on the Fukuryu Maru, a Japanese fishing boat, and now one of its twenty-three stricken crewmen has died. In the United States newspapers and radio noted briefly that he died of "jaundice resulting from radio-active dust."

The anti-American reaction of the Japanese people was given more space. A number of reports said that this "hysteria" was Communist-fomented, but only someone profoundly ignorant of the feeling of the Japanese people about atomic weapons could so distort the truth. The implications of Hiroshima in terms of human suffering have not yet been grasped by the American people; the power of a gentle fall of ash to terrify a nation seems beyond our understanding. Perhaps the following letter, written recently by the president of the Japanese section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and addressed to league headquarters in the United States, will give some insight into the Japanese frame of mind.

To those who are not familiar with the "atomic disease," the present condition of these men of the Fukuryu Maru may not

seem very critical. In fact, though the number of their white corpuscles has decreased to about half the normal number, this does not indicate an immediate peril; and the complaints of those who had eaten the "Bikini tuna" seem mostly due to imaginary or psychological effects of the food.

These facts, however, are far from reassuring, for this incident occurred just at the time that we Japanese were beginning to realize that the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki had lasted much longer than we dreamed. In the past three years there have been reported several cases of pitiful deaths of school children who as babies survived Hiroshima or Nagasaki seemingly unharmed. These children looked quite normal until they fell ill six or seven years after that day, their bodies giving way to the destructive operation that had been secretly working within them. So far, nothing can save those in whom the symptoms of the "atomic disease" manifest themselves, and they die after indescribable months of agony. Grown-ups are no exception to this liability. . . .



Walt Partymiller in the York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily

"May It Be the Last"

Apprehension was increased by the explosion of other bombs, the latest in the Soviet Union, and by the successive threats to peace—the crisis in Indo-China, the United States' unwillingness to allow Japanese-Chinese trade, the demands of the Philippines, Burma, and Indonesia for reparations. These developments, plus widespread Japanese resentment at their country's rearmament, have not been conducive to friendly relations between Japan and America. The twenty-three fishermen have become a symbol of the disillusion recent years have brought to people who had hoped that their post-war "peace" constitution, adopted under the tutelage of the United States, would usher in a period of peace and serenity.

IN JULY the Japanese Y. W. C. A. investigated the Fukuryu Maru case and mailed its findings to Y. W. C. A.'s all over the world with an introductory letter signed by its president, Tamaki Eumura, a distinguished Presbyterian minister. Mrs. Eumura was the first Japanese woman to visit the United States after the war. She came bearing a gift to the Council of Churchwomen from the Empress of Japan and displayed a true spirit of reconciliation as she traveled through the country on a speaking tour. She is incontestably a woman of great intelligence and complete integrity. She said in her letter:

Because we know that you are deeply concerned over the injury that was sustained by the twenty-three Japanese fish-

ELIZABETH WEIDEMAN is *resident on Asia to the Policy Committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and was the United States delegate to the meeting of the league's International Executive in Denmark in August. She has spent several years in Japan.*

ermen, some of whom are still in a dangerous condition, and over the effect of the tests on the inhabitants of the surrounding islands, we, as a Y. W. C. A. in a country affected by the test, have felt under obligation to assemble accurate, concrete information and send it to you. . . . We want it clearly understood that our motive in writing is not to censure the injury-inflicting country but to express our deep conviction that Christians throughout the world today must think and struggle together in relation to this problem, which affects the well-being of the entire human race.

The Social Responsibility Committee of the Japan Y. W. C. A. has consulted physical, medical, and other authorities and has endeavored to present as completely accurate a picture as possible. This material has been thoroughly studied by the executive of the Japan Y. W. C. A. and is now being sent to you with the hope and prayer that you will understand our purpose and join with us in our common task.

THE documents appended to this letter would amply account for the present state of mind of the Japanese public.

A report submitted by the Japanese Foreign Office to United States Ambassador John Allison ran:

On March 1 at 4:12 a.m. a flash of light . . . was observed. Seven or eight minutes later two explosions were heard. A pyramid-shaped cloud was seen to rise. . . . Being conscious of danger, the crew immediately began to pull in the ropes which had been let out to catch the tuna. . . . About three hours later, when all the crew members except the engine crew were on the deck pulling in the ropes, ashes began to fall, and soon there was a white covering. The ship was moving in a direction opposite to that from which the rain of ashes was coming. . . . Until the following day at noon the ashes continued to fall.

The head meteorologist at Osaka Observatory reported:

Ashes which were thrown up to greater heights were carried eastward by the west wind to beyond the shores of the American continent.

The effect on fish was very serious:

After the Bikini test fishing vessels returning to Japan from outside not only the restricted area but also the very wide area later designated as a danger zone by the Japanese government proved to be radioactive, and their catch was also radioactive. Although without investigation and research it is impossible to draw definite conclusions, Professor Kimagori of the College of Marine Science found by X-ray that the reproductive cells of the

fish were so changed that the first generation were abnormal and the eggs of the first generation were completely sterile. This poses a very serious problem for the fishing industry not only of Japan but of the entire Pacific area.

Tests of rain revealed a new danger:

In various parts of Japan from May 16 to 21 rain which has tested to be fairly strongly radioactive has fallen. . . . There are many places in Japan which depend for their drinking-water supply completely on rain. . . . This situation of radioactive rain has caused profound fear among people generally.

The condition of the crew of the Lucky Dragon was described as follows:

Though the patients have sustained external injuries . . . the most serious aspect of their condition is connected with the injury to the hematopoietic organs, which are the blood-cell-producing parts of the body such as bone marrow. The external skin injuries were not simply burns; the skin cells were destroyed by radioactive dust and gangrene set in. . . . Despite the fact that many blood transfusions were given and blood-producing drugs were administered, the number of blood-corpuses has not increased, and a tendency to hemorrhage has appeared. . . . Their condition is very similar to that of severe cases of radiation illness resulting from the Hiroshima atom bombing, and since half of those injured at Hiroshima have since died, it is not possible to be optimistic with regard to the condition of the injured fishermen.

Professor Masao Tsuzuki of Tokyo University has repeatedly appealed to American authorities to supply information about the nature of the radioactive dust. "If this information is known," he said, "it will be possible to diagnose more accurately the exact nature of the radiation illness and to utilize more effective therapy."

Statements by American officials had "a cold ring in the ears of the Japanese people." Secretary Dulles told the Washington press that the reported burning by radiation of the fishermen was "an unfortunate accident." Chairman Strauss of the Atomic Energy Commission said that they "must have been well within the danger area." Representative W. Sterling Cole, chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, was quoted by a Washington reporter as saying: "I have no official report. We don't know whether the fishermen were in the area deliberately or accidentally. It could be both." He added that it was possible that the fishermen were spying on the

tests, but that this no doubt was one of the things the commission would attempt to determine.

Newsweek for March 29 stated that all the fishermen would completely recover within a month, but that whether or not the hysteria of the Japanese people would be calmed in that time was another question.

Life for March 29 quoted Dr. John Morton of the Hiroshima headquarters of the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission: "The patients are now in better shape than I had thought. . . . I now think recovery will take from three weeks to a month. I personally will request that experts be sent out to help from America."

In spite of this assurance Crewman Yamamoto was worried. He said: "I read in the newspapers that the American scientists made a miscalculation when they estimated the power of their new bomb. I cannot help wondering if the doctor's prediction for us will really come true."

A noteworthy step toward wiping out the memory of the disaster would be the implementation of President Eisenhower's atomic-pool proposal. It should be used not only as a propaganda device in the world forum but as a step toward the actual alleviation of human need. And world disarmament should have priority with the United Nations as it does in the minds and hearts of the women of Japan.

Peace and Freedom

Opposing rearmaments as a violation of Japan's "peace" constitution, a group of distinguished Japanese which included a former Minister of Justice, the vice-speaker of the House of Representatives, and a woman member of the House of Councilors, issued a statement in August, 1953, which said in part: "In order to protect the independence of our country and the human rights of the people, there is left no other way for Japan but to improve domestic policies based on peace, rather than relying on armaments . . . without freedom there is no peace and without peace there is no freedom."

The signatories have since joined with other Japanese anti-rearmament groups to form the Association for the Defense of the Peace Constitution.

BOOKS

Communists by Dos Passos

MOST LIKELY TO SUCCEED. By John Dos Passos. Prentice-Hall. \$3.50.

By Harold Clurman

IN "U. S. A." John Dos Passos was able to combine a picaresque chronicle of an epoch with various forms of expressionist journalism and compose them into a sort of garish and melancholy jazz which was both significant and poetic. In "Most Likely to Succeed" he confines himself to a segment of the semi-intellectual bohemia of the theater and motion-picture world between 1926 and 1941. The basic material is interesting, but the novel is not. In fact, "Most Likely to Succeed" is a wretched piece of work. It achieves nothing.

The book might be said to resemble a scratchily written Lillian Ross type of "profile" which would be rejected by the *New Yorker*. Though its central figure is a phony, a mental incompetent, and a moral castrate, "Most Likely to Succeed" cannot even be called venomous. It is merely libelous.

Dos Passos was an intimate of the group he attempts to delineate. The clues are too clear for the reader acquainted with the theater of the late twenties not to recognize in the "Craftsman's Theater" the short-lived organization known as the New Playwrights—which produced several of Dos Passos's plays. Some of these "revolting playwrights"—as Woolcott once dubbed them—were, according to Dos Passos, Communists even in the twenties; some of them were browbeaten into becoming Communists; all of them were aesthetic or social rebels.

What Dos Passos tries to indicate is that the outstanding figure among them—a playwright whom he calls J. E. D. Morris—was a frustrated character, in every way somewhat less than half a man, impelled to compensate for all his

HAROLD CLURMAN, The Nation's drama critic, has directed many outstanding plays, among them "Member of the Wedding" and "The Time of the Cuckoo."

shortcomings by a greediness for success on the most trivial level. This hunger for success makes him a victim of nefarious idiots who first trap him into joining the Communist Party and then hogue him so that he is forced to jilt his "favorite" mistress on the ground that she is suspected by the comrades of being a federal agent.

The trouble with all this—apart from the fact that there is not a living character in the story—is that its people are vermin and therefore hardly typical of anything. (When Dostoevsky turned against the "revolutionary" friends of his youth in "The Possessed" he wrote a distorted masterpiece of immense psychological depth and satiric power.) It should be a literary axiom that the transformation of an ordinary louse into a Communist louse is nothing to write about.

The men whom Dos Passos has pasted together into his J. E. D. Morris were real people, in some cases genuinely gifted, worth-while people. That they were confused and neurotic was not the most serious of their faults; they suffered chiefly from spiritual and cultural

immaturity which made some of them Communists—and others professional anti-Communists. The American Communist movement among the intelligentsia always betrayed a singular lack of intelligence. And though its adherents never realized it, which was one symptom of its obtuseness, it hardly ever had any political meaning or weight.

It was an emotional movement which attracted to begin with all sorts of rebels against the religion of the dollar, Babbitry, and crass commercialism. The disoriented, lonely, and wounded people who felt deceived by most of their customary beliefs—or never had really developed any—were seeking a spiritual home, a faith. They yearned for substantial instead of rhetorical values, they hoped for social unity instead of anarchy, they wanted inspiration not ballyhoo.

In this respect they were good people in the soundest American tradition. That they were usually political boobs and cultural babies did not make them any less pathetic and human than hundreds of thousands of non-Communist Americans. That some of those who joined the movement were power hungry with Führer complexes, as well as moral snobs or perverts, hardly differentiates them from many members of more orthodox political groups. That so sensitive a man as Dos Passos should have missed the point only means that, after all these years, this is where we came in.

Optimistic Politician

ADVENTURES IN POLITICS. By Richard L. Neuberger. Oxford University Press. \$3.50.

By Phil Kerby

IN A nation firmly attached, sentimentally, to the doctrine of local self-government, the progressive flow of power from the states to Washington during the recent decades is an ironic commentary on democracy in theory and practice in the United States. It may be said that even under the present Administration, with its announced intention to reverse the trend, individual Americans look primarily to the federal government for the protection and promotion of their welfare.

PHIL KERBY is the editor of *Frontier*.

This means, essentially, that state government has defaulted its obligations in many respects, making it possible, and in fact imperative, for the federal government to move into the vacuum. State government, always an integral part of our political system, now assumes a greater importance than at any other time in many years, as President Eisenhower proposes to shift back to the states numerous responsibilities undertaken by the federal government since 1932.

Mr. Neuberger, writing without heat or partisan political bias, comes to the conclusion that the states, while clamoring for states' rights, are unprepared to assume these new responsibilities. His principal points are the following:

Cumbersome and archaic constitutions

hamstringing state governments. Rotten-borough election districts deprive millions of city residents of equal representation in the legislatures. Stifling one-party control dominates nearly half the states, with the result that legislators are largely unresponsive to the wishes of the electorate. Low pay bars from public service many competent persons. Simultaneous state, Congressional, and Presidential elections hopelessly confuse state problems with national issues.

While these points certainly demonstrate the decline of state government, it appears to this reviewer that to reach the heart of the matter an examination of the dominant sources of influence within our society is necessary. The fact is that state governments are made partly helpless and at times immobilized by combinations of private power in the hands of the business community. State governments become the pliant instrument of this force, which exerts pressure in many ways.

Mr. Neuberger writes: "I have sat in the Senate of my state listening to Senators who were lawyers for creameries arguing against low milk prices, and to men who were writing life-insurance policies for timber barons pleading for a low ceiling on income taxes." And again: "Seated in the small amphitheater of the Oregon legislature, we are well aware when the prior commitment of campaign funds has preordained a certain outcome on an important bill. 'But, he asks, 'are the Senators at fault or is the public the real culprit? What about a prevailing attitude toward state government which is so indifferent that it permits state Senators to be paid a trifling \$600 a year?' Mr. Neuberger believes that poorly paid legislators, who sometimes wrestle with their consciences but almost invariably win, "explain why state government is such a gambling ground for privilege and monopoly."

Here again a closer examination of the basic structure of our society is indicated. Public indifference toward government, or lack of interest in or understanding of complex issues, can be traced to the basic values of our society. These values, in essence, are the standards of the commercial community, which makes them prevail through substantial influence on if not control of our educational system and a virtual monopoly of the media of communication.

Mr. Neuberger believes these problems can be solved if intelligent persons "of good-will" enter politics. In this respect he can point to his own example and that of his wife. Mr. Neuberger, a widely published writer on political and economic subjects, and his wife, Maurine Neuberger, make up a unique political

team. He is an Oregon state Senator and she is a member of the state's House of Representatives. Intimately acquainted with practical politics, Mr. Neuberger is nevertheless an optimist. He is now a candidate for the United States Senate from a state which has not elected a Democratic Senator in forty years.

Selected New Books

Biography and Memoirs

BELA SCHICK AND THE WORLD OF CHILDREN. By Antoni Gronowicz. Abelard-Schuman, \$3.75. The savior of children who developed the Schick test and diphtheria antitoxin undoubtedly merits a biography. This one is informal, intimate, and affectionate. The author does not hesitate to supply the very words and thoughts of his hero in conversations with relatives and professional associates, and also theirs. In consequence his book has an air of historical fiction rather than authentic biography.

THE OLD SCHOOL TIE. By Arthur Tuckerman. Macmillan. \$3.50. This memoir of an American boy's experience in an English public school at the turn of the century promises a novel note in the continuing flood of reminiscences. But the experience, though pleasantly related, seems rather superficial and neither informative nor very amusing. Much of the book is an account of the boy's mild adventures in traveling over Europe with a father who was temperamentally somewhat like Clarence Day's.

A BLESSED GIRL. By Lady Emily Lyttons. Lippincott. \$4. The author's Victorian girlhood is here presented, not as the usual hazy remembrance of things past, but through authentic letters. Between the ages of thirteen and twenty-one Emily Lytton bared her thoughts, feelings, and opinions in a correspondence with the Reverend Whitwell Elwin, her elderly confidant and mentor. As the granddaughter of Bulwer Lytton and daughter of a viceroy of India, she met many of the political and literary personages of her day and appraised them honestly and intelligently.

THE MEMOIRS OF AGA KHAN. Simon and Schuster. \$6. Aga Khan relates genially, but never forgetting his exalted rank, what surely must be all there is to tell about his long political and personal life. He describes his famous racing stables, refers to the myths about his great wealth, and deals, briefly and tactfully, with his own four marriages and that of his son to Riti Hayworth.

BENNETT EPSTEIN

Books in Brief

Love Affair with a Farm

MADELEINE YOUNG WIFE. The Autobiography of a French Girl. By Mrs. Robert Henry. Dutton. \$4.

Mrs. Robert Henry has won a great company of friends with her charming autobiographical books, "The Little Madeleine" and "Madeleine Grown Up." They will be eager to know how she fared as a young wife. They will not be disappointed: the same perfect naturalness is there, which reminds us of George Sand in her rural novels and of Colette in her tales of animals and gardens. This is Madeleine's love affair with a sixteenth-century Norman farm. The atmosphere, however, is somber. Madeleine had known hard times be-

fore, but they were a mere challenge to her triumphant vitality. All her zest for life cannot obliterate the facts that she had to flee before the invading Germans and that her home was looted by her farmers, Goguet and his Goguette, as mean a pair of rascals as Balzac ever drew. And there is throughout the book a heady odor of applejack, responsible for madness, murder, and suicide. Madeleine, so marvelously free from inhibitions in her first two books, has become strangely reticent. There is too much in the record that we cannot even surmise. Her activities in London, her independent earnings, her marital relations remain under a veil. However, all ends well: her son becomes a cinema star, her husband flits in the background as a

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sympathetic if subdued presence, and the farm is a Marie Antoinette jewel. "Oh, these little farmhouses, hidden among the apple trees, are they not too lovely for words?" This book should raise the price of real estate from Villers even unto Dozulé.

Stories of South Africa

THE DREAM AND THE DESERT.

By Uys Krige. Houghton Mifflin. \$3.

The element of race conflict is necessarily strong in South African fiction since it is explosive in South African life. The emphasis on it, however, entails a certain limitation even in the work of successful artists. Human existence, after all, is more complicated than race and more universal than *apartheid*.

Uys Krige, in a slender volume of short stories, deals with individual rather than national problems, though South Africa with its ever-threatening weight of racism is present in his landscapes and cities. The stories range widely—from a charming fairy tale to memorable recreations of desert warfare. One of the most effective, *Death of a Zulu*, is not so much a story as "a moment" caught in quiet and economical narrative. The Zulu warrior is dying from the alien shrapnel of a white man's war; his death is a tableau out of time containing the entire tragedy of Africa. In *Two Daumiers*, Krige's success in blending social and individual conflict is also demonstrated. His Africans are men rather than simple victims of transplantation to city slums. His indictment of racism is all the more moving because it never grows shrill.

While the sentiment may occasionally seem too fragile and the structure too deliberate, "The Dream and the Desert" is the work of a sensitive South African writer who draws universal meaning from his material.

Against "Gobbledygook"

PLAIN WORDS: THEIR ABC. By Sir Ernest Gowers. Knopf. \$2.50.

"Gobbledygook" is an American word, but the thing flourishes in England also. Thus tenants moved to other houses are said to have been "evacuated to alternative accommodation"; the poor are referred to as "the lower-income brackets"; and the fact that no houses were

built for five years moves an official to state that "the cessation of house building operated over a period of five years."

Sir Ernest Gowers, himself a public servant, was asked to do something about the situation and came up with two pamphlets. Slightly revised, they form a little treatise with many of the qualities that made the Fowler books famous. No pedant but obviously a man of culture and taste, Sir Ernest can be gracefully witty, and his examples are often hilarious. More important is the fact that he is clear, precise, and extremely helpful. He points out just what is wrong, just why what could be plainly stated is so often put into gobbledygook, and just how it could have been stated with decent simplicity. Here, in other words, is that rare book on how to write which concerns itself with something teachable and teaches it very effectively. Let us hope that it will be read by both the English journalist who discussed the "vicious circle of interdependent bottlenecks" and the American bureaucrat who informed a veteran that "the non-compensable evaluation heretofore assigned for your service-connected disability is confirmed and continued." ("I still say you can't have a pension.")

Texas Must Have Water

MORE WATER FOR TEXAS: THE PROBLEM AND THE PLAN. By Walter Prescott Webb. Texas. \$2.75.

Texas is a great big state, getting bigger as everyone talks about it. But there's one thing Texans can't boast about, namely, their water supply. Like the Southern Californians, whom they resemble in many respects, the Texans prefer to maintain a discreet silence on this all-important problem. But the facts will out, and most of them are set forth with clarity and understanding in this fine sixty-page document, with its excellent maps and charts and bibliography.

Not only is surface flow inadequate but there is practically no annual surplus of underground water anywhere in the state, and the water table is falling dangerously in the irrigated areas. Rapid industrialization has placed an enormous drain on available supplies, and many communities now face serious water problems. As population shifts from rural to urban centers the consumption

of water per capita increases enormously; each Texan, Dr. Webb estimates, is now consuming ten times the amount of water he did in 1890 and twice the amount he consumed in 1940. In some places water sells at five cents a bucket; oil drillers have been asked to pay \$2.40 a barrel for water in searching for oil that is worth not much more. Texans may not want to see this brilliant study too widely publicized, but they should read it with care. For as Dr. Webb points out, the growing water shortage is a "disaster of gigantic proportions that is moving slowly but steadily in on the people of the state."

Jesting Pilate

THE CAPERBERRY BUSH. By Jack Guinn. Little, Brown. \$3.95.

Mr. Guinn uses a favorite device of W. S. Gilbert, which was also the basis of a Broadway hit of some forty years back called "Nothing but the Truth." Yet "The Caperberry Bush" is not a hilarious novel, and the lack of farce seems to be not entirely unintentional, for Mr. Guinn is dealing, if obliquely, with several reasonably serious subjects—political corruption, newspaper venality, corrosion of spirit.

When the (inevitably) eccentric scientist perfects a truth serum and flees the secret defense project because the army wants to use his invention for war instead of global peace, his disappearance is hot news for the *Bulletin*, on which the narrator is rewrite man. The *Bulletin's* publisher, winding up her primary campaign for the governorship, uses the existence of the truth serum to discredit her opponent, a revivalist preacher who has been promoting public and dramatic confessions of sin.

The scientist, lacking self-control, goes busily around spiking drinks with his serum. Assorted politicians immediately have an irresistible urge to tell an explosive all. Pursued by the F. B. I., the scientist threatens to pour the drug into the city reservoir, whereupon a mass exodus takes place amid great panic.

The author, in his disclaimer, says "the story is nonsense." Had he thought more highly of it, written it more carefully, and allowed himself to be moved by some of the undercurrents, "The Caperberry Bush" might have been a very passable satire.

Theater

Harold Clurman

THAT "Dear Charles" (Morosco Theater), an Anglo-French concoction, is a type of farce popular on all the Broadway of the world before the First World War does not disturb me a bit. It represents a dramaturgy based on the structural formula once described by Molnar in the following way: "First tell them that you're going to tell them, then tell them, then tell them that you told them."

What is told in this instance is that the fascinating Dolores (our fabulous Tallulah), author-lecturer-nymphomaniac of Paris, had three children by three lovers, and when two of the children are about to marry into respectability, mama decides to wed one of her three men—an unnecessary step, she discovers, because her children-in-law are also bastards.

Such plays still have their audiences in London and Paris, occasionally even in New York ("Affairs of State"), and will presumably always have. Whenever a Pleasing Personality is available to act in such a play, there is a numerous public that will flock to the entertainment.

Miss Bankhead is such a personality. She clowns expertly, and she has a vast horde of admirers who prefer her as a clown. In "Private Lives" I found her clowning prodigiously tasteless. In the present circus I found it inoffensive and, for Miss Bankhead, routine. I am sure such a reaction will strike many theatergoers as stuffy and snobbish. If this worried me, I might counter that the gasps of delight with which one is expected to greet every one of Miss Bankhead's antics is a form of silly snobbery. I love low comedy, but Miss Bank-

TERM "GOD" UNDERVALUED IN CURRENT CHURCH USAGE

(Beyond selling space for publication of the accompanying material, *The Nation* is not to be held responsible for statements contained in the material)

If a railroad engine, powerful enough to pull thousands of tons, were used persistently—day after day—to drag a train of toy cars, everybody would say that the engine was being inefficiently employed. And yet, this is precisely the way the term "God" is habitually used by the honest and well meaning people who belong to the churches.

We have learned, in earlier installments, that the term "God" comes to us out of a great struggle, which was led by the Hebrew prophets, against the unjust economic and social practices identified with baal and "other gods". It was this very struggle that lifted the terms "God" and "Jehovah" (or "Yahweh") upward from the level of heathenism. The prophets, who victoriously fought heathen gods, learned to think of Deity as a Personal Force, above Nature, but identified with Social Justice (not socialism or communism).

The idea of social justice was expelled so thoroughly from the ancient church it has been treated as an intruder in the sphere of religion for more than fifteen hundred years. The term "God" has been restricted to the idea of individual righteousness and personal redemption—just like the powerful engine pulling only a toy train. In the prophet Isaiah's vision of God's purpose "He will bring forth justice to the nations [not simply to Israel]. He will not fail nor be discouraged until he have set justice in the earth" [not merely in Israel, Isa.42]. Instead of this imperial world-ideal, most religious people, in all honesty and sincerity, have been satisfied with personal salvation and individual comfort from the Lord. (A little selfish, is it not?). Do you wish to use your influence in promoting knowledge of truth and fact which will help to bring the churches and the general public up to the intellectual level of our progressive theological seminaries and outstanding universities?—A circular will be sent to you upon receipt of a three-cent stamp to cover postage. Requests for the circular must be accompanied by the three-cent stamp to defray cost of mailing.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

head's brand of low comedy strikes me at present as a mere grimace, lacking freshness or real joyousness.

Still, "Dear Charles" is less objectionable than the mountainous nonsense of the "Midsummer Night's Dream" at the Metropolitan Opera House. Helpmann is a talented dancer-choreographer, and he can be an effective actor; Moira Shearer is a lovely dancing creature. But the production that has been contrived for them with its Victorian baroque settings, its oversized orchestra playing Mendelssohn's intimate score, its banal ballets, and its uncertain diction is a huge bore.

Helpmann is heard because he blasts

his speeches, making his Oberon something of an ogre on whose lips such passages as "I know a bank whereon the wild thyme blows . . ." sound like campaign oratory.

The production is all Hollywood beauty and pretension. And yet this is a dream come true. For what a bright showman's idea it was to collect members of the famed Old Vic, the Sadler's Wells star of "Red Shoes," a symphony orchestra, and the greatest of all English poets into one enormous package and display it at the largest of our theaters. The show was sold out before it opened, and the premiere was a gala occasion. What came true was not

Shakespeare's "Dream" but Sol Hurok's.

"All Summer Long" (Coronet Theater) is, I believe, a play Robert Anderson wrote before "Tea and Sympathy." The earlier play, a dramatization of a novel by Donald Wetzell, is less proficient as craftsmanship but more credible as a story. The least one can say of "All Summer Long" is that it is an honest play. It is difficult to say much more.

There are, Lord knows, all too many American families like the one presented here. Their pathos consists in the almost total absence of sustaining values in their lives. Their souls are crippled by clichés. Dad is a numbskull, Mother is a hopeless sentimentalist, daughter Ruth is a cream puff whose picture of life is established by the movie mags, and the older son is the melancholy victim of an automobile accident. The younger son is an adolescent lost in the harsh vacuum of his family's nullity.

All this is painfully true as fact, but the theater is not essentially a place for facts. (I should have hesitated to emphasize this point if I had been reviewing such a play between 1910 and 1919, for at that time such facts had an explosive value on the American stage. But since then many novelists and not a few dramatists have done a job of presenting some of the less smiling aspects of our civilization.) What is missing in "All Summer Long" is original perception in terms of humor, poetry, or incisive observation. The result is a certain flatness.

The production under Alan Schneider's direction attempts to add a dimension of romance to the sorry proceedings of the tale through music and the like. Jo Mielziner's stylized setting is rather ornate in its simplicity; the electrically projected leaves on the backdrop, the projected river on the scene curtain, the elaborately cut-out leafage over the would-be stark house call too much attention to themselves.

Clay Hall is altogether sympathetic as the younger son; Ed Begley as Dad has a fine voice and is always convincing. Indeed, a good word might be said for everyone in the cast, although it should be pointed out to John Kerr, who plays the older son, that he is developing a monotonous delivery which may win momentary praise for its plainness but which, if it continues, will injure him in his progress as an actor. The evening suffers a short circuit.

Coming Next Week

The Nation's SPECIAL FALL BOOKS ISSUE



John W. Aldridge

Featuring Part I of a challenging series of essays:

THE AMERICAN WRITER The Hypocrisy of His Status

By

JOHN W. ALDRIDGE

One of America's Foremost Younger Critics

The Nation takes pride in announcing that with this issue John W. Aldridge will become a regular contributor to the magazine. One of the finest critics in America, the 31-year-old Mr. Aldridge is the author of "After the Lost Generation," a study of post-World War II writers, and editor of "Critiques and Essays on Modern Fiction." He is now Assistant Professor of English at the University of Vermont. In the spring of 1954 he was selected to give the Christian Gauss Seminars in Criticism at Princeton University. He has lectured at Columbia, City College, University of Wyoming and Boston University. His critical writings have appeared in Harper's, Saturday Review, New York Times and many other publications.

The issue also contains outstanding critical pieces by Joyce Cary, Oliver Edmund Clubb, George Dangerfield, S. Lane Faison, Mark Gayn, Joseph Wood Krutch, Frederick L. Schuman, Stanley Walker and others.

Records

B. H. Haggin

THIS is a report on several of the European Columbia recordings that are now being issued here by Angel Records.

First the recording of Bellini's "I Puritani." This seems to me Bellini's finest opera, with its passages of impressive dramatic force in addition to the characteristic beautiful lyrical writing that is heard also in "La Sonnambula." The recording offers a superb performance by the Milan Scala ensemble under Serafin, with a cast headed by Maria Callas, the young soprano whose singing in the Cetra-Capitol "La Traviata" I discussed recently. Again one hears a voice remarkable in its beauty and its power of expressive projection; and one hears also this time that voice not merely coping with the more formidably difficult vocal writing—the long melodic phrases and the florid passages rising to high D and E flat—but doing so with breath-taking bravura. Again the voice is most beautiful in lyrical passages that are sung quietly and florid passages that are sung lightly; and dramatic intensity in lyrical passages and bravura in florid ones occasionally result in stridency. There is excellent singing also by the tenor Giuseppe Di Stefano and the baritone Rolando Panerai, and surprisingly good—which is to say unaffected—singing by the bass Nicola Rossi-Lemeni; the chorus and orchestra are fine; and Serafin conducts with authority and force.

Then the Song Recital of the soprano Mattiwillda Dobbs, offering her exquisite voice and singing in Schubert's great "Nacht und Träume," his "Heidenröslein," "Liebhaber in allen Gestalten," and two other early songs that are quite charming—"Die Entzückung an Laura," and "La Pastorella," with its bits of foritura in Italian style that Miss Dobbs executes enchantingly; also Brahms's fine "Botschaft," his "Wiegenlied," and two unfamiliar songs that are quite engaging—"Auf dem Schiffe" and "Nachtgallen schwingen"; also Wolf's lovely "Die Spröde," "Die Bekehrte," and "Zitronenfalter im April"; and also

songs of Fauré, Chausson, and Hahn. Gerald Moore provides sensitive accompaniments; and the German texts are given with English translations.

A Schubert Lieder Recital offers the soprano Elisabeth Schwarzkopf and the pianist Edwin Fischer in a number of fine songs—"An die Musik," "Das Lied im Grünen," "Gretchen am Spinnrade," "Nähe des Geliebten," "Die junge Nonne," "An Sylvia," "Auf dem Wasser zu singen," "Der Musensohn," and the less frequently heard "Im Frühling," "Nachtviolen," and "Wehmuth"—sung for the most part very beautifully. My reservations are about what seems to me the over-deliberate pace of "Das Lied im Grünen," the gasping and whispering in "Gretchen am Spinnrade," and the failure to hold *Kuss* long enough at the climax of this song. Fischer is too subdued in "Gretchen"; but elsewhere his musical playing works very effectively with the singing. The German texts are given with English summaries.

Schwarzkopf's record Mozart Opera Arias offers beautiful sustained singing in Zeffirelli *lusinghieri* from "Idomeneo," *Dovo sono* from "Figaro," and the slow opening section of *Non mi dir* from "Don Giovanni," and a somewhat breathlessly agitated performance that can be considered suitable to *Non so più cosa son* from "Figaro," but unacceptably mannered singing in *Porgi amor, Deh vieni non tardar, and Voi che sapete* from "Figaro," the introductory recitative and final florid section of *Non mi dir*, and *Batti balli and Vedrai carino* from "Don Giovanni." The Philharmonia Orchestra plays well under John Pritchard.

Schwarzkopf contributes lovely singing as one of the four excellent soloists in the performance of Bach's B minor Mass conducted by von Karajan—the others being Marga Höffgen, Nicola Gedda, and Heinz Rehfuss. But the chorus of the Vienna Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde is not as good as the Akademiechor in the Scherchen performance on Westminster; Scherchen's slower tempos permit a subtle expressive

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1936 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 253), of THE NATION, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for October 2, 1954.

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FREDA KIRCHWEY,

Editor and Publisher.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 13th day of September, 1954.

[Seal] GEORGE F. BRANDON,

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inflection in his chorus's singing that one doesn't hear in the singing of von Karajan's; and Scherchen's chorus is more clearly reproduced. At a number of points, in fact, von Karajan and the recording staff don't seem to have taken much trouble about proper levels and balances of volume.

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"Images" (1905 and 1907), which include several of his finest piano pieces—"Soirée dans Grenade," "Jardins sous la pluie," "Reflets dans l'eau," "Homage à Rameau," and "Poissons d'or"—are played by Gieseking in what seems to me to have become an excessively delicate style that does not, in some of the pieces, rise to the points of high sonority and splendor that are called for. Nor is it only the delicate style: in addition the piano tone lacks brightness and resonance, and the upper notes are not always reproduced clearly. The pieces that suffer from these defects are "Soirée," "Jardins," and most of all "Poissons."

Boccherini's Quartets Op. 39 No. 3 and Op. 58 No. 3—each with a very fine slow movement, and with writing in the other movements that is individual and engaging—are played by the Quartetto Toscani with its usual beauty and refinement of marvelously blended tone, and a delicacy of style and subtlety of inflection perfectly suited to this music.

Letters

Labor Honors a Priest

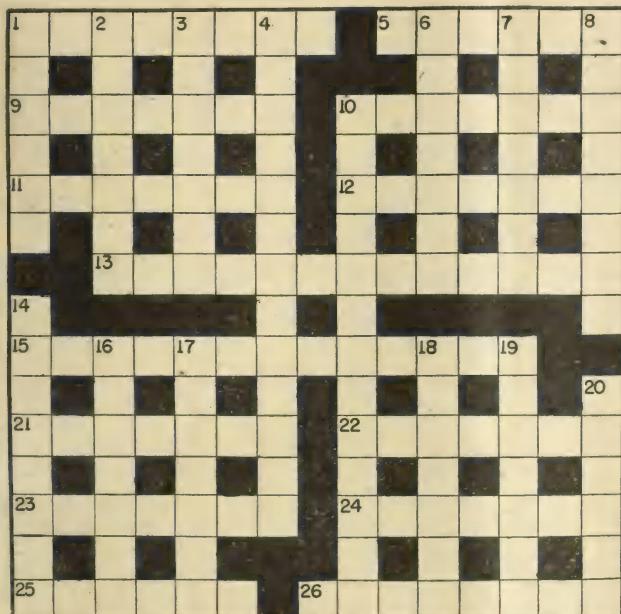
Dear Sirs: A Louisiana priest who for eighteen years has valiantly aided Southern workers will be honored October 9 when the Workers' Defense League gives its 1954 David L. Clendenin Award for Distinguished Service to Labor's Rights to Father Jerome Drolet, pastor of St. Charles Catholic Church in Thibodaux, Louisiana. The presentation will be sponsored by a committee of prominent liberals and labor unionists.

"Father Drolet has been in the forefront of many organizational drives and strikes," says Rowland Watts, W. D. L. national secretary. "Day and night he has been ready to go wherever needed, in Louisiana, Texas, Alabama, and Georgia. Repeatedly he marched in A. F. of L. and C. I. O. picket lines, spoke realistically at union meetings where vital issues were at stake, took part in conferences with employers, and frequented strike scenes even where strike-breakers used guns. When 3,000 wretched sugar-cane field workers struck for a living wage and were met with evictions, Father Drolet paid his own way to New York to find funds for strike relief. And he fought and three times helped defeat the so-called right-to-work bill which lately became law in Louisiana."

New York JOHN NICHOLAS BEFFEL

Crossword Puzzle No. 588

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 An impulse this month in the head of 4 down, briefly. (8)
- 5 Freedom with 21, or punishment with 22, common in verse and fiction. (6)
- 9 A swell place to live like a bird on the water. (7)
- 10 Fat races, it seems. (7)
- 11 Where the water runs into the wine? (7)
- 12 Seal men use in making coats. (7)
- 13 Certainly doesn't imply too much to play. (6, 7)
- 15 The way some fight suggests anything but a prison ship. (2, 5, 6)
- 21 See 5. (7)
- 22 See 5. (7)
- 23 This old city must lie in Asia Minor. (7)
- 24 The way canaries get their bearings? (7)
- 25 Proving a variety of tse-tse should have feet. (6)
- 26 Eating this would never make a man out of you! (8)

DOWN

- 1 Precautionary way to wrap things up? (6)

- 2 Is this a main-stay? (3, 4)
- 3 Blown over the water without touching it. (7)
- 4 Rules cost part of the medical treatment, perhaps. (5, 8)
- 6 Cut and run? (7)
- 7 This might bother people in the wrong. (7)
- 8 You're certain to be. (8)
- 10 Not an unpleasant blemish, with a major upset for the mint. (5, 8)
- 14 How Chicago went up once? (8)
- 16 Feathers fly for the fisherman. (7)
- 17 Crescentlike section. (7)
- 18 His beef wouldn't be legitimate. (7)
- 19 Engine wheels rather than engineers. (7)
- 20 Never mind the tea, dearest! (3, 3)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 587

ACROSS:— 1 DISCORDANCE; 9 DROP-KICK; 10 ENOUGH; 11 EARTHEN; 14 PYRENE; 15 REDHEADS; 17 MOTTISED; 20 PRIMS; 22 and 12 BEDTIME STORIES; 24 SCHERZO; 26 PLANER; 27 CHATTELS; 28 INSIDE PITCH.

DOWN:— 2 IMPATIENT; 3 and 21 CHINESE PUZZLE; 4 RAKE; 5 AVERTED; 6 CHOEIR; 7 DREAMY; 8 AGREED; 13 BRIDE; 16 EPILEPTIC; 18 ONEILL; 19 SAMURAI; 20 PEC-CABI; 23 TENON; 25 ACHE.

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THE *Nation*

October 16, 1954

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FALL BOOK ISSUE

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Joyce Cary

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Stanley Walker

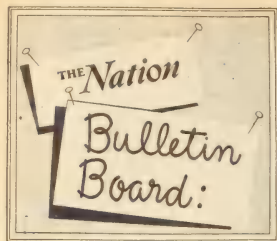
and others

Gustav W. Heinemann

Rearmament: a German View

Michael Foot

The Meaning of Bevanism



IN THE 1920's and '30's the literary landscape resounded with the alarms and excursions of sundry critics. Controversy flourished; much of the writing had a vigorous, trenchant quality, as critics sought to relate literature to the time in which they lived.

Today much of the vigor and controversy has vanished. Critics have become more and more concerned with methodology and with psychological analyses which readers can follow only if they are familiar with hosts of obscure myths and legends as well as with a special jargon. The intentions of the author, the literary values of the book, are often shunted aside by the critics' urge to delve into the Freudian connotations of words and situations.

In presenting John W. Aldridge as a regular contributor (see page 328) it is our belief that his tonic brand of criticism, his sharp challenge to entrenched schools and attitudes, will contribute to a revival of the literary controversies which used to thrive in America.

If you want to get a more extended view of Aldridge's work I recommend his first book "After the Lost Generation" (McGraw-Hill), which Malcolm Cowley called "the first serious and challenging book about the new novelists." As for Aldridge's style, William Barrett in the *Saturday Review* described it as "refreshingly different from the turgid productions of some of the new generation of critics." (Not that Aldridge doesn't belong to the "new" generation; he is, after all, a disputatious, brilliant young man of exactly thirty-one.)

STANLEY WALKER, whose review of Tom Connally's new book appears in this issue, was born in Lampasas County, Texas, in 1898. After attending the University of Texas, he worked on Texas newspapers and then went to New York in the winter of 1919. He spent twenty-six years there as a newspaperman, most of them with the *Heald Tribune*. In the spring of 1946 he returned to Lampasas County, where he runs a small ranch and does occasional writing. Here is his own candid snapshot of himself: "An unconstructed Grover Cleveland Democrat; takes no subsidies of any sort; buys his own legumes and grass seeds, builds his

own terraces and ponds, does his own brush and weed eradication, etc., and declines to accept drought relief in the form of lower-priced feeds. Has consistently opposed all Roosevelts, of whatever branch. Is anti-McCarthy, anti-prohibition, anti-clerical, anti-Communist, anti-New Deal, anti-Fair Deal, anti-censorship, anti-Coolidge, pro-Ricardo, pro-Mencken, pro-Al Smith, pro-Eisenhower and Dewey, pro-Churchill, and mildly pro-Human Race."

RETURNS ARE ROLLING IN on the Giveaway issue and the 50,000 extra copies have dwindled to 6,000. Democratic organizations and farm and labor groups throughout the country have been buying them by the thousand. Senator Warren Magnuson of Washington writes: "I enjoyed reading *The Great Giveaway* in *The Nation's* special issue of October 2, more especially so because it is just what I have been telling the Congress and the people of the country for the last two years. It is good that it has been put into

such readable form, I only wish every voter could read it before election."

IN THE LAST Bulletin Board I said that we would award current selections of *The Nation's* Choice to readers who sent in items that could be published in this column. Here are the first two winners:

Cecile Trace, of Chicago, Illinois: "A candidate for state office in Illinois running on the Republican ticket was told by a member of his audience that wire-tapping was dangerous. "You needn't worry," the candidate replied; "it won't be used on ordinary criminals—just Communists."

A Berkeley, California, teacher: "A little second-grader proudly announced to her father that she had learned the 'new' Pledge of Allegiance in school that day. She recited: 'I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America, and to the republic for which it stands, one nation *under guard*, with liberty and justice for all.'"

MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

No Voting Records

Dear Sirs: Thank you for sending us a copy of the special October 2 issue dealing with the Great Giveaway. It's a splendid job. . . . I want to call your attention, however, to an error on page 277. We do not have any voting records for public distribution. We supply our state organizations with an exhaustive voting record and they make up their own material for public distribution.

HENRY ZON,

Director of Public Relations,
C. I. O.-P. A. C.
Washington

On Faulkner's "A Fable"

Dear Sirs: I am at a loss to understand how a reviewer who has apparently read the book he is reviewing as acutely and sympathetically as Carlos Baker has read Faulkner's "A Fable" (*The Nation*, August 7) could have thought the novel's opening scene was set in Paris. The urban locale is described quite clearly as a fair-sized town near the western front, and later in the novel is called "Chaulnesmont" by the author, in contradistinction to Paris, which is always given its proper name in the book. To judge from Faulkner's description and the general geographical setting, "Chaulnesmont" is based physically upon Château Thierry—a theory anyone can test by checking the street plan of that city in a "Guide Michelin" against the depiction of the war-torn town of the novel.

I wonder, too, why Mr. Baker regards the German general in the book as "caricatured and stagy." It may be he is unfamiliar with German generals—if so, I suggest he read J. W. Wheeler-Bennett's study of the German General Staff between the two world wars, "The Nemeses of Power," in which the murders, assassinations, power-politics, excesses of brutal discipline, and insane adherence to military "ethics" indulged in by German generals far outweigh in the grotesque melodrama of reality anything that is stated or implied on the subject in Faulkner's novel.

On the whole, however, I wish to commend Mr. Baker on what I regard as an incisive, sensitive review of a major novel. *Flushing, N. Y.* WILLIAM BLACKBEARD

Portrait or Caricature?

Dear Sirs: I appreciate Mr. Blackbeard's generous commentary on my review of Faulkner's "A Fable." He is very probably correct about the city where the opening scene occurs, though I must say that Faulkner's description leaves positive certainty questionable. As to the second point, I would maintain that whatever the facts about the conduct of the German General Staff, a writer has an obligation to make his characters dramatically credible. I simply think that Faulkner overdid his portrait to the point of caricature. *Biddeford Pool, Me.* CARLOS BAKER

(Continued on page 352)

THE *Nation*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Monstrous Risk . . by *Freda Kirchwey*

SINCE the French, the divided but stubborn and uncooperative French, were considered the main obstacle to a European defense agreement, a vote in the National Assembly indorsing the London agreement should logically end doubt and settle the question of arming Germany. But will it? Not entirely. What still stands in the way is an obdurate fact—one that has largely been obscured by the lesser issues decided at London.

Slowly, in the course of the negotiations first over E. D. C. and then over the Brussels pact, it came to be taken for granted that German rearmament was no longer a matter of dispute but was inevitable. It was hardly mentioned except in the context of ways and means of making it more safe or more palatable. As a result, logical perhaps but ironic too, the French Assembly's rejection of E. D. C. gave the counter-proposals of Premier Mendès-France almost magisterial authority. He could modify them to meet reasonable objections from his colleagues at London; he could accept or reject amendments offered there. But the issue of a rearmed Germany could no longer be raised, and the discussions were about details—important details to be sure, such as Eden's historic commitment of British military power to the Continent for as long as the nine allied powers may decide, but not about the major premise.

At London nobody was any longer asking the old questions that still underlie all newer questions: once agreement is reached on arming the Germans, how much trust can one have in self-imposed limitations on German military strength? How much security is to be had from building West German divisions that will swiftly be matched or outstripped by East German divisions already in the making? What hope will remain of peaceful unification of the two Germans—to which not only Bonn but the Western alliance is committed—when each is separately and fully armed as part of a hostile armed bloc of states? Will there then be any hope of unification except through war or through a deal with Russia that would bring a united Germany, arms and all, into the Eastern bloc? Confronted with the threat of a rearmed Germany allied to the West, will not the Soviet government use every possible means, short of war, to prevent or counter the new alliance? May it not even propose peaceful unification of Germany on terms the West has previously proposed and Russia has previously rejected—thus presenting an alternative which the new nine-

power alliance cannot easily turn down without forfeiting the support of their peoples and parliaments?

As far as reports showed, none of these questions were asked or answered at London. They were simply not on the agenda. But already they are becoming "actual," as the French say; in fact, of course, they were "actual" all the time, just behind the scenes, and the moment the London conference adjourned, amid mutual congratulations and press applause, they stalked back to the middle of the stage.

THE NATION has never believed, and does not now believe, that the serious issues of peace or war or of European security can be resolved by creating a German army. Whether as part of a defense "community" or as a mere ally, Germany rearmed presents monstrous risks which cannot be averted by Adenauer's promises or Western controls. After World War I, Germany was pledged by its signature to the Treaty of Versailles to rigid disarmament. The Weimar Republic began violating that agreement, under the inspiration of the old war leaders, as soon as its economic recovery permitted. The story has been thoroughly documented since World War II from the records found in the Nazi archives. Will Germany act differently today when the principle of rearmament is overwhelmingly indorsed, and when the policy of the West, directed from Washington, is concentrated on a race to pile up military power greater than that of Russia? Unless an agreement with Moscow checks this suicidal competition, one can sagely predict that Bonn, as the strongest member of the West European alliance, will soon be asked to do what Hitler and his predecessors did by stealth and deception—the more so since Russia can be counted upon to waste no time in building up the power of East Germany.

That such a race will give the Germans a chance to bargain directly with Russia for the reunion of the country and even for the satisfaction of their territorial claims needs no demonstration. As James P. Warburg said on his return from Europe last week: "Russia and Russia alone will be in a position to offer the Germans the liberation of their 18,000,000 compatriots in the East and the return of their lost territories." He described the London agreement as "reckless and irresponsible," turning over "the future of Europe to an as yet shapeless and partitioned Germany." With this judgment we agree,

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and we share the fears expressed by the able German Protestant leader, Gustav W. Heinemann, on a later page of this issue. But one might accept the risks of a militarized German state if that seemed necessary as a means of countering the still greater risks of Soviet attack. In the context of recent developments such an argument sounds hollow. No sober person believes today that Moscow plans an armed attack on the West. Besides, it is a simple fact that the Kremlin has always regarded as the chief threat to its security the rise of a rearmed Germany incorporated in the Western bloc. To bring this threat into existence before testing again the possibility of a four-power solution of the German problem, as proposed by Molotov, seems less excusable today than ever before.

Nor would the policy of German rearmament make much more sense even if the Western powers genuinely feared Russian aggression. As Dr. Heinemann makes shockingly clear, a war begun in Europe now would from the first moment be an atomic-hydrogen war. "It has already been reported," he says, "that American atomic artillery now stationed in Germany is as destructive as the Hiroshima A-bomb." A war initiated with such weapons would have little use, we assume, for a handful of German divisions denied the use of atomic weapons.

IN BONN, Dr. Adenauer has won his first test vote on the London agreements. Rejecting a Socialist proposal that the decision be postponed until negotiations have been held with the Russians for German reunification, the Bundestag approved the agreements by an easy majority. But the bitter debate before the vote showed how irreconcilable is the large minority in opposition. And the West German Trade Union Federation backed this position by voting 380 to 4 to oppose rearming until "all possibilities for negotiations on the unification of Germany have been exhausted."

In France, as this issue goes to press, the National Assembly is clearly prepared to support "in principle" the plan brought home from London by Premier Mendès-France. His decision to make it an issue of confidence clinched the victory. But there, too, the profound skepticism of the nation was evident in its cold reception of the proposals. And the further steps required to spell out and then apply the terms of the agreement will certainly be fought over, one by one, with the final outcome far from certain.

The proposal of Molotov had little immediate effect in either case. It was too pat, too crudely directed to the debate in Bonn and Paris, to carry much weight. Yet M. Mendès-France found it wise to leave the door open a crack by suggesting that before the London pact was completed and put into effect there would be plenty of time for negotiations with Moscow on "disarmament" and other great issues.

We hope so. We hope that the Russians mean business and are prepared to go a long way to justify and support the gathering resistance to the London proposals in Germany and France, as well as in Britain. If Moscow were to offer German unification through genuinely free elections, and an agreement to prevent rearming for a stipulated period of years, this opposition might well prove irresistible—too strong to be overcome by Washington's threats of withdrawal from Europe. But it would have to be an explicit, unequivocal offer which would convince the West that the Russians were willing to give up East Germany, if necessary, in order to keep all Germany disarmed. And it would have to come soon; otherwise the plans now being hurried toward completion will probably be accepted, however half-hearted, and the hope of peaceful coexistence postponed if not destroyed.

Shadows Over U. N.

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

THE general debate which opened the current session of the United Nations Assembly lasted an unusually long time—there were forty-two speakers—but it is at last at an end and the committees have begun their work. The oratory in the general debate revolved around five major points:

The tendency of the big powers to by-pass the U. N. Many speakers echoed that part of Secretary General Hammarskjöld's annual report which deplored the fact that important international decisions are being reached with increasing frequency outside the U. N.

Regional organizations. Several Latin American countries sharply attacked the decision of the Security Council in the Guatemala case to relinquish jurisdiction to the Organization of American States, which is more amenable to United States pressures. Similarly other speakers questioned whether regional treaties such as that signed at Manila are truly reconcilable with the spirit of the U. N. Charter.

Technical assistance. The smaller nations especially attacked the lack of enthusiasm with which the Point Four and technical-assistance programs have been pressed.

The Middle East. How the pursuit of "collective security" in cold-war terms can result in regional insecurity was pointed out by Ambassador Eban of Israel, who attacked the arming of the Arabs by the United States and Britain and reiterated his own country's desire for peace with its neighbors.

Cold-war tensions. East-West relations, of course, dominated the whole course of the debate. In this connection two conflicting patterns of thought emerged. On the one hand, the group of delegates dedicated to peace by negotiation saw in every easing of international tension an opportunity for further easement through further

negotiation. On the other hand, the negotiation-from-strength adherents tended to react in opposite fashion. Thus the easement accomplished at Geneva was followed swiftly by the establishment of SEATO, and the killing of E. D. C. in the French National Assembly by the consecration of German disarmament at the London conference.

IT MUST be said that an aura of hypocrisy surrounded many of the expressions of regret that the U. N. was being increasingly "by-passed." As V. K. Krishna Menon of India pointed out, if the U. N. could play no role in the ending of the Indo-China war, it was because one of the major powers involved—Communist China—was barred from the U. N. The truth is that no delegate who voted against the admission of the only legitimate Chinese government to the world organization has the right to "regret" the U. N.'s diminishing influence in world affairs. When a British representative, speaking from the Assembly rostrum, can say in effect, "For us there is only one Chinese government, the government of Peking, but my vote is against having it here," then all the talk favoring the principle of universality for the U. N., and all the pious wishes expressed for strengthening its authority, are reduced to mere verbalisms.

On the question of the jurisdiction of regional organizations vis-à-vis that of the U. N., the contributions to the debate by Dr. Francisco Gamarra of Uruguay, who is president of his country's Supreme Court, and Dr. José Vicente Trujillo of Ecuador, should be read in connection with the transcript of the meeting of the Security Council last June which made aggression a respectable word in the U. N. On that occasion I wrote that the two Latin American delegates to the council—the Brazilian and the Colombian—who preferred the congratulatory handshake of the United States representative, Ambassador Lodge, to defending the principle of non-intervention which has inspired all inter-American conferences and agreements, would "one day have to justify their behavior before Latin American public opinion."

Mr. Vishinsky's proposals on atomic control and disarmament gave some life to what was otherwise a rather colorless debate. At least it gave delegates something to talk about in the corridors. The initial United States reaction was, of course, that the Russians were "giving out again with the same old stuff." But both Selwyn Lloyd of Great Britain and M. Guérin de Beaumont of France welcomed the Soviet proposals as representing a significant concession. In Mr. Lloyd's words, the Russians were "holding out the possibility of progress in this all-important field."

It is, in fact, impossible to deny that Mr. Vishinsky's speech represents progress—and progress of a kind, interestingly enough, anticipated by Jules Moch's able analysis of the prospects for disarmament that appeared in

the May 15 issue of *The Nation*. By agreeing to accept the Anglo-French disarmament memorandum, drafted in London on June 11, as the point of departure, Moscow has abandoned its position that the "immediate and unconditional" outlawing of atomic weapons must precede any agreement on disarmament and the establishment of controls. The Soviets now agree to a stage-by-stage reduction in armaments and call for a "permanent international control commission" with powers of inspection "to the extent necessary to insure" the carrying out of any agreement. All this makes it difficult for Mr. Dulles to continue to insist, as he insisted in his Assembly speech a few days before Mr. Vishinsky spoke, that the Russian position on disarmament was "99 per cent negative."

Inevitably all the important diplomatic events which have been taking place outside of the U. N. projected themselves into the general debate. In this connection

both the press and many of the delegates were inclined to take too lightly, perhaps, Mr. Vishinsky's warning concerning the consequences of the London agreement to reararm Germany. But those of us who have repeatedly stated that German rearmament and war are equivalent terms are not making this mistake. The Soviet delegate's comment was followed by Mr. Molotov's new proposal, put forward in East Berlin, for the immediate withdrawal of all occupation troops from Germany and the launching of fresh discussions on German unity with a hint of possible consideration of free elections. Here again the immediate Western reaction was that Moscow was up to its old tricks. Yet some delegates, aware of the dangerously explosive character of the German rearmament problem, are not inclined to dismiss Mr. Molotov in such cavalier fashion. Here is one subject that will undoubtedly influence the discussions in the Political Committee which began this week.



The Mitchell Victory

by Alex Gottfried

Seattle, Washington

THE nomination of ex-Senator and ex-Representative Hugh B. Mitchell in the First Congressional District (Seattle-Bremerton) Democratic primary was the most significant result of the Washington primaries for those who desire an end to the present organization of Congress. (Neither Senate seat was contested this year.) This is true not only because among the Democratic aspirants Mitchell had the best chance of unseating the incumbent but also because he has something of a national reputation as a liberal, based upon his excellent record in both the House and the Senate.

Mitchell won easily in a three-cornered race, defeating Stimson Bullitt, the 1952 Democratic candidate for the same office, and Mrs. Alice Franklin Bryant. He received more than 30,000 votes as against 14,000 for Bullitt and 6,000 for Mrs. Bryant. In other contests, aside from those for a few minor offices, everything went according to form in

one of the lightest votes since the war.

Except in the case of Mitchell, the results do not permit confident predictions of party strength in the elections. Confidence is precluded also by the Washingtonian's proclivity for independent voting, the virtual non-existence of disciplined party machines, and the complications caused by the so-called blanket, or wide-open, primary. The well-nigh anarchic party structure and the vaunted independence of the electorate are demonstrated by the anomaly of the Washington delegation to Congress—two Democratic Senators and six Republican Representatives out of seven. (The lone Democratic Representative was elected by the narrowest of margins.)

The campaign was a curious one in many ways. All three Democratic candidates were persons of intelligence and ability. All were known as "liberals." Practically no domestic issues divided them, and Mitchell and Bullitt were not far apart on foreign policy.

Mitchell held all the aces and played them shrewdly, with his political radar always tuned to partisan expediency. His major asset was the familiarity of his

name. He had been a candidate from the Seattle area more than half-a-dozen times, and only two years before had run a creditable race for the governorship. He was the unofficial choice of organized labor and the party organization—such as it is. At one time he was secretary to Governor Mon Walgren. To neutralize Republican charges of leftist tendencies and A. D. A. support, he tried to divest himself of the liberal label. He failed to appear at an A. D. A. meeting as scheduled and publicly congratulated the Velde committee when it was sitting in Seattle.

Bullitt, an energetic young lawyer of a well-to-do Seattle family, fought well against heavy odds. He did not try to hide his progressive past, but he may not have appeared liberal enough for support from some quarters. Although he did not practice Mitchell's bald expedencies, neither did he emphasize civil-liberties issues.

Mrs. Bryant largely ignored domestic issues, frankly admitting unfamiliarity with certain problems. She campaigned almost exclusively on a "peace platform" and urged renewal of negotia-

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tions to end the "hot peace," control of the H-bomb, and disarmament. Some dismissed her as a crackpot, but she received six thousand votes, which is rather impressive considering that she had limited funds and a very sketchy organization.

All six incumbent Republican Congressmen were renominated—including Representative Westland, ex-golf champion—either with merely token opposition or with none. In five of the six districts the incumbents outpolled the combined Democratic candidates. In the First District the vote of the unopposed Republican candidate, Thomas M. Pelly, was a good deal less than Mitchell's. Pelly is a respected business man who is considered a "liberal" Eisenhower Republican.

Of the Democratic contests, only that

in the Third District was close, former State Senator Clyde V. Tisdale defeating James Carty by about two hundred votes. This race is significant because during the campaign Tisdale publicly revealed that he had once been a member of the Communist Party for a short time. The Associated Press reported that Tisdale described this brief affiliation as a "foolish action which he quickly regretted, but an experience which put him in a better position to fight communism." He ignored an order by the Democratic state chairman to withdraw his candidacy. In the end his victory did him no good. The Democratic state organization disclaimed him as its candidate and will deny him all support, thus conceding the election to the Republicans.

The state's lone Democratic House member, Congressman-at-large Don

Magnuson, running unopposed, polled nearly a quarter of a million votes, or more than double those cast for the victor in the Republican primary, Al Canwell. In 1952 Magnuson, then a political novice, was the Democratic dark horse who defeated the same Canwell by a narrow margin. Mr. Canwell, who boasts of his close friendship with McCarthy, was the chairman of the state un-American activities committee which investigated the University of Washington in 1948. Magnuson must be considered the likely winner in November. Canwell has many enemies in his own party, while Magnuson's huge vote would have been even heavier had not many of his supporters infiltrated the Republican primary in order to have the privilege of voting against Canwell.

THE MEANING OF BEVANISM

British Labor's Dilemma . . . by *Michael Foot*

London

BRITISH Labor assembled for its annual conference at Scarborough this year in the belief that full political power may soon be in its grasp. The latest public-opinion poll has shown an emphatic swing away from the Tories. Many find these polls difficult to interpret, since the Tory administration has had a fine run of luck in world trade conditions and no paramount issue has appeared to rouse public anger against them. However, a general election is almost certain next year, and a Labor government could be elected to office.

What kind of government would it be? That governing question, more than the immediate issues put to the vote, is what the party conference was called upon to decide; the rank and file help to fix the temper and will-power of the leadership. In 1945, for example, Labor was elected on a full-scale program of public ownership and social reform.

This was combined with a firm aspiration to seek an escape from the old ways of British imperialism. The impetus behind this movement was strong enough to carry through a considerable domestic revolution and to make possible abroad the liberation of India and decisive advance in most British colonial territories.

By contrast, the Labor government narrowly reelected to power in 1950 was content to stay in office without contemplating any further big changes. Its domestic aim was to consolidate the gains already achieved but to attempt no fresh breaches in capitalist power. It was not by accident, for example, that this same government was responsible for the banishment of Seretse Khama, the adoption of a rearmament program beyond Britain's power to sustain, or the acceptance in principle of German rearmament. These and many kindred actions fitted into the same pattern. Democratic socialism in Britain was losing some of its vitality and was ceasing to be confident, as it certainly was confident in 1945, that it had a distinctive

contribution to make to a world torn by Communist and anti-Communist crusades.

Since its defeat at the polls in 1951 British Labor has been groping to rediscover the daring and enthusiasm which gave it dynamic strength in 1945. That has been the real meaning of Bevanism. If Aneurin Bevan had not existed, he would have had to be invented. The overwhelming response favoring policies associated with his name from the constituency Labor parties throughout the country is not a temporary phenomenon. It is certainly not the mere result of a personal campaign or of the irritations between colleagues which occur in almost any party. It was an instinctive revolt against the notion which seemed to be growing in the Labor Party leadership that the Labor Party was merely an alternative administration, no longer seeking to carry through fundamental changes in society and ready to join with the Tories in accepting the principle of continuity of policy both at home and abroad.

This has been the persistent argument

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Vicky in the London Daily Mirror

Peaceful Coexistence

which has troubled the Labor Party for the past three years, and more and more clearly it has been evident that the basic decisions had to be made in the field of foreign affairs. Would a new Labor government seek to deflect Western policy from its present course even at the risk of injuring the solidity of the Anglo-American alliance? Would such a government strive to translate the vague word "coexistence" into a practical program of negotiation with the Communist countries? Many people, naturally enough, have interpreted the official Labor Party delegation to Moscow and Peking as a bid in this direction. But the conclusion is premature. Everyone in Britain from Sir Winston Churchill leftward believes in coexistence. The vital question is therefore what steps Labor as opposed to the Tories would be ready to take in the effort to make coexistence something better than a fragile truce, ever at the mercy of the war parties in either Moscow or Washington.

LABOR'S conference at Scarborough still leaves the answer to this question blurred. The crucial test came on the rearming of Germany. Instead of instructing its leaders to press for a fresh four-power conference with the Russians before the fatal first step is taken in assisting an arms race in a divided Europe, Labor has left them a free hand. This means, almost certainly, that there will be no official Labor opposition to whatever plans for rearming Germany emerge from the London conference and

the recent negotiations. Bipartisanship in foreign policy toward Europe between Labor and the Tories remains intact. Official Labor appears to make the strange choice of preferring Adenauer to Ollenhauer. The claim of the German Social Democrats that priority should be given to the attempt to secure the reunification of Germany and that this should form an indispensable part of a genuine coexistence policy has been brushed aside.

A similarly blurred impression of Labor's aim is given by the decisions reached about the Far East. This verdict may sound strange in American ears. Mr. Attlee has been variously portrayed as the convivial guest of Communist murderers or the dupe of Mao and Chou En-lai. Even if these fantasies are disbelieved, has he not roundly denounced Chiang Kai-shek, called for the restoration of Formosa to China, and reiterated the demand for Peking's entry into the United Nations? These latter accusations or tributes are true enough, but, except possibly on the issue of Formosa, they do not sharply distinguish Labor's attitude from that of Sir Winston's government.

The Tories also believe in coexistence in Asia, as was signally proved by Anthony Eden's role at Geneva. The much more crucial test was the stand which Labor would take on the SEATO pact negotiated at Manila. If Labor had condemned this plan for the protection of Asia in which most of the Asians have refused to participate, the kinship

in outlook between British Labor and Nehru's India would have been sustained, and the Chinese Communists might have expected an effective change in British policy if Labor took power. Instead, once again, the official leadership was given a free hand. The outright condemnation of SEATO was defeated. And the result, almost certainly, will be that no direct challenge will be delivered to Churchill's policy in the Far East.

THESE two major decisions are indicative of the other conclusions reached at Scarborough. True, Labor fully condemned Tory imperialist policy in Cyprus. True, also, the conference approved a policy of advance in the colonial territories stated in much more glowing terms than a Tory conference would ever applaud. But few concrete decisions binding a future Labor government were reached. And the same temper prevailed in the field of domestic policy. If a new Labor government were elected tomorrow, it would not, as in 1945, be committed to a far-reaching program of social change. The tempo of action would depend on the mood of the leaders, and the mood of the leaders is cautious, temporizing, and empirical.

Whether these are the choices which the Labor Party rank and file really want is another question. Indeed, this is the vital question which is now being bitterly debated throughout the Labor movement. It is the source of the violent controversy which beats around the head of Aneurin Bevan. For years he has topped the poll in the constituency-section vote for the National Executive of the Labor Party, and five out of the six remaining places in this section have been filled by his supporters. The voters in this section are the individual members of the party throughout the country and, for the most part, its most active workers. This year Bevan surrendered his certain seat in the constituency section in order to challenge Mr. Gaitskell, who had been nominated for treasurer of the party by some of the big trade unions. Both for the treasurership and all the other twenty-odd places on the National Executive the votes of the trade unions outnumber those of the local parties some five to one. Similarly, the trade-union vote is decisive on all issues of policy.

Bevan had reached saturation point

in the support from the constituency parties. At conference after conference they had backed him with huge majorities. But he was powerless to shape policy so long as the bulk of the trade-union vote was against him. His decision to fight for the treasurership, therefore, was part of the attempt to carry the argument into the trade unions. Normally the votes of the trade unions for the officers of the Labor Party attract little attention. They may be taken by a delegation which has had no opportunity of consulting the union membership, by an executive committee, or in effect in some cases by a powerful general secretary. This year Bevan knew his challenge was bound to fail, for several of the big unions had already made their decision in favor of Gaitskell before he decided to stand. But the contest between two different attitudes toward Labor policy has now been brought out into the open. Bevan's two-to-one defeat is not the end

of a career but the beginning of a campaign to inject a much-needed dose of more active democracy into the constitution of the Labor Party.

How sore is that need was shown in the dramatic vote over German rearmament. Despite all the advantages which the machine bestows on the party leaders, their policy was carried by only 3,270,000, to 3,022,000 votes. Few people doubted that the constituency parties voted overwhelmingly against the Executive. Yet it is precisely within the local parties that the issue has been argued out most fully, while several of the trade unions cast their votes after only the most cursory consultation with their members. As if to illustrate the point in the most dramatic colors, the decision would in fact have gone the other way and the Executive have been defeated if one small trade union had not decided at the very last moment to switch its vote in defiance of its mandate.

Over the years effective power in the Labor Party has been assembled into fewer hands. Democracy has made concessions to its old enemy, bureaucracy. This was partly made inevitable by the methods of Communist conspiracy within the unions. But it has gone much too far for the health of a movement which prides itself on its democratic upbringing and instincts. Rank-and-file opinion can still make itself felt through the vote in the constituency-party section and by other means. But at Scarborough as at previous conferences it has not been able to find full expression in the effective determination of policy. The party and trade-union machine sometimes becomes the enemy of democracy just as the church is often the enemy of Christianity. The fight to end that state of affairs in the Labor Party is now on. It is a necessary prelude to the fight for establishing a democratic Socialist government in office.

REARMAMENT

A German View . . by *Gustav W. Heinemann*

WHEN I compare the political conversations I had on an earlier visit to America—in 1948—with those I had this year when I was a delegate to the meeting of the World Council of Churches at Evanston, I am struck with the fact that a much more confident tone prevailed six years ago. At that time I spoke with Secretary of State Marshall on European unity as a necessary step to Europe's economic reconstruction and on America's decision to contribute to that reconstruction by the offer of substantial economic aid. The London four-power conference of December, 1947, had ended in failure—a failure which Marshall had explained by saying, "We were unable to agree on a definition of 'Germany'"—but Washington was still

confident that in the end all major differences, including the question of Germany, would be resolved.

Today this faith in peaceful solutions within the foreseeable future has been replaced by deep-seated distrust of the Eastern bloc. Americans also feel that not only Europe but their own country is now in peril. They see themselves confronted with responsibilities, both to themselves and to the rest of the world, such as they never before had to face. And they are finding to their sorrow that the other peoples of the West are not always "reliable" partners. France caused a serious setback to American plans when it rejected E. D. C.; how far the agreements reached at the London conference will repair the damage remains to be seen. As for Germany, the one question that everybody has asked me is: "Who will be Dr. Adenauer's successor?" Clearly many Americans feel that Washington foreign policy depends far too much on a single man.

The visitor from West Germany is

impressed by the universal acceptance of the Federated Republic's economic renaissance. He doubts, however, whether Germany's economic strength should be considered a guaranty that its military strength can be added to that of the West as against Russia. Six years ago West German rearmament was out of the question. Today it is taken for granted. This is true despite the failure of E. D. C., the uncertainties left by the London meeting, and the obvious fact that West German rearmament is a kind of time-bomb threatening to wreck any attempt at an all-European settlement.

IF MY understanding is correct, American foreign policy seeks to line up against the Soviet Union all forces that might conceivably be utilized for the purpose. World War II destroyed Germany and Japan as effective barriers against Russia; America wants to recreate the military strength of both nations and draw them into a system of

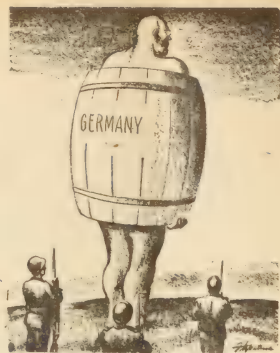
GUSTAV W. HEINEMANN, a leader of the German "neutralist" movement, is president of the Synod of the German Evangelical church and a former Minister of the Interior of the West German Republic.

Atlantic and Pacific alliances. This policy is obviously based on two assumptions. The first is that there exists a danger of war from Soviet aggression. This view is undoubtedly supported by the international ramification of Communist pressures but fails to recognize that the Russians think primarily in revolutionary rather than in military terms. The West may well be justified in keeping up its military strength as long as there is no general disarmament, but I think that Western emphasis on *military* preparedness is a mistake. For it means preparedness in a sphere in which the Soviet Union—for all its armaments—is least likely to prove aggressive. I am convinced that Russia is unwilling to risk its position as "the country of socialism" by starting a war, especially since its rulers are confident that the capitalist world is doomed to succumb to Bolshevism without war.

The *decisive* competition between the Western and the Eastern bloc is not in armaments but in what each side can offer its peoples in living standards and social justice. Harry Shapiro, an American journalist who has just returned from a twenty-year stay in the Soviet Union, has written that "in such a competition the men around Malenkov may prove much more dangerous enemies than Stalin and Stalinism have ever been" (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, March 13, 1954).

THE second basic assumption of American policy seems to me to be that the next world war will be fought mainly with conventional weapons—because neither side will dare to use the new nuclear weapons of mass destruction. That is why old-style armaments are clung to so tenaciously in Western Europe. In Germany many people think that neither the A-bomb nor the H-bomb will be used in the next war, just as poison gas was avoided in the last. I believe this is a treacherous delusion. Poison gas and atomic weapons are not strictly comparable, if only because so much greater a percentage of total armament expenditures is invested in the latter. Moreover, the new weapons are much more decisive than poison gas could ever have been.

The international-affairs section of the World Council of Churches spent a good deal of time during the Evanston sessions discussing the new weapons. A



Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

European Defense Problem

report, unanimously approved by the full meeting, states:

The development of nuclear weapons makes this an age of fear. True, peace cannot rest on fear. It is vain to think that the hydrogen bomb or its development has guaranteed peace because men will be afraid to go to war, nor can fear provide an effective restraint against the temptation to use such a decisive weapon either in hope of total victory or in the desperation of total defeat.

A war between East and West will almost certainly be fought with A-bombs and H-bombs: one side will either think it necessary to use them in order to survive or, threatened with defeat, it will want to draw the victorious enemy into the abyss of destruction. With mankind's very existence at stake, it will be impossible to keep the conflict within bounds of any kind. It has already been reported that American atomic artillery now stationed in Germany is as destructive as the Hiroshima A-bomb. The first shot fired from such a gun will mark the opening of an atomic war.

If the basic assumptions of American foreign policy are false, then a reappraisal of that policy is necessary. I believe the United States should renounce competition in armaments and use its strength to further the economic and social development of the world's backward areas. At the same time it should maintain military equality with the Soviet Union in atomic weapons until the way is clear for international disarmament.

Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that atomic weapons will not be used in the next war. Does the intensive rearmament of Western Europe, includ-

ing Germany, then become justified as a defense against a possible Red Army attack? One point must be emphasized: nobody in Western Europe is interested in a defense that would turn Western Europe itself into a battlefield, least of all the Germans. Only a defense that would keep the Red Army out of Western Europe—including West Germany—can prevent the chaotic dissolution of all order in the very first days of the war. This happened in France in 1940, and in a new war similar chaos would engulf other parts of Europe, including Germany. With the first shot millions of people, remembering the horrors of World War II, would start to flee, without aim and without plan. Soviet partisans and saboteurs would contribute to the confusion. Any attempt to defend Western Europe on German soil will bring back to the Germans the traumatic shock of the past. The West must bear in mind that there is atomic artillery in Germany now but no air-raid shelters.

IT IS also questionable on other grounds whether Germany—and Japan—can really be restored as effective military factors. The panic fear which Germany inspired in its neighbors in World War II has not disappeared. Our southern, northern, and western neighbors would like to have a German army that is stronger than the Red Army; but they want it to be weaker than their own. It is this contradiction that lay at the root of the four-year dispute on E. D. C. and its final rejection. The rearmament of West Germany must therefore be accompanied by measures for the protection of Germany's neighbors. At the same time any such measures would make the Germans feel that they had been denied equality of rights and would rob the military pact of a considerable part of its value. The need to strike this delicate balance is the most formidable of the many problems faced by the experts now at work on the details of the London agreement.

There is also the danger of the rebirth of nationalism in a remilitarized Germany. The rearmament of West Germany widens rather than narrows the gap between the two Germanys and creates tensions which are fraught with peril for the whole of Europe. It is said that Western Europe cannot be defended without West German forces. But the

decisive question is: Can it be defended with West German troops?

If I interpret American policy correctly, it stands for peace, even if not for peace at any price. And what does this imply? On this subject, too, a foreign visitor in America hears many things that puzzle him. The price of preserving peace can be variously estimated. But can it include the proclamation by America of such clearly aggressive aims as "roll-back" and "liberation"? What purpose can such a policy serve? And does it make sense to include the colonial possessions of the Western world in the status quo that is to be preserved? Is it justifiable for the United States to talk of defending freedom and democracy with Tito, Franco, Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek, and Bao Dai as its allies? Does not all this add up to an anti-Soviet policy in which the end sanctions many unworthy means? May not the anti-Communist forces, once let loose, precipitate war in the same way that they did under Hitler? The foreign-

policy statement of the American Legion in Washington at the beginning of September cannot but recall to a German the part which similar organizations played in German politics—and are likely to play again in a rearmed Germany.

THE only alternative before us is coexistence or total war. If coexistence is chosen, certain practical precautions must be taken, including an attitude of quiet watchfulness and a willingness to make reasonable compromises. A visitor here leaves with the impression that many Americans, torn between their hatred of communism and their fear of an atomic war, are placing an unobtainable price on the preservation of peace.

The time has come to reexamine our political conceptions. Germany is obviously the key to a European settlement. The Russians will never give up their part of Germany as long as there is a chance that a united country would become part of a Western coalition. Similarly, the Soviet Union will oppose any

attempt to unify Europe unless it is a truly neutral Europe.

The creation of an "independent" Europe should become the goal of Western policy. Such a Europe could never turn against the West because it is itself part of the West. But it must also never lend itself to any action against the East.

Can America, which has already done so much for the cradle of its culture, understand all this? If it does, then it will realize that a new European order must be sought outside the two power blocs. This implies, as a first and immediate step, the withdrawal of all Allied troops from Germany. Concurrently there must be created powerful guarantees that a reunited Germany shall rearm—if it is to rearm at all—only under strict control and shall in no case become part of a military coalition directed against any of its neighbors.

I realize that I have left many questions of detail still unanswered. But I believe I have outlined the basic principles which can bring peace to Europe.

CANNERY ROW REVISITED

Steinbeck and the Sardine . . by Ward Moore

[When John Steinbeck's "Cannery Row" appeared nearly ten years ago, it was generally acclaimed (though not by Margaret Marshall in *The Nation*—she called it a "simulated gem" about a "nonexistent Monterey") as an authentic literary accomplishment. This year Mr. Steinbeck returns to "Doc" and the canneries in "Sweet Thursday," which gives Ward Moore, a literary critic who lives in Monterey and can walk down Cannery Row any time he likes, a chance to pick up where Miss Marshall left off. The sketches are by Bruce Aivis, a Monterey artist, who derived his inspiration from strolling down the Row.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Monterey, California

ONCE Monterey was not only the capital of California but its metropolis. Boston ships might neglect San Diego, San Pedro, Santa Barbara, or Yerba Buena,

but they didn't sail the coast without anchoring in deceptively promising Monterey Bay. A hundred years before the Golden State sent forth oil and oranges, plastic toys and TV shows, holds could always be filled at Monterey with enough hides and tallow to make voyages profitable. (Beef, even if salted in that pre-frigidaire epoch, was too bulky to pay its way around the Horn.) Monterey was the economic as well as the political and social capital.

Gold and San Francisco, Yankee influx and the railroads—transcontinental and north-south—relegated the town to second- and then third-class status. The automobile kicked it farther down. Both the main line of the Southern Pacific and U. S. Route 101 run through Salinas, nineteen miles to the east, the hot and bustling seat of Monterey County, so firmly entrenched in its demographic and economic superiority

that the Peninsula no longer resents it: Monterey meekly pays its taxes there and travels to shop at Sears or the Thrifty Drug, corporations too canny to open branches in Monterey.

For years Monterey has lived on the armed forces and the tourist trade. Except for commercial fishing—an important exception culturally but of decreasing economic moment, especially since the larger boats prefer Moss Landing on the other side of the bay—Monterey's middle class and proletariat are in service occupations; they are janitors and gas-station attendants, storekeepers and clerks, waitresses, salesmen, gardeners, real-estate dealers, repairmen, landlords, teachers, and sports-fishing crews.

Still excepting fish—the industry employs perhaps 400 men sporadically—Monterey produces nothing but perfect climate and the sight of some excellent old adobe houses. (One was recently de-

stroyed to make way for a parking lot; Monterey may be off the beaten track, but it is progressive.)

There was a time when it seemed as if the town could put aside its role of geisha girl and scullery maid. The humble pilchard, a coarse fish palatable enough when fresh, fit only for cat food canned, was easily caught in quantity and readily preserved in brine, soy or cottonseed oil, watery tomato or mustard sauce to compete with the traditional Maine, Norwegian, or Portuguese product. The canneries came, and Monterey

—the realist, the disciplinarian, the stabilizer—was excluded, and Father, if admitted at all, came as a refugee from domesticity. In Cannery Row the locale the small boy as employee justified his restiveness in casual labor; in "Cannery Row" the novel the small boy vindicated his pranks, his misdemeanors, his fear of responsibility in a glorification of perpetual hooky.

HOW documentary was "Cannery Row"? How faithful to objective reality were the details of the novel; how much

and foreshortening the original of Doc he was merely exercising this privilege. But *About Ed Ricketts*, which is prefaced to "The Log from the Sea of Cortez," is not fiction, and is therefore subject to restraints not put upon the novelist. Yet in *About Ed Ricketts*, Steinbeck departs from objective facts, apparently to sharpen drama. These facts, particularly the manner of Ed Ricketts's death, are on record. To say, as Steinbeck does—"I am sure that many people, seeing this account, will be sure to say, 'Why, that's not true. That's not the way he was at all. He was this way and this.' And the speaker may go on to describe a person this writer did not know at all"—is merely to hedge. The complexity of any man's character is admitted, and no one can write of what is alien to him in another, but this does not excuse, in purported non-fiction, artistic distortions of speech and action, time and circumstance which are proper in fiction. Indeed, a confusion seems to have grown up in the author's mind between Doc of "Cannery Row" and Ed Ricketts on whom Doc was modeled, so that in *About Ed Ricketts* Steinbeck attributes to his friend many of the characteristics and actions which belonged solely to his creation. He could no longer distinguish between the two, not so much because one was based on the other as because the intimacy of creation excluded the intimacy of friendship. The character stood between the author and the man.

This confusion between fact and fancy seems to have been further compounded in "Sweet Thursday," in which Steinbeck returns to Cannery Row, possibly in dissatisfaction with the justice done to the Ed Ricketts-Doc entity, or as an act of love toward his dead friend. But now the author is no longer drawing from life in order to present his own version of reality, as in the earlier novel. In "Sweet Thursday" he has forgotten that "Cannery Row" was a fiction, an improvement upon and distillation of things seen, just as he has unconsciously forgotten that Ed Ricketts and Doc were not identical, and created by him. He has confused "Cannery Row" with the material which went into it, so that, "Sweet Thursday" is drawn, not from life or even his memory of life, but from his own book, second-hand, with a consequent diminution of size and vitality. If "Cannery Row" was farce, "Sweet



had an Industry, was a Producer and not merely a passive parasite upon the economic body.

To both the *paisanos* and the "old" Americans indigenous to the Peninsula, Cannery Row was heaven-sent. Seasonal, irregular cannery work was suited to the temperament engendered by Monterey's climate and tradition. Further, it promoted a dignity on the ancient American go-to-hell basis, unavailable to those in service occupations. If Carmel was a rural Greenwich Village, Cannery Row was a proletarian bohemia.

Inevitably this bohemia had to have its Murger; fortunately or unfortunately—opinions differ among Peninsulans—it turned out to be John Steinbeck. To Steinbeck, who carries to an extreme the Hemingway small-boy nostalgia for the never-never world of comradely masculine society without women save as an occasional convenience, Cannery Row was an ideal microcosm. In it, socially at least, the infantile triumphed; Mother

license did Steinbeck take in the loosely joined sketches? Since he used an extant geography and characters with readily identifiable models, the legitimate question arises: Did his selection of some material and exclusion of some emphasize the romantic or the "real" aspects of the Row? It is significant that the reader is never taken inside a cannery or introduced to even minor characters directly involved with fish-packing and with wages and work, unions and families. In a proletarian bohemia Steinbeck chose to portray the ultra-bohemian fringe: the bums, whores, and the two professional men—the merchant, Lee Chong, rapacious and benevolent, with a tightly symbiotic relationship to the Row, and Doc, whose presence is socially and economically fortuitous.

Steinbeck's attraction to the bizarre is notable in his depiction of Doc. It is an undeniably legitimate privilege of the novelist to distort his model in order to bring out desired effects; in heightening



Thursday" is burlesque; if the first novel was peopled by lovable little men, the sequel is full of leprechauns; if the smell of the sardine was muted in the first, the odor of rendering sugar is overpowering in the second. Cannery Row is no longer softened by a transmuting haze of artistry—it is tidied up and prettified beyond recognition.

OSTENSIBLY "Sweet Thursday" displays the post-war, post-sardine Cannery Row. Doc lives, despite Ed Ricketts's death, but he lives to be the beneficiary of hovering solicitude, the recipient of anxious endowments, from writers' block and a sudden perception of loneliness to the affections of Suzy, a wistful and wholesome whore. Steinbeck ceases to be the poor man's Hemingway and becomes a slightly raffish Faith Baldwin.

The other adult in "Cannery Row" has been whisked from the scene. Lee Chong, Steinbeck relates gravely, has sold out his store and gone to trade with the glamorous Polynesians. In *About Ed Ricketts*, Lee Chong is called Wing Chong, in understandable confusion with the name of the store, "Glorious-Prosperous." There was no Chong—neither Lee nor Wing. The founder of Wing Chong was Yee Won; the business was carried on by his son, J. H. Yee, and C. M. Sam, from whom the character Lee Chong was derived. Neither Mr. Yee nor Mr. Sam has departed for the South Seas, though they have dissolved partnership and the Glorious-Prosperous store is in the process of what is possibly the slowest and most dignified liquidation in history. It has been selling out, at the moment, for more than nine months, and the end is not in sight. When it finally closes, Cannery Row will no longer have a vestige of communal life; the few who still live there

will have to shop in Monterey or New Monterey, like everyone else.

The Glorious-Prosperous, like the rest of the Row, is the victim of shortsighted greed. The pilchard is going the way of the buffalo and the passenger pigeon. Large catches produced more canneries; more canneries called for larger catches. The number and size of boats and nets grew; the migration stream of the fish was charted; with insatiable zeal the schools were pursued, netted, canned, or reduced to meal—breeding stock, fry, and all. Voices raised for conservation were shouted down; regulation was avoided or evaded. Suddenly and "mysteriously" the sardine disappeared; the searching boats netted handfuls of the survivors instead of thousands of tons. If pursuit of the pitiful remnant were absolutely forbidden, the sardine could come back in time, but this idea is repugnant to those who hold to the "mysterious disappearance" theory and talk of shifting ocean currents and less plentiful plankton for the pilchards to feed on locally, though it must be obvious that the answer to the plaintive query, Where have the sardines gone? is, Into the cans.

Meanwhile the actual Cannery Row enjoys none of the shenanigans of "Sweet Thursday." Some of the canneries work part time—on anchovies, squid, mackerel, or tuna. One has burned down, leaving a hole in the wall of two-story buildings through which the Bay can be seen from the Row. One has been

spruced up to accommodate a moving-and-storage company. Others are talked of as possible homes for light industry—which so far has been reluctant to pay the extra freight costs which are the penalty for not being on the main line. For the most part the canneries are empty, paint-peeling and dusty, with mocking NO ADMITTANCE; APPLY AT OFFICE signs. But the offices are closed, and the obsolete buses which once took the workers to their jobs stand rusting and flat-tired. A newly decorated "fish and steak house" attempts to lure some of the tourist trade from fishermen's wharf.

People still live on Cannery Row. Two blocks of small apartments and a scattering of weary frame houses shelter a small population. Ed Ricketts's (or Doc's) laboratory, its paint removed by the weather and its windows obscured against the curious, is in use as living quarters, the "B" of "Pacific Biological Laboratories" alone remaining to identify it. Visitors and rubberneck buses detour down the half-mile-long Row. Optimistic business men speak of the return of the sardine, basing their prophecy on a catch of four or five tons in southern waters, trucked swiftly to the canneries, which obligingly open for a few hours to receive them. But the proletarian bohemia is gone.

What does Cannery Row think of John Steinbeck? "Who?" asks one inhabitant. "Wish I had his dough," mutters another.



Doc's Laboratory

FALL BOOK ISSUE

The American Writer, I . . . by John W. Aldridge

THOSE of us who are now thirty or slightly older have already outlived the literary movement in which we grew up—the movement that came to fruition in the twenties, while we were still too young to participate in it, but that seemed destined for a time in the late forties to be given new vitality and purpose by writers our own age who were then coming out of the war. The great early figures of that movement—Yeats, Joyce, Gide, Shaw, Eliot, Pound—are nearly all dead now, their works and effects abandoned to the museums and the damp hands of classical scholarship. Later figures of the second rank like Scott Fitzgerald and Thomas Wolfe, whom we thought of, ten or fifteen years ago in college, as older but still active contemporaries of ours, have already taken on the remote character of minor deities out of some vanished Augustan past. Of the best writers now in middle age and still capable of serious work, only a very few have been able to develop at all significantly those initial and, for the most part, narrow insights into modern life which secured their place in the literary world of twenty years ago. The one or two—I can think of only Faulkner and Hemingway—whose later careers have been something more than a falling off or merely a repetition of earlier promise are chronically under siege by hordes of critics bent on sacking their establishments, picking over their bones, and raising around their works sepulchers of exegesis and bibliography. Some of the lesser known and, one would suppose, more fortunate writers of the same age—the one-book novelists and former poets—who sank into obscurity

right after the twenties and for years were not heard of again, have suddenly been rediscovered and crowned with the notoriety of Civil War veterans and Titanic survivors for having once belonged to the movement or figured in the memoirs of someone who did.

The situation of the younger group of novelists is far different today from what it was seven or eight years ago when they first began to appear. At the time a variety of circumstances seemed to be coming together to produce an atmosphere both exciting and liberating to new talent. The war had ended without that fatigued suspension of the will which followed after 1918 and gave rise to the earlier literature of nervelessness; and there had finally come a break—sometime in the early forties—in the tendency of the proletarian school to repeat itself endlessly in novels rank with the outmoded economics of Marx and Engels. The reading public, which while the war lasted had been more or less content to subsist on the sweetnessens of Private Hargrove and William Saroyan, was now anxious for a return to the sterner realities; and publishers were finding it profitable to cultivate writers who, fresh from the hardships of active service, seemed most likely to bring it about. There began a rather grandiose and indiscriminate exploitation of every literary effect, good or bad, in any way connected with the war, of every young man with a combat trauma or gripe that could be turned to print.

Twenty-five and thirty years earlier this kind of wholesale speculation in talent had been a natural response to the upsurge of creative activity which came on in the twenties and which quickly began to be exploited with the competitive zeal normally associated with bull-market buying in Wall Street. Publishers gambled on dozens of young writers in the hope of discovering a new Sherwood Anderson or Sinclair Lewis, and ended, in certain historic instances, by discovering Ernest Hemingway, Scott

Fitzgerald, and John Dos Passos, whose successes over the years that followed were in large part responsible for the rise of the great serious reputations of such houses as Scribner's and Houghton Mifflin. But now, at the end of another war, with the precedent for early subsidy of talent thus established and vindicated, what had formerly been speculative became self-conscious, and there grew up a feeling that literary renaissance and boom were known chemical compounds that could be precipitated into being if only one followed the formula of the past and paid enough money.

FOR the enterprising publisher of the late forties this meant a mechanical repetition of all the old conjuring tricks. Once again he bought up his stable of fresh young talent, although this time in the hope of discovering a new Hemingway, Fitzgerald, or Dos Passos; and it was not surprising that most of the writers he bought were those who, by an odd process of commercialized reincarnation, most closely resembled the masters whom he hoped to replace. Nor was it any more than inevitable that the ceremonies of first publication for many of these writers should seem to be patterned increasingly after those ancient rites of fertility in which, to the accompaniment of pagan cries of trumped-up sexual ecstasy and the frantic supplication of ancestors, the effigy of the dead god—or in this case the dead reputation—was cast into Hades to be born anew in the person of youth. After a while it became hard to avoid wondering whether the process of authorship was not really becoming one of ghoulish collaboration with the dead and dying, whether the first novel of Merle Miller or Robert Lowry was not in fact a new revision of "Tender Is the Night" done by Theodore Dreiser with the help of Compton McKenzie.

Yet in spite of the extremes of mercantile silliness to which it was occasionally carried, the quasi-renaissance of the

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late forties had for a time an effect both exhilarating and wholesome on the younger writers themselves. It gave them enough money so that they were freed, very early in their careers, from the pressures of other work; and now that the war had ended along with the restrictions which it had imposed on movement, it suddenly became possible with money to live the literary life once again, to throw big parties, to travel and settle abroad, to found magazines, with an ease and directness unknown since the twenties. It was in fact one of the more ironic features of the time that the commercial interests which had generated and then exploited the prevailing atmosphere of assiduous trend-mongering and ancestor-worship had also inadvertently brought about a condition in which both the more serious and the more frivolous interests of the past could actually for the first time in years be restored and developed. The financial collapse of the thirties had led to a shrinkage of nearly all the values of the intellectual life and had reduced writers from their former high position as free producers to the status of charity cases and wards of a welfare state. Their Marxist concerns, moreover, had had the effect of temporarily anesthetizing their sense of any purpose for art beyond that of social relevance, just as, in the early forties, the official war-time view of their "responsibility," huckstered by such new patriots as Archibald MacLeish and Bernard DeVoto, had persuaded some of them to desert politics for propaganda.

But now, for those of the younger group who continued to be benefited rather than stifled or debauched by the constant iteration of the names and works of famous predecessors, the flattering juxtaposition of earlier creative decades with their own, there was set up a frame of mind and reference in which it became natural once again to speak of a serious disinterested calling of American letters and of a native tradition of excellence on which the beginning writer could take his bearings. The promising young novelist with his first book completed enjoyed not merely the customary guaranty of publication provided him by the boom but the greater advantage of feeling himself launched into history and placed almost at once in an established line of influence which perhaps he was simultaneously appointed to carry on.

While it was not always obvious to him that his eminence had been concocted or that, more often than not, he was being made simply the pawn of a publicity enterprise bent on exploiting the exchange value of the past, he was nevertheless given a sense of belonging, however tentatively, to a traditional hierarchy of peers to whom the practice of literature was a common craft and faith in its importance a common motivation.

IN ANY case, by the end of the forties the opening phase of the post-war literary revival had run its course, publishing had settled down to a state of seemingly permanent inflation, and conditions became different again. The younger novelists who, three or four years previously, had written their first books in a spirit of confidence that they were entering on a new creative cycle and carrying forward an established creative tradition suddenly found themselves high and dry in a world where all they stood for seemed to have gone into eclipse and where they themselves had become premature anachronisms. Although they had, as a group, by now published a

respectable body of work, including several novels of genuine distinction, and had among them such accomplished writers as Jean Stafford, Carson McCullers, John Horne Burns, Norman Mailer, Paul Bowles, and Truman Capote, they had largely failed to take the positions of authority and influence which had appeared to be opening to them only a short time before. In fact, the situation with which they were now confronted was such as to invalidate entirely the system of accession to power and prominence, the very possibility of reputation in the old sense, which had been the feature of the decades just past and on which, in the excitement of the immediate post-war years, they had come to pin their hopes. The modern literary movement had, in those years, lost nearly all its potency as a reproductive and energizing force and been slowly absorbed into the universities, where its massive indignations had cooled down to small fastidious tics experienced by graduate students in the damp under-caves of libraries, and where its great seminal ideas had been frozen and crystallized into churchly authoritarian

So Goes the Report

Out in the vast Pacific, they say,
There is a line which stepped across
Carries you back to yesterday;
And seen through the vapory ectoplasm
The sun's each colored radius
Converging there upon time's prism
Is pulled backward to reunite
In a single shaft of morning light.

There can the swollen leaf be seen
Retract into the infant bud,
Its dark dissolve to tender green;
There the gross and gravid flower
Withdraws into its maidenhood,
The day shrinks back into the hour,
And music's convoluted sound
To its beginning is unbound.

There under her first lover's hand
The woman turns once again the girl,
And man's wisdom weary-brained
Retreats into the child's bright heart.
There skin and flesh glow like the pearl,
There, yes, there!— So goes the report.
But here, though our eyes yearn for the East,
Our feet are ever pointed West.

SAMUEL YELLEN

dogma. The leaders and apostles of the movement whom the younger group had thought of as their natural and at least spiritually living mentors appeared now to have been embalmed and mummified like ancient Egyptian priests and set up in niches to commemorate the grandeur of a vanished cult, while their works had come to be looked upon, not as models to be admired and imitated, but as sacred canonical treasures to be studied as objects of research in the science of liturgics. Literature now was a corporate body, official, institutionalized, and closed: the appearance of a new writer, the creation of a new work, outside the canon was not only irrelevant but irreverent, at best a wilful and rather nasty breach of etiquette, at worst very nearly an act of heresy. Besides, the consolidation of literary power within the universities had progressed to the point where the manufacture of new writers and works could be carried out under the controlled conditions of the laboratory and the tested and purified techniques of the masters injected like plasma directly into the bloodstream of apprentices, enabling them to begin at once to write poems rich in ambiguity, paradox, irony, symbolism, and tension, and short stories and novels incorporating James's device of the "trapped spectator," Conrad's concealed and multiple narrators, and Joyce's parallels to the myth of Odysseus.

There was something suspect and vulgar now about a writer who worked up his own materials or who retained more than a speculative interest in the experience of his own time. To the literary men of the academy he seemed to inhabit some distastefully fetid underworld of sub-intellectual intrigue, a kind of retarded bohemian cellar, where the cold, clear light of Brooks and Warren never penetrated, and where, amid the burrowings and scramblings and titterings of life, the thin organic pops of violated metaphors, if heard at all, would have been mistaken for those of barmains. But, the independent writer had what was, from the academic point of view, the still more crippling defect of being unable or unwilling to keep abreast of the current developments in his field. He thought of himself, for example, as belonging to the avant-garde and as carrying forward a tradition of free creative inquiry into the spirit of

his age; while the truth was that his entire conception of the avant-garde—the conception of a community of intransigent, revolutionary talents—had long since been outmoded by the rise of a new academic avant-garde conceived in the name of orthodoxy and dedicated to the principle that all writers are created equal provided they conform to the rules of the canon. As for the work of free creative inquiry into the spirit of the age, it had been purged both of freedom and of creativeness and entrusted to a special commission headquartered in the *Partisan Review*, where it became known henceforward simply as "Project X: *explication du Zeitgeist*."

THE movement, finally, to which the independent writer naively felt himself to be still allied had not merely become institutionalized in the universities; it had passed into the receivership of the new avant-garde and been turned into capital for an official corporation of "experimental" literature, presided over by a board of director-critics, staffed by graduates of the literary workshops at Stanford and Iowa, and headquartered in the *Kenyon* and *Sewanee Reviews*. Here the process of direct exploitation of the masters of the movement—which had begun in the universities with the creation of synthetic, junior-sized Joyces, Jameses, and Kafkas—was accelerated to the point where it passed into the large-scale production of hybrid and mutated forms of those special dramatic techniques which criticism had explicated out of the works of the masters. Thus, instead of reading James, the young avant-gardist read Percy Lubbock on "The Ambassadors" and made use in his novel of Lubbock's interpretation of James's use of "point of view"; instead of reading Faulkner, he read Richard Chase on the images of line and curve in "Light in August" and began distributing through his novel, at the rate of about three to the page (that being the "holy" number), images of line and curve. He discovered in time of course that for the successful employment of these techniques some subjects served better than others: some would symbolize, others would not; some met the official specifications as to "resonance, thickness, and depth," others were dangerously experiential and naturalistic and threatened to trap him into a single

level of meaning or a failure to render or evoke.

There consequently grew up a special avant-garde etiquette of subject selection which became as restrictive in its effects on the quarterlies as the clichés and stereotypes imposed by the mass audience on the commercial magazines. A primary requirement was that a short story be presented against a background of sufficient complexity and dimension to make possible the objectification of theme through the natural elements of landscape and weather—a device made mandatory after the Robert W. Stallman researches into the work of Stephen Crane and Conrad. The best stories, therefore, were those set in such locales as the wild mountain country of the West and the decadent bayou and hill country of the South, where the majestic or baroque furnishings of environment could be made to serve as correlatives for the emotional responses of character. The situations themselves which could be expected to rise out of these locales were naturally limited in kind. They tended to turn on the mechanism of the muffled psycho-religious epiphany—the canonical equivalent of Aristotle's recognition-reversal sequence—and to have to do with adolescent hayloft intrigues, the death of small pet animals on Montana ranches, the sadism of sinisterly precocious Mississippi children, the menopausal sex adventures of middle-aged gentlewomen with faithful old plantation retainers, and the sensibility crises of lonely young girls in Virginia boarding schools. Stories of this type appeared to result from the writers' calculated effort to make use of materials which were conceived by the academy to be "literary"—because rustic or bizarre—and to have been drawn out of what few timid sorties into "felt life" they themselves had had the opportunity to launch prior to their matriculations in the workshops and graduate schools.

As their memory of life faded, however, along with their capacity to feel it, many of them began exploiting the world of the academy itself; and there set in among them a species of creative incest in which the relations which normally obtain between writers and their experience were perverted into relations with the agency which instructed or supported them in the art of having relations with their experi-

ence. The prototypal result was the work of "in-group" exposé, the academic *conte* and *roman à clef*, in which the dramatic interest centered neither in the "felt life" nor in the quality of the rendered emotion—of which there was usually none—but in the verisimilitude with which known institutions and personages were represented and satirized. And as these became in time increasingly easy to identify, it began to be evident that there existed even a formal avant-garde etiquette for scandal, a conventionalized snobbery which limited the area of satirical attack to certain selected institutions and personages—notably, to Bennington, Bard, and Sarah Lawrence Colleges, their faculties and presidents—and which ruled out places like Columbia and the Universities of Chicago, Michigan, and Wisconsin as presumably fit for investigation only in novels of a low naturalistic order or of merely reformist intent.

BY THE same token, the avant-garde writers themselves existed within carefully restricted lines of status and class. In issue after issue of the quarterlies one read the same names at the heads of stories—Randall Jarrell, Mary McCarthy, Walter Van Tilburg Clark, Eudora Welty, Saul Bellow, Elizabeth Hardwick, Flannery O'Connor, Jean Stafford, Shirley Jackson, Katherine Anne Porter, Robie Macauley—and when the quarterly reviewers devoted their characteristically scrupulous attention to fiction at all, it was almost certain to be to the work of these same writers. Those, on the other hand, who like Norman Mailer, Calder Willingham, James Jones, John Horne Burns, Irwin Shaw, Alfred Hayes, Gore Vidal, and Chandler Brossard, had come up outside the universities and had, for better or worse, remained free of affiliation except to their craft, were just as scrupulously ignored. They were apparently thought of as too unrestrainedly creative and, therefore, by an odd but typical logic, as insufficiently literary and serious. Their novels had to do with such subjects as war, race prejudice, sexual aberration, social maladjustment, neurosis, and insanity, or simply the way it was in 1945 or the winter of 1947, and these—now that the academy had attended to the burial of both the older realism and naturalism—were con-

sidered outside the province of the novel and suitable only as raw materials for sociologists, psychiatrists, and other case-workers in merely human experience.

Besides, the novel now was a classic form; it had evolved beyond the point where it could be used easily, exploratively, or imperfectly, with any hope of adapting it to the conditions of new work. All one could legally do was produce small, mathematically perfect scale-models of an institutionalized abstraction known simply as "novel," and then one had to be careful, for even in

effigy the novel had at least to wear the look of a strained and suffocating greatness. It consequently came about that the majority of these younger writers, although they represented the only really fresh and independently creative element to appear in the post-war generation, found themselves cut off, at the outset of their careers, from both the established avant-garde and the centers of the one respectable critical authority to which they might have looked for guidance, understanding, and the means of serious reputation.

Oscar Wilde—After 100 Years

By Joseph Wood Krutch

CENTENARIES make strange bedfellows. Oscar Wilde was born the very year that "Walden" was published. Less incomprehensibly this was also just two years before Bernard Shaw saw the light of the same Dublin.

At forty Wilde was the best-known and most successful writer in England. At the same age Shaw was still the obscure author of mostly unpublished novels and some highly unsuccessful plays. But the race was not to the swift. A few years later Wilde's name had become unspeakable and Shaw had started the slow climb to official eminence. One had all the luck, if luck is what it was; the other was the victim of every evil chance or choice. A generation later Wilde's homosexuality might have advanced his reputation as it seems to have advanced Gide's. And one can only guess whether or not the new seriousness of Shaw, Wells, and the rest would have so easily won the day against aestheticism if the Wilde scandal had not given a death blow to the movement to which the future then seemed to belong.

Even today Wilde's reputation is ambiguous and keeps him among those writers who are persistently read and admired while still generally denied the adjective "great." "The Ballad of Reading Gaol" follows "The Rubaiyat" in every series of flashy classics aimed at the half-educated; that famous chorus

lady who "already had a book" probably had "The Picture of Dorian Gray." Yet both as a man and as a writer Wilde had virtues which neither time nor scandal nor even his own inferior work has obscured. Only one of his plays is more than a period piece, but "The Importance of Being Earnest" is the finest as well as the funniest farce in the English language. His poetry may be only what his arch-enemy *Punch* once called it—"Swinburne and water." But not even too frequent quotation can obscure the fact that his epigrams run a gamut from glorious absurdity to real wisdom which no other English epigrammatist can compass.

Few who knew him ever denied that he was, as a man, both charming and so fundamentally kindly that his shrewdest thrusts were never poisoned with the malice of a Whistler. Moreover, his moral courage was astonishing. Over and over again during the years when he was still fair game for every philistine satirist he ran the risk of being laughed at rather than with, and he triumphed over opponents as redoubtably backed by popular prejudice as *Punch* and Gilbert and Sullivan. Whether he did or did not know that his American tour had been arranged as advance publicity for "Patience" he certainly knew that nine out of ten Americans were prepared to jeer. Yet he came and he conquered—partly because he was so obviously not afraid of reporters, of Harvard students prepared to rag, or of Western miners proud of their reputation for violence. Who else would

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have dared to meet Gilbert and Sullivan, spokesmen for solid England, face to face? "Parody is the tribute which mediocrity pays to genius" won the day because it was impudent, because it was witty, and, especially, because it was true.

Shaw never acknowledged two things he probably learned from Wilde—the effectiveness of paradox and the value of

unfavorable publicity. But he was certainly thinking of Wilde and the failure of aestheticism when he remarked that an old morality is never destroyed by anything except a new one. Victorianism did not give way to "splendid sins." It was "transvaluated" by Shaw and his fellow-puritans. Perhaps that fact more than anything else has relegated Wilde to a second place.

Catching Up with History

BLACK POWER. By Richard Wright. Harper and Brothers. \$4.

By Joyce Cary

THIS is the report of a British colony in West Africa, the Gold Coast, where Britain has lately appointed a Negro Prime Minister, Nkrumah, with large powers. As reporting, it is a first-class job and gives the best picture I've seen of an extraordinary situation.

The culture of Negro Africa is Stone Age. Nine-tenths of the people belong in mind to at least five thousand years back. And the mind, the education of a people, is what finally you have to reckon with in politics. This culture, this mind, has now been pitched into the twentieth century by no fault of Africa, or of Britain. It is the consequence simply of the speed-up of history by two great wars and the enormous technical and scientific progress of the last thirty years. Wireless alone, apart from modern economics, makes it impossible to isolate any culture from external shock, from new exciting ideas, and from the demagogue. In a series of brilliant scenes Wright shows the effects, social and political, of this violent clash.

He describes traders, black and white, each as naive as the other, and as confused by a situation which is completely new and dangerous but inevitable: juju chiefs and their households, bound still by the magic rites of the blood in service and in sacrifice; funerals where the corpse is represented in the coffin only by a cutting from nails and hair, to deceive envious spirits, the actual body being hidden in some secret place.

He describes political meetings where

JOYCE CARY, the well-known English novelist, has also written several books of political philosophy.

each family head brings his dependents, who at word of command cheer, clap, and shout for freedom. He can tell a story against himself. At a great meeting summoned by Nkrumah, he addresses the crowd on the responsibility of the Gold Coast Africans as pioneers in the fight for African freedom. The local reporters ask him for the text of his speech. He submits it to Nkrumah for approval. The Prime Minister glances over it and then stuffs it into Wright's coat pocket. The speech is censored.

Wright not only reports against himself; he writes so honestly, so directly as he feels, that he gives the material for a another book contradicting his own arguments. He tells us that the chiefs are all scoundrels but also that there is more genuine religion in tribal paganism than in the bourgeois Christian church; that Africa is in desperate need of education but Britain has been wrong in educating Africans too well. We read that Britain has shattered tribal culture and also that tribal life is breaking up because the people find it a bore and rush to the towns.

This latter is, of course, the significant fact. Tribal life is inconceivably narrow and boring—a combination of totalitarian government and authoritarian church in their most oppressive forms, a system that has succeeded with the help of the climate in preventing almost all progress. But humanity cannot stand boredom. Its imagination revolts instinctively and incessantly against the blimp. It may worship and tremble, but give it the smallest chance to escape and it will fly. So the tribes break up as soon as any paramount power establishes peace, stops slave raiding, and gives protection to the individual. The consequence is an immense growth in the towns—especially any town with indus-

try, cinemas, shops—and enormous slums, more difficult to control even than the Negro districts of Chicago or New York. I say slums, but they are slums only to the European mind; to the African escaped from the tribe they are dwelling places full of delights, above all of freedom.

Governments in Africa, whatever they are, have the choice between seeing the tribes break, the slums grow, or bringing in legislation to control the movements of the people. And repression in Africa, especially in Africa's present explosive mood, can very easily produce shooting, which means more repression. How are you going to maintain the tribe by police action? How are you going to convey tribesmen with a Stone Age mind through developments that in Europe took thousands of years, fast enough to catch up with history?

WHEN I joined the African service forty years ago, I was instructed that our aim was to prepare Africans for self-government by the development of their own native institutions—that is, we were to attempt to give Africa the social history of all civilized nations but to speed up the process as much as possible, without destroying our means. This limitation was highly practical. I found my local judge taking bribes. But I did not sack him. I had been instructed that almost all African judges took presents; the question was whether he gave fair judgments. Also whether I could find a better judge, for men of the necessary education were very scarce.

So too among primitive pagans chiefs were kept in power but given councilors who spoke for various sections of the people—the first step toward popular representation.

This plan for West Africa brought about smooth and rapid progress: that is to say, it gave the primitive administration we found as much development in forty years as primitive Europe accomplished in a couple of centuries. Of course we had the advantage over the Dark Ages of modern techniques, a trained staff, and the telegraph.

But then there was the war, immense economic disturbance, slumps—the same political turmoil that fell upon the whole world, India, China, South America.

Nkrumah, on the Gold Coast, demands, of course, complete independ-

ence, but he has no other choice. As a nationalist and a demagogue he is obliged to do so or some other demagogue would overbid him.

Democracy, of course, is impossible in any state where 90 per cent of the people are illiterate. It exists only in literate and industrialized nations with a powerful middle class and organized unions capable of standing up to central government. All other states are dictatorships more or less disguised. Nkrumah will have to be a dictator whether he likes it or not, and the question is whether he has the kind of genius which Atatürk brought to a much less difficult problem in Turkey, with a far greater educated class to help him.

Wright himself vividly pictures this difficulty, as he does all the others which face an African national government—except one, the rising population. Yet this by itself can smash all efforts, however well organized, to raise standards of living and education.

Population in Africa is increasing fast, and the country as a whole is poor in soil, difficult in climate, full of deserts. The battle for land is already acute. Mau Mau is one consequence, and the elements of Mau Mau are present everywhere, in the breaking tribe, and in the shape of the primitive mind. For the mind is still the mind of the tribal mass and will be so long after the tribal sanctions which controlled its repressed passions and neurotic panics are no more.

Wright's own answers to these political conundrums are offered to Nkrumah in an open letter. He urges him to sacrifice a generation, and not to be afraid of *militarism, or regimentation*.

A Great Victorian Intelligence

THE GEORGE ELIOT LETTERS.

Edited by Gordon S. Haight. Yale University Press. Three Volumes. \$20.

By George Dangerfield

WRITING about George Eliot years after her death, when her fame had undergone an almost total eclipse, Edmund Gosse recalled that, as a young man in the year 1876, he used occasionally to see her driving through the streets

GEORGE DANGERFIELD is the author of "The Era of Good Feelings" and other books.

The author has rejected the party, but his political thinking still belongs to communism. He imagines that violence, cruelty, injustice, and some clever lying can achieve a new civilization. But this is false. They can only produce new forms of oppression, new totalitarian states, which, because they are founded on oppression, face exactly the same difficulties as the ones they replace. If they do not educate, if they prevent the entrance of new ideas, new techniques, they stagnate and are finally destroyed by some outer force. If they educate, organize, develop, they generate large classes of rebels, more or less secret, who sooner or later will destroy them from within. Russia in the years since 1917 has had four or five internal revolutions, executed dozens of rebel leaders, purged thousands of their followers. And it is probably more unstable now, as a regime, than at any time before.

There are no easy answers in politics, especially nowadays. We are still groping our way, and need, above all, the facts of the new situation, facts all the harder to get because of universal propaganda, the practice, learned from Communist and Fascist alike, of the big lie. That is why books like this of Wright's are so valuable—so far, that is, as they give facts, and so far as the facts can be distinguished from the bias. Wright is so honest a reporter, so vivid a writer, that this is easily done in the course of reading.

It would be a public service if he could give us a similar report on Liberia, where a Negro government has been in full independent power for more than a century.

of northwest London in her victoria. Beside her sat her lover, George Henry Lewes, prematurely aging, "satyr-like," vivacious: he and she had become, by a typically Victorian paradox, a venerable institution. Eliot herself was "a large thicket sibil, dreamy and immobile," whose plain heavy features were incongruously surmounted by a frivolous Parisian hat. There was, Gosse wrote, "something pathetic and provincial" about her.

These words are both a memory and a judgment. Of course, she was provincial, but not quite in the pejorative sense

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that Gosse gives to the word. To be sure, he had some justification. Her novels were ponderous; they were didactic; they even had a taint of moral vulgarity—she was inclined to grade her heroines socially in accordance with their state of moral refinement.

But this is to talk about accidentals, whereas Gosse thought he was talking about essentials—about the vulgarization of genius and the misdirection of intelligence. If today, however reluctantly, we admit her once again to the company of great English novelists, we do so in some measure because of her deep provincialism. Her most persistent theme—"the stealthy convergence of human lots . . . a slow preparation of effects from one life upon another"—rose from her remembered experience of the complex and subtly changing relations between municipal town and country parish, between Church and Chapel, squirearchy and yeomanry, artisan and laborer. And the tragic element in "The Mill on the Floss" and in "Middlemarch" is partly the result of a clash between the rural-provincial world, where everybody knew his place, and the emerging urban genteel world, where nobody really had any place to know. In "The Mill on the Floss," Maggie Tulliver—an idealization of George Eliot in her youth—is a displaced person.

Displacement and replacement—alienation and reconciliation—are central to George Eliot's life and to these "Letters." It has rightly been said that she "hit straight at the main problem of the age, the reconciliation of the ethics of belief with the state of unbelief." But the problem was a *main* one because it was not only, and even not primarily, religious. Her agnostic ethic, as she says in one of her letters, was not aimed at dogmas or theists. She was really writing for people who had been condemned by the unsettling freedom of *laissez faire* to private cells of doubt, insecurity, guilt, and loneliness. She was one of these people herself.

THE great merit of this three-volume edition—there are three more volumes to come—is that it charts an intellectual and spiritual journey along one of the high roads of nineteenth-century English history—the rise of the urban middle classes and the drift to the towns. It is magnificently edited. George Eliot was

not a born letter-writer. She reveals herself with reluctance and her external world with difficulty. Professor Haight's annotations are not only learned, as they would have to be, since he is dealing with one of the great Victorian intelligences; they are also terse and illuminating. They turn a difficult and cumbersome text into a unique guidebook for the social historian, the biographer, and the critic.

The first volume, beginning with the year 1836, is perhaps the most instructive. It introduces Mary Ann Evans at the age of seventeen. A Warwickshire girl, daughter of a humble estate agent, she has lost her rough country dialect at two boarding schools and has acquired a fervent Evangelical pietism. Lonely and self-willed, she lives in a world of make-believe. Eternity stalks her, warning her that any self-indulgence may have fearful consequences; and she, in turn, is anxious to instruct her correspondents—the chief of them is a former schoolmistress—concerning the providential aspects of infant mortality, sickness, sorrow, and bad weather.

This alarming hypocrisy—in the literal sense of *acting*—nourished, however, the germ of a rational ethic. The Evangelicals believed that the living church was an aggregation of individuals, each one responsible for his own salvation. George Eliot retained this concept of personal salvation in her novels: all she did was to place it squarely in this world. With it she yoked her stern concept of duty. For the personal God she substituted a non-personal nature, a knowledge of whose "irreversible laws within and without" it was the duty of man to acquire.

For duty, too, is central to her novels and her life. In the early pietistic letters it appears as the denial of pleasure. In her more mature thinking it becomes the renunciation of the self. Thus poor passionate Maggie Tulliver receives the "severe monotonous warning" that "by forsaking the simple rule of renunciation, she was throwing herself under the seductive guidance of illimitable claims." To become aware of one's relatedness to others in the moral order—and therefore of the interdependence of things in the natural order—one must deny some of the most pressing claims of the ego. It is no wonder that in these "Letters" she harps on the word "resignation"; or

that in her novels her bleak but just ethic is best worked out in the lives of humble, or obscure, or frustrated people.

As the first volume ends, she has become a free-thinker and has occupied herself—it is characteristically at once a challenge and a penance—with her masterly translation of Strauss's "Leben Jesu." After her father's death she drifts to Coventry and then to London, where she becomes subeditor of the progressive *Westminster Review*. The second and third volumes—1852-1861—reveal the world of a mid-Victorian intellectual and novelist.

The life of intellectuals in the fifties was not an easy one. They had to depend for their living, often a very meager one, upon the whims of the reading public. They had to be not only versatile and intelligible but also palatable; not only professionals but also professional ladies and gentlemen. The vast respectability of an era closed upon their heterodoxies like a fist. Between its fingers here and there, extruded the head of a person of genius.

Eventually Miss Evans became such a person. But first she had—was it the

result of translating Feuerbach?—to run away with a married man, George Henry Lewes. Thereafter, as we see in these "Letters," her world became a very narrow one. It was in rented rooms, in seaside lodgings, in foreign pensions and suburban villas that her vast intelligence absorbed the intellectual history of her time; that she endured her headaches and her colds and her fits of despondency; that the selfless devotion of Lewes encouraged her to write her novels and consoled her in her agonies of self-doubt; that she made a great deal of money and bullied her publisher; that she turned slowly and rather formidably into a national figure called George Eliot.

The publication of these "Letters" is very timely, for, slowly and formidably, she is at last emerging from her eclipse. There are many reasons for this, but surely one of the main ones is that her concept of moral duty was also a concept of social relatedness. For all their bleakness, for all their heavy Victorian furnishings, her novels offer a superb and secular insight into the brotherhood of man.

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By Arthur Garfield Hays

GUILT by accusation has replaced
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Livingston, in his speech opposing the
Alien and Sedition bills of 1798: "Fear
officiates as accuser, and suspicion is the
only evidence that is heard."

What! Another book on the subject!
But the treatment is different. For this
is a book not of opinion but of fact.
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what? When? And where?

Dan Gillmor has supplied us with
basic materials which show the extent to
which Livingston's warning applies to
Congressional investigations of the re-
cent past. He refers to "the mass of
verbiage contained in the thousands of

pages of hearings on which this book
has been—we hope—firmly based." For
years the newspapers have supplied us
with headlines and stories from which
we have drawn our conclusions. The
headlines are not always supported by
the stories, and the stories vary from
day to day. Where are the facts to be
found?

If one is challenged on a statement
that McCarthy's investigations of Ft.
Monmouth were a hoax, where can one
get a succinct summary of the facts?
What did McCarthy uncover, if any-
thing? Did he do more than stir up sus-
picion by rehashing and interpreting or
misinterpreting material that had been
the subject of army investigations on
other occasions? For instance, on Octo-
ber 12 McCarthy declared that the
Monmouth situation had "all the ear-
marks of extremely dangerous espionage,
which may envelop the entire Signal
Corps." Nine days later: "I am not say-
ing whether it is espionage or not." November 5: "There is no question now
from the evidence that there has been

*ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS is well
known in the field of civil liberties. He
is the author of "Let Freedom Ring,"
"Trial by Prejudice," "Democracy
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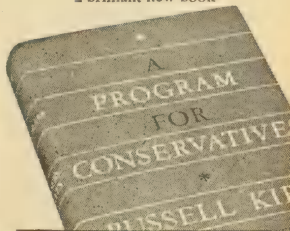
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espionage in the Army Signal Corps." On December 10 the *New York Times* quoted McCarthy as saying he had "no real hope of proving espionage. . . . It is not our function to develop cases of espionage."

What evidence, if any, was presented by Brownell to back up his statement that Harry Dexter White was a Russian agent and known to be such by the executive department that employed him? Just what did Brownell say? Just what did J. Edgar Hoover say? What were the supporting documents? Why was, not White indicted by the grand jury which investigated him? The statement was made that substantiating evidence from wire-tapping was not admissible in court. But this so-called evidence was never made public, Elizabeth

Bentley was vouched for by the F. B. I. as a reliable witness. We all know that time and again she has been caught in inconsistencies and lies. But what were they? Who were the witnesses against her? What did they say?

Dan Gillmor has done a prodigious job of research and analysis. In view of the mass of contradictory testimony, misleading headlines, bulldozing examinations, competition of investigators to be the first to excite suspicion, we owe a debt of gratitude for a book which not only is interesting but gives us the source material to show up the inanities of the accusers.

The book is chock-full-o'-nuts. I refer not only to the succulent bits of information but also to the individual fear-mongers.

iar figure whose voice was heard in councils that affected the whole world. It is the story of a staunch Democrat in whose eyes the Republican Party has been generally arrayed against common sense, decency, and the noble aspirations of mankind. He prefers the Democratic Presidents—Jefferson, Jackson, Cleveland, Wilson, F. D. Roosevelt, and Truman—in all their dissimilarities and contradictions to anything that the Republicans have brought forth. It would be easy to dismiss such a man with the ugly label of "party hack," but it would be unfair and untrue. There were at least a few times when he showed a definite trace of independent spirit, even of downright courage.

Tom Connally fought the Klan in Texas when the Klan was powerful and when lesser men cringed or kept silent. He stuck with Al Smith in 1928 when Texas, for the most ignoble of reasons, was voting for Herbert Hoover. He favored selective service in both great wars, going against some of the most powerful men of his own party. When Roosevelt brought forward his court-packing scheme, Connally opposed it, not quietly or covertly, but in a loud voice—even making a strong speech before the Texas legislature to clarify his position. No matter how one may view these acts today, they were not the acts of either a foolish caricature or a poltroon. Likewise, Connally's contribution to the great experiment of the United Nations—wise or not—is nothing to be dismissed with a smile or a sneer.

THERE is an undertone of sadness as Mr. Connally comes to the fateful year of 1952, when he visited Texas and decided not to run for reelection. He insists he could have been elected, but the cost would have been great and the campaign killing for a man of his age. Maybe. But a new generation had come along in Texas. Texas did not like Harry Truman. The two big shots in Texas now were Governor Allan Shivers and the state Attorney General, Price Daniel—Daniel now sits quietly in Connally's old seat in the Senate and Shivers has just been elected to an unprecedented third term as governor. Old Tom was told, as politely as possible, that he was through. The straw polls were running heavily against him everywhere. The big-money boys hemmed

A Solid Figure, Faintly Comic

MY NAME IS TOM CONNALLY. By Senator Tom Connally as told to Alfred Steinberg. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. \$5.

By Stanley Walker

IT IS the custom in many respectable quarters today to smile condescendingly when the name of Tom Connally of Texas is mentioned. His vast talents for fustian and bumbling, his gassy disquisitions, his painful writhings in the cause of party loyalty, his old-fashioned attempts at homely humor, his fancy haberdashery—all these combined to make a figure which, notwithstanding certain solid qualities, must remain more than faintly on the comic side.

The less critical admirers of Thomas Terry Connally have professed to see in him traits that remind them of John C. Calhoun and Daniel Webster. No one need take such comparisons too seriously; in his twenty-four years in the Senate he betrayed neither the unflinching principles of Calhoun nor the magnificent diction of Webster. Even in his own time the silver-tongued Henry Ashurst was a more deft performer on the wood winds, and William E. Borah was a cut

above Texas Tom as a powerful debater.

The truth seems to be that Mr. Connally from first to last was nine-tenths shrewd politician; the rest was something resembling statesmanship at times, combined with a congenital, irresistible itch to impersonate Fred Allen's Senator Claghorn. Some experts have argued, indeed, that he *was* Claghorn, a diagnosis which seems unnecessarily cruel.

Mr. Connally's account of Mr. Connally's life and times is a "what-is-it" sort of book, not easy to classify. Often it is straightforward, patently sincere, and even appealing; again it is evasive and foggy, larded tastefully with back-country jokes and the bright sayings of the inevitable Texas "colored man." Well, why not? That, as Claghorn himself might put it, is life, ain't it, son? Although this is an "as-told-to" book, the hand of the ghost writer is mercifully absent. Mr. Steinberg, the collaborator, keeps himself entirely out of the picture and was apparently content to serve merely as recorder and copy editor. The result therefore is pure Tom Connally, and exceedingly valuable stuff for connoisseurs of American politics and students of the United States Senate, or Cave of the Winds.

This is primarily the story of the relatively poor boy, rather handsome, who got an education of sorts, practiced law, and then went into politics—going onward and upward until he was a famil-

STANLEY WALKER is a Texas rancher and free-lance writer. More biographical information about him will be found in The Nation's Bulletin Board on another page of this issue.

and hawed and looked the other way; they loved old Tom—but. And to the newer generation Mr. Connally was merely an odd relic of another day. His fancy clothes were merely funny; his beautiful curl of hair at the medulla oblongata seemed a bit of affectation; the rivet in his neck—which some say he borrowed from the late Senator Jim Watson of Indiana—gave him an air of pomposity which, as the saying has it, was quite un-Texan. And as the fine old "colored men" around the square in Marlin would put it, "Old Tom must have been eatin' high on the hog. He sure has packed on the tallow." Anyhow, it was time to quit. But he didn't come back to the hot springs of his beloved home town of Marlin. He stayed in Washington; he doesn't say what he is doing there.

Mr. Connally, in this absorbing and instructive book, gives unexpected judgments of various persons. For one thing, he says he always discounted Arthur Vandenberg's conversion from isolationism, and never trusted Vandenberg. He does not mention the younger Henry Cabot Lodge at all. There is nothing about Bilbo or McCarthy; nothing about the egregious W. Lee (Pass-the-Biscuits) O'Daniel, who was the junior Senator from Texas for six years; and, for that matter, nothing about the present Democratic Leader, Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas. Curious, these omissions.

It would be a low sort of cheating not to give an example of the rapier Connally wit: Once, when Henry Wallace was being questioned by a Senate committee on Russian relations, Wallace warned against putting Russia in a position where it would react like a "cornered beast." Quick as a flash old Tom cut in with: "Who said anything about cornered beef?" And that, he says, neatly disposed of Mr. Wallace.

And oratory: In 1936, at the time of the observance of the hundredth anniversary of the independence of Texas from Mexico, Mr. Connally made a Senate speech which he ended thus: "Where is bronze stout enough; where is granite firm enough; where is marble white enough in chiseled figure or molded form to portray its grandeur?"

It was Borah himself who rushed over to say, "Webster never said anything finer." In retrospect, Mr. Connally is

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gracious enough to add, "I suspect Webster did." (Cries of "No! No!")

There is one baffling omission, a mysterious thing, which is sure to puzzle Texas fans. Senator Connally, in the earlier parts of the book, mentions his son Ben several times with becoming pride and affection. But the last mention of the son is on page 179. Strangers are sure to ask: "What in the world ever

became of little Ben? Was he kidnaped? Did he vanish into the Texas sunset?" No. Little Ben did very well. All of a sudden, while his Pappy was still in the United States Senate, Little Ben, a moderately obscure lawyer but a very nice fellow, was appointed a federal district judge. Now how the hell do you suppose that happened? The man doesn't say.

The Paradox of MacArthur

MACARTHUR—1941-1951. By Major General Charles A. Willoughby and John Chamberlain. McGraw-Hill. \$5.75.

By Mark Gayn

FOR the last fifteen years of his long military career Douglas MacArthur was an odd, often intractable, and always memorable figure. He was also the greatest paradox ever to wear a United States army uniform. A general of brilliance and daring, he was closely linked with two of the worst calamities to befall American arms in the twentieth century—at Bataan and below the Yalu. A commander who demanded absolute loyalty from his subordinates, he denied loyalty to his own commander-in-chief and operated as an independent pro-consul in remote territories. A soldier, he hungered to be a policy-maker and a politician. A national hero, he was rejected by the electorate whenever his name appeared on the ballot. Finally, more probably than any other American political figure, he smarted under criticism, demanded adulation, and maintained a busy corps of myth-makers.

It is strange, therefore, that there are more good books in American homes on, say, Rommel than on this colorful and often tragic American. At the moment, I can think of only one first-rate study of MacArthur, Louis Morton's "The Fall of the Philippines," and that one dealt with but a small segment of the General's career.

At first glance, the newest volume on MacArthur has much to commend it. Its author is Major General Willoughby, who served as MacArthur's intelligence officer for ten years, belonged to the

"inner circle" in Tokyo, and was involved in some of the MacArthurian controversies. Its authenticity is supported by the author's statement that the book was "initially undertaken with the encouragement of General MacArthur; it is expanded from the original group of ten chapters which were read and annotated by him." And to add literary gloss to the work, Willoughby had enlisted the help of John Chamberlain, at whose feet I sat twenty years ago, when he taught literary criticism at the Columbia School of Journalism.

CONSIDERING all this, the volume is disappointing. It traces MacArthur's career in 1941-51 with geographic felicity. It records all his campaigns, quotes from numerous staff studies, and reports some minor but fascinating episodes of the Pacific war. But the book remains a chronicle of battles rather than a flesh-and-sinew portrait of a complex personality. The image is one-dimensional but not for lack of devotion. MacArthur is repeatedly likened to Napoleon. No commander in history, the authors insist, "rose to greater heights of genius" than MacArthur in the early days of the Korean war. MacArthur's "I shall return" is said to have been "on every man's lips [in the Philippines, and] . . . whispered in children's prayers." The authors also reverentially quote some of MacArthur's purple prose, on which his ghost writers used to expend so much effort. But the adjectival writing is no substitute for depth, for candor, or for a touch of analytical quality.

Still, these shortcomings could be ignored had this been a genuine contribution to history. It is not. It is argumentative and often pettily malicious. It adds little to our knowledge of the Pacific war, and in some checkable in-

stances it distorts history cruelly—for instance, in General Willoughby's recital of how our B-17's were caught and destroyed on Clark Field some ten hours after MacArthur's chief of staff was notified of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Compare General MacArthur's statement in the Willoughby book that he never considered raiding the Japanese air bases on Formosa, and his insistence that he was forbidden to initiate hostilities against the Japanese, with the record cited in Louis Morton's careful study. General MacArthur, Mr. Morton notes, did have full authority to act, was expressly authorized to make "air raids against Japanese forces and installations," and had in fact sent a radio to Washington that same day reporting that he would raid Formosa the following morning. The Japanese did not wait.

The distortion goes on right up to the disastrous drive to the Yalu. General Willoughby insists MacArthur did anticipate Red China's entry into the war, suggests that the central intelligence authority might be held to blame, maintains that MacArthur did not tell President Truman at Wake Island that the Chinese would stay out of the war. Flushed with victory, MacArthur pressed his attack toward the Yalu, although in late October he had been told that General Walker's supplies were running low and as early as November 2 had evidence of the presence of Chinese troops in Korea. General MacArthur, according to Willoughby, considered the consequent retreat operation as "one of his best . . . if not the best!" The casualties, Willoughby notes, were held down to only 13,000—a figure which disingenuously ignores the ghastly South Korean losses.

WHY did the Chinese enter the war? Willoughby quotes, with obvious approval, a staff commentary on the Wake Island meeting:

How little did MacArthur realize that by one process or another it would be conveyed to the Red Chinese that even though they entered the fray in large forces, it would be under the sanctuary of being immune from any destructive action by our military forces from within their own areas; that not even to save the lives of our men or insure the safety of our army would we permit the air force to drop the atom bomb on military targets. . . . That the Red Chinese commander apparently knew such a decision would be forthcom-

MARK GAYN is the author of "Japan Diary" and "The War in the Pacific."

ing while General MacArthur did not, represents one of the blackest pages ever recorded.

(This typical staff memo in itself casts an interesting light on the *mores* prevailing in MacArthur's headquarters.)

The dubious historical record goes on, with shy innuendos against Truman and Acheson, against General Bradley, against the United States navy and air force, against Britain—which is suspected of inspiring MacArthur's dismissal because it wanted to put an economic

visé on Japan—and even against the War Crimes Tribunal, "the work of the artisans of Yalta, Tehran, and Potsdam." It is a monotonous recital of grievances, real or fancied, written with a minimum of grace and a maximum of insinuation. It helps to explain why General Willoughby, according to *Time*, at one time considered leaving these socialistic shores for the serenity of Spain. But it does not qualify either as history or as rewarding biography. At best, this is typical Tokyo-style myth-making.

Trygve Lie's Apologia

IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE. By Trygve Lie. The Macmillan Company. \$6.

By Richard Friedlich

IT IS a year and a half now since Trygve Lie ended his seven-year career as the first Secretary General of the United Nations. That career ended on a decidedly low note, and assessments of his contribution to international diplomacy were generally attuned to the latest unflattering impression of him. But the intervening months have made it easier to take a more objective view. And Lie's eminently readable 448-page "apologia" will help mightily to insure that he gets his due, though it will also reemphasize the personal shortcomings that accounted for the mistakes for which he has been rightly censured.

The reason for the lowness of Lie's prestige when he finally left office was his gross mishandling of the purge of alleged Communists and Communist sympathizers from his four-thousand-man staff. Admittedly, it was the most difficult sort of problem for a U. N. chief to handle, given the state of American public thinking on the subject and the overriding requirement that the moral issues be balanced against the necessity of saving the organization, so dependent on United States support, from outright extinction. But the burly Norwegian Social Democrat went about his task in the clumsiest fashion—seeking to sweep the mess under the rug, as though such a thing were possible; an-

tagonizing the press corps, which might have helped him, by indignantly denying many accurate accounts of what he was up to; waiting much too long to explain his stand with any degree of candor and thereby allowing the morale of his uncertain staff to drop to frightful depths; carrying his policy of expediency to lengths far beyond those that could be deemed necessary to protect the organization from potentially fatal Congressional reprisals.

In his chapter on The Communist Issue in the Secretariat, Lie says, "Being human, I of course made mistakes." But that is as far as he will go in dropping his mantle of self-justification. He neglects to specify those mistakes and so to set the record straight.

What Lie lacked in candor and ability to admit mistakes was largely counterbalanced, especially in the earlier years, by political courage and some strong, almost stubborn convictions. He gives a lucid account of his unwavering support of the U. N. decision that led to the creation of Israel. And he tells a hitherto-unpublicized story of how he proposed—unsuccessfully—to American delegate Warren R. Austin in the spring of 1949 that both of them resign in protest against a United States proposal to drop the U. N.-approved partition of Palestine for a trusteeship scheme.

Throughout his career Lie energetically shunned the role of simple administrator to which some nations—he cites Britain especially—would have largely relegated him. Instead, he sought to make the most of powers which the U. N. charter delegated to him. Among the more significant examples of this bent were his pre-Korean campaign to

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win a U. N. seat for the Chinese Communists, his peace mission to the four major world capitals just before the Korean outbreak, and his unhesitating condemnation of the North Korean aggression. The detailed recitals of his reasoning on these issues are valuable contributions to the historical record, though they provide little new insight for the U. N. expert. His story of his 1950 meeting with Stalin has the fascination that almost any such story must have.

In his account of the pre-Korean battle over Chinese membership Lie gives the first official confirmation of a report that made the rounds at the time and throws significant light on the attitude of the State Department. The United States officially took the stand then that it opposed Red China's admission but would not use the veto if the required majority of seven Council members decided otherwise. The United States also sought to spread the impression that it was not pressuring any Council members to vote one way or another. But there were reports that energetic steps had been taken to reverse a decision by Ecuador to vote for seating Peking representatives. Lie says:

I had expected that the United States would refrain from exerting pressure against the seating of Peking. I was wrong. The State Department proceeded

to take off on an entirely different course, bringing its influence to bear (I was reliably informed) on one of the Latin American lands which, in the light of my memorandum, had planned to support the seating of the Chinese Communists in the Security Council.

This writer remembers confronting Secretary Acheson with the report when the Secretary met reporters aboard ship on his return from a London meeting of the Western foreign ministers. Acheson flatly denied the story, and it would be interesting to know whether he was deliberately seeking to mislead the press or whether some department underling was "making" policy without knowledge of his superiors.

Lie wonders whether there would have been a Korean war if the Red Chinese had been given a U. N. seat in that fateful spring of 1950 and quotes a 1954 speech by British delegate Sir Gladwyn Jebb raising the same unanswerable question.

This writer is inclined to view the point as somewhat academic on the theory that overt local Communist aggression was bound to come somewhere—if not in Korea, somewhere else—since the Communists had not yet been convinced, as Korea did convince them, that the West would resist. It appears doubtful whether Red China's bid for a U. N. seat affected the problem as directly as Lie and Jebb suggest.

Selected New Books

European Politics

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION 1788-1792. By Gaetano Salvemini. Translated by I. M. Rawson. Holt. \$5. A revised version, and the first English translation, of a fascinating work first published in Italy in 1905 and long a classic on the Continent. The author has since become the "grand old man" of anti-Fascism and the dean of Italian historians. Salvemini at his best.

THE DEATH OF THE FOURTH REPUBLIC. By Ronald Matthews. Praeger. \$5. A British journalist in Paris, 1944-53, here gives us an immensely readable and informative history and diagnosis of the betrayal of the Liberation and the sickness of post-war France.

POLITICS OF BELIEF IN NINETEENTH CENTURY FRANCE. By Philip Spencer. Grove Press. \$6. The author of the best English biography of

Flaubert sensitively and searchingly explores the efforts of three French Catholic leaders—Father Lacordaire, Abbé Michon, and journalist Louis Veuillot—to reconcile their church with republicanism, liberalism, and social reform. The story of their failure vividly illuminates the issues between clericalism and anti-clericalism.

THE LEGAL COMMUNITY OF MANKIND. By Walter B. Schiffer. Columbia. \$5.50. This posthumous work by an exiled German jurist is an erudite and valuable contribution to the history of ideas in the fields of international law and world government. It examines the concept of natural law in the writings of Grotius, Pufendorf, and Wolff and the ideas of progress and collective security. The author concludes that the U. N., like the League before it, represents an attempt to "get everything for nothing." **FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN**

"Freedom Through Truth for Service"

FIFTY YEARS IN CHINA. By John Leighton Stuart. Random House. \$5.

By O. Edmund Clubb

JOHN LEIGHTON STUART, being human, must have wanted his memoirs to be a uniformly personal distillation of his rich experience and ripe philosophy, including particularly his deepest feelings for the Chinese people and their culture. He reports that the first part of his account was in fact written through the years. But misfortune prevented his completing the work unaided: in 1949, shortly after returning from China, he suffered a stroke from which he never fully recovered. So in his foreword he extends credit to Dr. Stanley K. Hornbeck for collaboration on the three concluding chapters (the post-China phase) and to Mr. Philip Fugh as "the impresario" of the work. The chronicle is his, but the narration was avowedly a joint effort.

In his role as missionary-educator Dr. Stuart stands out as the scholar who has absorbed much of China's thought and spirit and possesses deep awareness of the country's tortuous political currents. In the development of the institution with which his name will always be associated in China—Yenching University—he manifested both the flexibility of the born negotiator and a broad humanism. It was at Yenching that he "awoke to the crucial importance of better international understanding in securing peace and in leading ultimately to some form of world community," and he had thought of broadening the university's scope in service of this concept.

The Pacific war interrupted the educator's career with internment. Then, in July, 1946, Dr. Stuart was projected suddenly into the American ambassadorship, to aid General Marshall in mediation between the Nationalist and Communist sides in China. His book unsparingly criticizes both parties to the civil dispute. Those criticisms will not be new to students of the China scene. But it is requisite to note that a number of factual errors and chronological con-

fusions have crept into this account, and that regrettably—given especially the importance these memoirs will naturally have for American thinking on the 1945-49 period—some integral parts of the picture are missing.

However, the present dominant fact is that the mediation undertaken progressively by General Hurley, Marshall,

and Stuart failed to prolong into the post-war period the Nationalist-Communist collaboration that had been in effect, at least technically, since 1937. When Ambassador Stuart left China in August, 1949, the Nationalist armies were shattered and the Communists were in Nanking. In retrospect, he characterizes our China policy as being "hesitant or wavering" all through 1947, and suggests that a more positive policy might have won greater success. An-

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other sometime educator-diplomat, Dr. Hu Shih, in an introduction to the memoirs quotes Pontius Pilate and puts the matter in different, stronger words: "The United States was not 'innocent of the blood' of fallen China."

The question of responsibility for past events leads naturally to the problem posed in the final chapter: The United States and China: What Policy Now? Dr. Stuart holds generally that "to have a sound policy regarding any country or region we must first have a sound policy regarding the world as a whole." The specific proposals that follow are nevertheless not supported by reference to either world policy or Asia policy but limited instead to Formosa and the China mainland. The proposed policy envisages continued support of the National government, no toleration of Communist conquest of Formosa, non-recognition of the Peking government, opposition to Peking's occupancy of China's U. N. seat, and no trade with areas under Peking's jurisdiction. "Containment" and non-intercourse are to succeed the Open Door policy.

That there are schisms in American opinion regarding both past and present in China is notorious. But one point is incontrovertible: by 1950 China had been undergoing for a full century the throes of massive change under the impact of new concepts and techniques—many of them introduced by merchants and missionaries from the Occident. Hu Shih in 1924 described his country's transformation: "A new China is being born. . . . It is no slavish worship of the Western civilization that we are witnessing but the rebirth of an old civilization under the influence of a new impulse and a new attitude which direct contact with the ideas and methods of the modern world has produced."

The advent of modern Asian nationalism and the practical disappearance of colonialism in Asia, combined with China's new orientation, undeniably confront American policy-makers with a task of basic revision. In logic, an effective China policy should further attainment of American objectives in Asia as a whole, with the objectives determined by the national welfare and our global interests. The policy outlined in Dr. Stuart's memoirs is in general line with current American practice. Whether it is the best possible long-term policy

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—The Churchman, editorial,
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would seem now urgently to require sober, careful study.

The memoirs thus end in an area of controversy. But Dr. Stuart had struck a more characteristic note in an earlier observation that "the preservation of China's national freedom and of her fine national culture is vitally related to the peace of the Pacific and the progressive welfare of all mankind. To this cause my life has been devoted." Dr. Stuart's memoirs incorporate his concern for the people and culture of China, and his memory of the friends and colleagues he has loved and the grace and beauty that charmed him there. It was in the mood of his China environment that he ended his penultimate chapter by quoting Henley's "Margaritae Sorori": "So be my passing. . . . Let me be gathered to the quiet west, the sundown, splendor and serene death." It was evident throughout the book that Yen-ching's longtime president, beloved by his students and his friends, would want to be remembered in connection with the university's motto, "Freedom through Truth for Service," long after some of the partisan furies of the present age shall have passed into a dusty limbo.

Mr. Humor

THE BENCHLEY ROUNDUP. A Selection by Nathaniel Benchley of His Favorites. Drawings by Gluyas Williams. Harper and Brothers. \$3.50.

By Donald Ogden Stewart

HERE he is again—the whole glorious Benchley! Not the whole, actually: a selection of his son Nathaniel's "favorites." Not the whole, but enough to give you an idea of the glory. And not the whole Benchley, in the sense that no whole of a writer gets into his works. My "favorite" Benchley was the man himself—but that was a privilege reserved to a few, the most fortunate few in the world.

As I read his son's selections, I am surprised at how many of them I had never read before. This is not in any sense a criticism; it is more in the nature of a revelation of new delights, and also a realization that in past years I was probably afraid to read him for fear that I would find out how many of my own humorous bits had already been written by the Master. I think that most humorists today must humbly admit to the same indebtedness.

Benchley was humor. His writings were only one of the outward and visible evidences of the inner grace, the divine essence. But one must not make the mistake of considering humor as a sort of electric heater which one plugs in when one needs the illusion of warmth and happiness in the best of all possible worlds. Benchley *did* give out a radiant glow; his friends and his millions of readers *did* warm themselves and feel better because of his presence. But he was not one to be operated by a switch; he was a flame, capable of leaping out of the fireplace and bitterly scorching the hypocrite, the pretentious, the inhumane. There is a selection in this book, a piece about Paul Revere called "Whoa!" in which Paul, after jumping into his saddle on the verge of his historic ride, has a vision of the future United States in which "he saw ten million thin children working and ten million fat children playing in the warm sands. And now and again he saw five million youths, cheered on by a hundred

million elders with fallen arches, marching out to give their arms and legs and lives for Something to Be Determined Later. And over all he saw the Stars and Stripes fluttering in the artificial breeze of an electric fan operated behind the scenes." A footnote advises that "this piece was published in 1924 when derision was not confused with disloyalty."

So loyalty certificates are now essential for humorists. This ought to occasion quite a flurry of footnotes among publishers, especially those who were so unfortunate as to publish Mark Twain, Mr. Dooley, George Ade, Ring Lardner, *et al.* The living ones, of course, can presumably clear themselves by testifying that they were duped into derision. I think that Benchley must be laughing at that footnote in his book. I hope so. It was such a wonderful laugh.

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Time in Modern Fiction

THE HUGE SEASON. By Wright Morris. The Viking Press. \$3.75.

REUNION. By Merle Miller. The Viking Press. \$3.95.

By Stanley Cooperman

TIME is the fourth dimension of modern fiction. While awareness of time is not, of course, limited to any one literary era, the examination of its impact upon human life is a vital aspect of modern writing. The result of this preoccupation with time has been a progressive weakening of the traditional concern for eventful plot and the growth of novels in which "nothing really happens" except the concentric and vertical development of consciousness.

The modern focus of attention is not so much on what an individual does as on what he is; events are important only for the reaction to them, and even the reaction is used largely as a means for entering the interlocking relationship of individual minds. Novels which take place in a week or a day are now quite familiar, but represent a sharp deviation from the traditional stories which so often cover years or generations. A week or a day, however, is adequate for the modern novelist precisely because he is concerned with intensive rather than extensive time; he creates his people, not along horizontal lines from event to event, but at a given moment when all significant events have already occurred.

Controlled by a craftsman, the result is not static. Using the day or hour as a single point, the novelist blasts back into time, intermeshing present and past so that the "story" becomes the lives he wishes to present. The method is one of discovery rather than action. Once the discovery—of personality, relationships, attitudes—is achieved, any action which does follow becomes enormously significant, although it may be something as unimpressive as a reunion of ex-G. I.'s or a casual dinner.

Wright Morris, with "The Huge Season," and Merle Miller, with "Reunion," fit squarely into this neo-traditional area. Both novelists have written

books which take place in a single day; both make extensive use of multiple time levels and interior monologue; both build around a reunion of people who have not seen each other for many years; and both are concerned primarily with developing a configuration of past relationships, heightened but not limited by a single situation existing within the present.

"The Huge Season" unfolds within the mind of Peter Foley, "professor of dead languages" and survivor from the late and unlamented Lost Generation, bachelor, respectable denizen of campus and boarding house. Time, for Foley, is something that existed only in the life of his father, who controlled it with a gold watch. Foley has inherited the watch but not the control; the drift of days holds him in a gentle but rigid pattern. Lacking pain, pleasure, or rebellion, Foley, in the present, is dead; he can exist only in remembering. There had been Lawrence, "who had the habit of perfection" and killed himself pursuing it; Proctor, raking the coals of his own Jewishness, probing, attaching himself to movements and rejecting them, and finally ending as an eccentric martyr before a Congressional committee. There had been Lou Baker, wild and amusing and spending a lifetime not finishing her novel; and Dickie, the playboy with the savagery and perverted innocence of a child.

Morris sees his people across time, framing them in a present which makes them anachronisms. The rebellion and voracious appetite for life of a generation ago appear vaguely ridiculous, partly because the rebels have grown older and partly because they have survived only to reach an era where most searches are suspect and perfection is embarrassing.

IF Morris uses the techniques of modern fiction, Merle Miller permits these techniques to use him. His is a virtuoso performance, projecting disrupted time sequence and an entire set of points of view—male and female, rich man, poor man, sane and insane. Through cinematic alternation of monologue Miller very nearly reaches the basic isolation, the mutual unknowability, of human

beings. By overstating his case however, by neglecting nuance for contrast and producing his people like so many tooled parts, he creates a smooth and impressive literary machine whose sole reason for existence seems to be its own operation.

The men in "Reunion" are deliberately drawn to represent every social stratum and mental attitude. The result is altogether too neat—like those war novels which forever include one Italian, one Jew, one lawyer, one truck driver, one farmer, one Man with a Secret, one psychiatric case, and so on. The women in the novel fare no better: there is the Decent Harlot, the Wife with a Lover, the Rich Wife Who Cannot Have Children, the Neurotic Wife, and the Happy Wife—happy because she is married to a mechanic who is very uncomplacent and very good in bed. To some extent this familiar stable is rendered more effective by Miller's expert manipulation of prose to suit the point of view. The disturbing aspect of the method is precisely the fact that his calculations and measurements are often obvious and therefore intrusive.

The texture of Miller's prose is, as usual, brilliant: sentences like scattered glass glinting beneath the flash of wit. There is, however, too much surface; a reader may well feel that while racing through this rapid and competent work he is missing something which should be examined more slowly, perhaps even with more difficulty. The impression of superficiality remains even in Miller's satire, which is always barbed and often savage. The "pale novelist," the "liberal," the "good samaritan," and assorted cocktail-party leftovers are, after all, fairly safe targets, since reader can so easily enter a pact with author and assume that neither is to be found anywhere within the target area.

Miller's satire extends to his attempts at compassion, and the result is a sneer which seems to have become a posture he requires in order to function effectively. He speaks, for example, of "all the easily predictable Sylvias and Harrys" who live ordinary lives in the ordinary residential areas. Only when Merle Miller is able to work on the level where the "easily predictable" people are not predictable at all, will he reach beyond brilliant but limited pyrotechnics.

STANLEY COOPERMAN is a freelance literary critic with a special interest in modern fiction.

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Fiction

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MORNING, NOON AND NIGHT.

By Lars Lawrence. Putnam's, \$3.95. A slashing novel of poverty-stricken miners in the American West. Like the "angry novelists" of the thirties, Mr. Lawrence overloads his case and oversimplifies his people. Not a book for readers who believe that fiction must offer something beyond an indictment.

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Wallace Stevens's "Absolute Music"

COLLECTED POEMS. By Wallace Stevens. Alfred A. Knopf, \$7.50.

By John Ciardi

NO POET of real talent will find an audience ready for him in our time. To the extent that he has achieved his own way of seeing and of saying he will be entering areas for which few but the most devoted readers will be ready. Wallace Stevens is not unique in having outrun the "audience," but he is certainly our one poet of unquestionable major stature to have separated himself by so great a distance. As far as the general reader, whoever that may be, is concerned, Stevens is American poetry's Great Unread. For every fifty citizens who know of Robert Frost and have read a few Frost poems or who have at least heard him read, one or two at best will be aware that Stevens exists. To be sure, the last few years have brought Stevens the Bollingen Prize and the National Book Award. It still seems significant that despite the fact that he has published five of the best books of poetry ever written by an American—the first one as far back as 1923—he has

never attracted the notice of the Pulitzer Prize Committee in Poetry. By this time I don't see that the committee has any choice: if Stevens doesn't win the Pulitzer for '54 the committee might as well turn the prize into a blue ribbon and award it at the National Horse Show, for any relevance it will have to poetry.

Stevens's failure to reach the "audience" is a direct consequence, in some part, of his refusal to be a salesman and platform stumper for his poems and, rather more, of his absolute insistence that imagination is more "real" than reality ("The world imagined is the absolute good") and his ascetic refusal to accept in his poems the reality of the "real" world. "I taste at the root of the tongue the unreal of what is unreal," Stevens not only prefers imagination; he denies the reality of the world's view of itself.

Joking with Robert Frost once in Florida (I report the exchange from Mr. Frost's account of it), Stevens said, "The trouble with you, Frost, is that you write on subjects." Frost replied, "The trouble with you is you write bric-à-brac."

The exchange was in play, but the center of the play locates a real difference. Some poets, Frost notable among

JOHN CIARDI has recently published a translation of Dante's "Inferno" in verse.

them, write poems which have their references, at least in large part, in a recognizable external world; to the extent that we knew beforehand something at least about what they are describing, our understanding of the poems is made easier. Stevens, on the other hand, insists on the poem as its own imagination and subject; a thing made of itself in the saying; a self-entering, self-generating, self-sealing organism, a thing of its own nature.

The sound of that slick sonata
Finding its way from the house, makes
music seem
To be a nature, a place in which itself
Is that which produces everything else.

In the pursuit of that absolute music, that music which rises from itself and follows itself, Stevens has gone farther than any other man in English to achieve his sound effects. So in Bantams in Pine Woods:

Chieftain Ifucan of Azcan in caftan
Of tan with henna hackle, halt.

The reader who does not stay around long enough to realize that this is good play beginning with the comic effect of saluting a champion bantam rooster (significantly strutting about in a pine woods as if he meant to knock over the trees) by the ridiculous name he bears in the pedigree book—such a reader will simply find himself puzzled here, especially if he is one of those literalists who must always know at once where he stands. For that matter, even the most devoted admirer of Stevens is likely to find himself swallowing hard to take down some of the decorative French tags and quasi-Elizabethan lolly-lilly ricanic Stevens so often runs in while pursuing his "absolute music."

! It is not for such devices, or for the

philosophy of the imagination, that one falls in love with Stevens, but for the magnificence of his ear. Let any reader begin with such a poem as *Le Monocle de Mon Oncle*, or *Sunday Morning*, and simply ask himself if English or American speech has ever been made to overflow with such music as this. Stevens teaches the language its own singing possibilities.

Even in profoundest admiration, however, I cannot get rid of the feeling that Stevens's true golden period ended with *Transport to Summer*. His sixth book, *Auroras of Autumn*, and what must count as his seventh, being the section of new poems first published in this collection as *The Rock*, are still the work of the master, but of the master repeating himself, and just a bit wearily. Stevens is now seventy-five. The age is certainly no necessary limit to the imagination; William Carlos Williams is seventy-five too, and his last book contains some of his best things. Nevertheless, every poet past his first excitement is tempted to become talky and to borrow from himself, and of late Stevens seems to have succumbed to the temptation. The images and the rhythms that arrived to him once as to a marriage tend now simply to arrive to an anniversary, and to come not in an excitement but in a habituation. It is all there, all written, all made. He tends to assume too much from his own past performance. It seems more inviting to talk about his perceptions than to make them happen. It is, to be sure, rich talk. In such a recent poem as *To an Old Philosopher in Rome* it becomes almost the real thing again. But the total begins to tire. Even magnificence can grow late. But what matters is the magnificence, and that will be there as long as the language is spoken.

The Phaidon Ingres

THE PAINTINGS OF J. A. D. INGRES. By Georges Wildenstein. Phaidon Publishers. Distributed by Garden City Books. \$12.50.

By S. Lane Faison, Jr.

IN RECENT years the Phaidon monographs have progressed from luxury-trade picture books with interesting introductory essays into full-dress catalogues raisonnés of an artist's complete

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not measure up to the standard previously set in these monographs. Its one hundred and twenty glossy plates (eight in color) are less adequate than at first they appear to be. Value contrasts have been forced, with a consequent loss in halftone ranges. For Ingres this means a fatal diminution of the plastic power of his taut forms. Comparison with the plates in the Editions du Dimanche volume on Ingres, even though they in turn

are too soft, will bring out the truth of these statements.

Wildenstein's nine-page essay can only be described as a perfunctory assortment of easy platitudes. How prone the French are, notwithstanding their many brilliant writers, to turn out this sort of thing! No discussion of Ingres' development is given, very little appraisal of his place in the history of art or society, and no criticism whatever.

The essay is quite overbalanced by an elaborate chronology of the sort that some research assistant might compile.

Although the catalogue of Ingres' work in oil is an admirably professional job, it has its limitations. It is true that complete information is afforded as to dimensions, location, date, bibliography, and total history of each painting. But on the curious pretext that a previous work of the author has been misquoted by other critics—or could it be other dealers?—who failed to mention in the case of certain doubtful pictures that he called them apocryphal, no work which Wildenstein considers unauthentic is either illustrated or discussed. Thus the reader is not allowed to participate in the author's processes of analysis, or in the end to judge the quality of his connoisseurship. As a matter of fact, it is of the very best, and the loss to the reader is therefore considerable. There is an astonishing amount of mediocre work among the two hundred small illustrations included with the text of the catalogue. More often than the catalogue indicates one wonders whether some student of Ingres—there were many—was not responsible for the execution of the work in question.

Another lack is the absence of any discussion of Ingres' work in pencil or water color, or of the development of a composition through the known stages to the final production in oil. Although several samples of these studies are beautifully reproduced in full-page plates, in a number of instances the location of the item is not given, and as none of these studies are in the catalogue this elementary information is simply left out. Locations of the paintings themselves appear only in the catalogue, and it is annoying to have to look up the right number in the catalogue section to find out where the picture is owned. It is curious that the editors did not catch this omission, inasmuch as the locations are given with the plates in the other volumes of the series.

All in all, one guesses that this book was compiled from the wonderfully complete records kept by the great art-dealing establishment over which the author presides, and that the avoidance of discussion and criticism represents the exigencies of the trade, not the limitations of the writer himself.

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TERM "GOD" UNDERVALUED IN CURRENT CHURCH USAGE

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If a railroad engine, powerful enough to pull thousands of tons, were used persistently—day after day—to drag a train of toy cars, everybody would say that the engine was being inefficiently employed. And yet, this is precisely the way the term "God" is habitually used by the honest and well meaning people who belong to the churches.

We have learned, in earlier installments, that the term "God" comes to us out of a great struggle, which was led by the Hebrew prophets, against the unjust economic and social practices identified with Baal and "other gods". It was this very struggle that lifted the terms "God" and "Jehovah" (or "Yahweh") upward from the level of heathenism. The prophets, who victoriously fought heathen gods, learned to think of Deity as a Personal Force, above Nature, but identified with Social Justice (not socialism or communism).

The idea of social justice was expelled so thoroughly from the ancient church that it has been treated as an intruder in the sphere of religion for more than fifteen hundred years. The term "God" has been restricted to the idea of individual righteousness and personal redemption—just like the powerful engine pulling only a toy train. In the prophet Isaiah's vision of God's purpose "He will bring forth justice to the nations [not simply to Israel]. He will not fail nor be discouraged until he have set justice in the earth" [not merely in Israel], (Isa. 42). Instead of this imperial world-ideal, most religious people, in all honesty and sincerity, have been satisfied with personal salvation and individual comfort from the Lord. (A little selfish, is it not?) Do you wish to use your influence in promoting knowledge of truth and fact which will help to bring the churches and the general public up to the intellectual level of our progressive theological seminaries and outstanding universities?—A circular will be sent to you upon receipt of a three-cent stamp to cover postage. Requests for the circular must be accompanied by the three-cent stamp to defray cost of mailing.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

Theater

Harold Clurman

DRAMATIC critics are said to rejoice in plays they dislike, for it is supposedly easier to achieve eloquence and verve in condemnation than in praise. Many readers of dramatic criticism, I suspect, prefer a pan to a rave; through the critic's spleen the reader vents his own bile at little cost.

For my own part, though I am too often given the occasion to be severe, I dislike disliking. I find it especially painful, I must confess, to dislike what the community cherishes. I shall therefore not dwell long on what I must reject. In a dwindling theater this is perhaps the most honorable course.

"Home Is the Hero" (Booth Theater), by Walter Macken, strikes me as an unnecessary play. I do not see its point, I do not recognize its theme, and if it is merely a tale to be told I do not perceive its fascination. A braggart who has killed an innocent man in a drunken brawl returns home from jail. He is still savage, with an added and insulting touch of self-righteousness. His family rebels. Why should this interest us? The characters are Irish and occasionally employ a phrase that capers or sings, but there are many much better Irish plays—O'Casey's, for example—which are never produced.

The Theater Guild's production, moreover, is poor. Who ever lived in that characterless room? There are nice actors in the cast—Art Smith for one—but very little notable acting. Peggy Ann Garner is an attractive girl; why must she be disgraced with such an awful play? Who ever said all Irish girls are brunettes?

Down at the Cherry Lane Theater another play by a gentleman of Irish birth, William Congreve's "The Way of the World" (1700), is given a creditably crisp production. It is not at all an easy play to do, because its language, though exquisitely witty, is somewhat intricate for purposes of speech and its highly cultivated bad manners are foreign to modern, particularly American, man. The young people in this production manage the speech and the manners remarkably well. This is especially true of

Nancy Wickwire—who may prove something of a find—Priscilla Morrill, Thayer David, and Raymond Johnson. It is gratifying to know that we have young actors who without strain or affectation can speak and behave as if not all our citadels of theatrical culture were situated on the wrong side of the tracks.

I must warn my readers however that in seeing "The Way of the World" they will be able to relish its prose without following its plot. This should not worry them. The plot is absurd—as are most plots. In "The Way of the World" it is even difficult, unless one is a specialist in English literature, to identify the characters by name. Instead of being distressing there is something of an abstract gaiety in this: it is like watching brightly quaint figures flitting about, sparkling and remote, in an unfamiliar world.

"THE BOY FRIEND" (Royale Theater) also has something distant about it. Perhaps this is one aspect of its appeal. (To enjoy our day we must either get more deeply involved in it or escape it as much as possible.) This show, I must not fail to report, is an enormous success in London, and may possibly be one here, especially with avid theatergoers. For it is based on a theater joke—a parody, a pastiche, a burlesque, or, if you will, an evocation of "the musical comedy of the 1920's," or of a somewhat earlier date.

It is very well produced. Its casting and cast are admirable. Julie Andrews in the lead, the comic soubrette, and the four friends of the "heroine" are perfect. The costumes by Reginald Wooley, the choreography by John Hernwood, and the direction by Vida Hope are witty, meticulously observed—the models must have been old show-business photographs—and reveal the sure hand of a refined craftsmanship. The lack of push or punch is also refreshing; a certain British charm and intimacy, a delicacy of temper and good humor are everywhere evident.

Yet I failed to share the audience's enchantment. The pleasure in parody may be something which eludes me—a blind

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spot. I remember the musical-comedy tunes of the twenties; they were and still are excellent tunes. Sandy Wilson's score does not catch their charm. I do not find the foolishness of the old musicals any more foolish than that of the new. A parody or a teasing evocation of a past era should have a grace and attraction of its own and not depend so much on our memory of that which is recalled. Robbins's Keystone Comedy number in "High Button Shoes" was a brilliant bit of choreographic satire and would delight a spectator who had never seen a Keystone Comedy. It had a present, so to speak, a permanent value.

If we are asked to laugh at old dress and old modes we should be shown fewer scams and more of the whole cloth. While watching "The Boy Friend" and appreciating its skill and the darling homeliness of its Cockney

girls—a marvelous job of make-up, by the way—I prayed that I might see some good revivals of the better musicals of the twenties, beside which this pleasant spoof is a skimpy thing, an over-long skit. But perhaps the parody here is only that of the English imitation of the American shows of the period.

At another theater in the jolly Village (the Provincetown) a "commercial" play of 1766, "The Clandestine Marriage," by David Garrick and George Colman, is being commendably done. There is an engaging performance in it by Frederic Warriner in the part of the decrepit rake, Lord Ogleby; Jacqueline Brook's voice is lined with a velvety tearfulness; and the old-old-fashioned story framework is decked with sprightly dialogue and always welcome quips aimed at the pretense and avarice of the (then) new class of money grubbers.

Music

B. H. Haggin

BEHIND what is presented to our eyes and ears in public is a machinery whose operation we get to know very little about. As editor from 1948 to 1952 of *Musical America*, one of the chief advertising and publicity media of the musical professions and businesses, Cecil Smith was in a position to know a great deal about that machinery, and to tell us a great deal in "Worlds of Music" (Lippincott, \$5). Since he is discussing matters we are ignorant about we need to know whether we can read him with confidence in his accuracy; and we have to decide this from the things he says that we do know about.

We have to decide this not only about fact but about opinion, since the book inevitably offers both. It includes, for example, occasional critical evaluation; and we note therefore the level of musical taste and judgment revealed in the statement that "Mengelberg's extraordinary ability as a technical disciplinarian was equalled by his gifts as an interpreter. In the years since his departure the [New York Philharmonic] may never have surpassed some of its performances under him, memorably of

Strauss's 'Ein Heldenleben' and Liszt's 'Les Preludes.'" And music criticism aside, we note soundly reasoned criticisms of American broadcasting of music and of musical education in schools, colleges, and conservatories—but also fancy ideas an editor of a trade paper finds effective when addressing women's clubs and conventions of teachers or orchestra managers. For example the idea that music throughout the country should be not an importation from New York ("the curse of our whole musical life") but "the best that our own communities can produce." I'm not contending that people in these communities shouldn't produce music for themselves; but suppose someone were to argue that the novels they read or the paintings they see should be not importations from New York but "the best that our own communities can produce."

And we find some of the fancy thinking done with facts invented to fit the thinking—notably in the discussion of the New York City Opera. Thus, concerning the change in the opera public in the last twenty-five years we are told that with the decline in singing managers have had to depend more on the

opéras themselves to attract the public; and at the same time the public's level of appreciation has improved: "twenty years ago you could shoot deer in the house when a Mozart opera or Strauss's 'Der Rosenkavalier' was on the boards," but today "Figaro" and "Don Giovanni" are given every season at the City Center and "Der Rosenkavalier" had to be given six times instead of three. All this in amplification of the contention that Halasz succeeded in attracting the musical public because he concentrated on the work rather than on voices; in addition to which "he attracted the theater-going public . . . by treating opera as a form of drama that requires as persuasive staging as a Broadway play." But actually we have had, in the last twenty-five years, Flagstad, Ponselle, Rethberg, Leider, Lehmann, Milanov, Steber, Berger, Melchior, Bjorling, Tucker, Warren, Pinza; actually we have today Steber, Callas, Tebaldi, Gueden, Bjorling, Tucker, Valetti, Warren, London, Siepi, Hines; actually they are still what attracts people to the Metropolitan; but actually the "Cosi Fan Tutte" and "Rosenkavalier" I attended in the mid-twenties and the "Don Giovanni" of 1929 drew full houses. As for the New York City Opera, actually the audiences, paying less than Metropolitan prices, were content to hear operas without Metropolitan stars but with the fresh, lovely voices of the young singers available to Halasz; and actually for the sake of the good musical performances they put up with the ineptitudes and absurdities of scenery and staging they wouldn't have tolerated in a play on Broadway.

Nor is it true that the New York City Opera's low prices attracted "a new audience, largely unacquainted with opera," and that it was therefore "a people's opera catering to an audience unacquainted with the traditions of foreign-language presentation," which for Mr. Smith means an audience requiring English-language presentation. Actually they attracted the New York musical public that was acquainted with opera through the Metropolitan's performances and broadcasts and welcomed the opportunity to hear good performances for less than the Metropolitan's prices—a public which, then, was accustomed to foreign-language presentation and gave evidence of being satisfied with

it: the City Center not only attracted people familiar with foreign-language presentation but attracted them with performances in foreign languages. Mr. Smith argues that "no translated opera has ever frightened away customers who would have come to hear the same opera in a foreign language" (which I don't think is true); but more significant is the fact that no customers were frightened away from City Center by the foreign languages—the significance being that a theater filled by "Carmen" and "Faust" in French and "The Barber of Seville" in Italian indicates no need for English-language presentation. He points to the "astonishingly strong pull at the box office" of "Figaro" in English; but he is silent about the equally strong pull, a couple of years earlier, of "Don Giovanni" in Italian. And discussing Halasz's adventurous repertory policy he cites the box-office success of "Salome," "Der Rosenkavalier," "Agadine auf Naxos," "Eugen Onegin"; but he omits to say these successes were achieved by performances in German and Russian.

These are only the normal debating tactics of the opera-in-English cultist; but they are part of the reason for reading other sections of the book without absolute confidence in the accuracy of Mr. Smith's facts and reasoning; and an additional reason is what he writes about the operation of the machinery of the concert business—or rather the difference between what he writes now and what he wrote five years ago. The picture now includes unattractive details—in particular the grim situation of the young pianist or violinist who is accepted by one of the two big management corporations, and whose career

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ends after the three years it takes for him to make the circuit of the corporation's organized audiences once around—unattractive details the picture did not include five years ago; then we read only of what the managements did for young artists even beyond giving them engagements—of the "study, initial promotion, and even basic living costs . . . financed by NCAC and Columbia" for as long as two or three years before commissions began to come in from their first paying dates." It may be natural for Mr. Smith to have written this in *Musical America* and to write more realistically in a book published after he left *Musical America* for a job in London; but it doesn't make him a writer one reads with the confidence I spoke of.

Letters

(Continued from inside front cover)

Ben Hecht's Story of His Life

Dear Sirs: Ira Wolfert's characterization of Ben Hecht's life as revealed in "A Child of the Century" as "a long personal Fourth of July which he spent celebrating his own independence by shooting off a mouthful of firecrackers" is a wonderful one. This book's uniqueness is enhanced by the fact that we live in an age of intimidation when playing safe has become a national game. Everything in this new Hecht book is so wonderful, so refreshing, so honest, so heart-warming, and so right that one wonders how Mr. Hecht happened. I hope his book will be read by many people.

Rogers City, Mich.

L. H. GREGORY

Or Is It Fiction?

Dear Sirs: Ben Hecht tells us in his autobiography that he spent a good many years in Chicago inventing fake incidents—a piracy in the Chicago River, for instance—and writing page-one pieces about them. He also tells us how he organized, a phony treasure hunt, planted some pieces-of-eight, and sold lots like hotcakes in Key Largo during the Florida land boom. It was inevitable that such a charlatan should turn to fiction (fiction labeled as such). Those of us present-day Chicago newspapermen who shelled out \$5 apiece for his rambling life story have reason to wonder if Mr. Hecht has ever written anything but fiction, and this goes too for most of the incidents and anecdotes in "A Child of the Century."

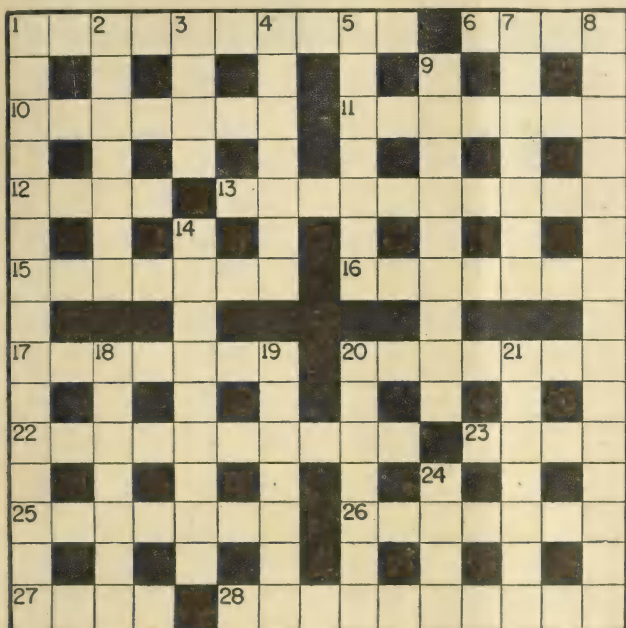
Shame on Ira Wolfert for telling us that "only a bore could fail to enjoy reading his account." It is beautifully written, breezy—and patently phony.

Chicago, Ill.

JACK OLSEN

Crossword Puzzle No. 589

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Blow left? No—it's broken. (3, 2, 5)
- 6 and 12. Scared us bad, but we might have gone to a lot for them. (4, 4)
- 10 One who likes things other than simple? (7)
- 11 Good accounts aren't kept in this. (7)
- 12 See 6 across.
- 13 You might find this lad amusing at dinner. (10)
- 15 Do I read incorrectly the way the message was sent? (7)
- 16 and 24 down. Red flag? (7, 4)
- 17 Imagine oneself unwanted, to try for a hint. (4, 3)
- 20 Just the bird to put a foot down in front. (7)
- 22 Rock a smooth wind arrangement, by the sound of it. (10)
- 23 The boom, perhaps, blows back. (4)
- 25 Something about the seaside doesn't make one feel very well. (7)
- 26 The saint is shaken about the edge of the flower. (7)
- 27 Kingdom coming? The one of Jubilo. (4)
- 28 Con men stop parts of it. (10)

DOWN

- 1 He should be much less important than the policeman of the year. (7, 2, 3, 3)

- 2 A crusader can't get mixed up over the color. (7)
- 3 This drink should have a good turn-over. (4)
- 4 Such beets should be crimson. (7)
- 5 Speller, perhaps. (7)
- 7 Tunny. (7)
- 8 Is plain rain bad after a record opening for such drivers? (15)
- 9 In general, denoted by the first star. (9)
- 14 With which the course is improved by even putting. (9)
- 18 The first letter is a plant which comes up in many countries. (7)
- 19 Sort of 3 to this in addition. (7)
- 20 Carbon dioxide makes this! (4, 3)
- 21 Is this actress commonly aware of slow-mounting infuriation? (7)
- 24 See 16 across.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 588

ACROSS:—1 INSTINCT; 5 POETIC; 9 CHATEAU; 10 STEARIC; 11 SEAPORT; 12 ENAMELS; 13 LITTLE THEATRE; 15 NO HOLDS BARRED; 21 LICENSE; 22 JUSTICE; 23 MILETUS; 24 ROLLERS; 25 JUSTET; 26 AMEROSIA.

DOWN:—1 INCASE; 2 SEA WALL; 3 ICEBOAT; 4 COURT PLASTERS; 6 OPERATE; 7 TORMENT; 8 COCKSURE; 10 SWEET MARJORAM; 14 INFLAMES; 16 HACKLES; 17 LUNETTE; 18 RUSTLER; 19 DRIVERS; 20 RED SEA.

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THE *Nation*

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A Congressman's Exposé

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The American Assembly

Harriman, New York

THE American Assembly, the Columbia University seminar founded by President Eisenhower while he was still the university's head, met at Arden House early this month to discuss "The Federal Government Service—Its Character, Prestige, and Problems." The delegates freely admitted to reporters after four days of debate that the "sense of fear and insecurity" among government workers today was the "most alarming threat" to the efficiency of the federal civil service; yet the recommendation that the federal security program be revamped was buried deep in the Assembly's lengthy final report. The recommendation, moreover, was couched in language something less than bold and unequivocal, as it probably had to be to satisfy the fifty-four business men, educators, clergymen, and labor leaders who attended.

It was generally acknowledged that in the present international climate there must be some way of "checking the loyalty and discretion of government employees," but a good many delegates felt that the fear and insecurity among government workers were the direct consequence of Eisenhower's own security program, that the program as now formulated threatened civil liberties and affronted human dignity.

One of its defects, it was pointed out, was that it did not define disloyalty, each government department being free to interpret words like "subversion" and

"security risk" as it saw fit. Drinking three martinis at a Washington cocktail party (two martinis and you were still on safe ground), entering a proscribed bookstore, or subscribing to certain publications for six months made a man suspect in one agency's eyes. How could a government worker be sure that his most innocent gestures would not some day be cited as evidences of disloyalty?

There was sharp criticism, alluded to in the Assembly's final report, of department heads who allowed their security officers to arrogate to themselves the responsibility of firing employees—the political commissar taking over control from the commanding general. Final determination of disloyalty, the delegates insisted, should be the duty of department heads or, better, of an independent body set up to judge security cases.

The Assembly deprecated the "trial procedure" in loyalty-security hearings. Accused employees were suspended without pay at a time when they badly needed money to pay counsel fees. Even if cleared, employees would have to pay out months of salary for legal expenses.

In its final report the Assembly unanimously recommended that "concepts of employee loyalty and security be set," that "an employee discharged on security or loyalty grounds have a right of appeal to a central review board," that accused government employees be continued on the federal pay roll until final determination of their cases. Going even farther, it asked whether employees

fighting disloyalty-security charges should not be reimbursed for "court costs."

The delegates reserved their sharpest barbs—these were not incorporated in the three-thousand-word report—for the way the loyalty-security issue had been exploited for political advantage. No names were mentioned in the report, but in corridor conversations the delegates made it clear that they held the Republicans chiefly to blame for this.

Here you have Vice-President Nixon, one of them said, asking for the reelection of a Republican Congress because the Administration had removed Communists, fellow-travelers, and security risks from the government service "not by the hundreds, but by the thousands." Here you have McCarthy using the Monmouth investigation to vilify the Democrats. Here you have the President himself injecting the loyalty issue into his State of the Union message as a political tactic.

In the final analysis, this delegate said, the low morale of federal workers could be placed right at the door of the Chief Executive. How can you expect government workers to feel secure, he summed up, when their chief tells them over a nation-wide television hook-up that this Administration has already "smoked out" some 211,000 useless employees from government service?

ANTHONY BROY

[Anthony Broy is U. N. correspondent for an overseas news agency.]

Letters

Varied Poetry

Dear Sirs: In the September 11 issue of *The Nation*, your thoughtful review of "The Vegetable Kingdom" by Padraic Colum states that "by now the Indiana University Poetry Series seems definitely to have aligned itself on the side of the representational." As editor of the series I should like to correct the impression left by your review. From its beginning two years ago the Indiana University Poetry Series has tried to bring out the best poetry it could find, without regard to school or style. It has not aligned itself with representational or with any other kind of poetry. I believe that a glance at the six books we have already published and the two books—"Kingdom of Diagonals" by Kenneth Slade Ailing, and "The Reckless Spend-ers" by Walker Gibson, to be published

in November—will show great variety of school, style, and theme.
Bloomington, Ind. SAMUEL YELLEN

On Waldo Frank

Dear Sirs: I was about to write a letter asking that readers of *The Nation* again hear from Waldo Frank, when I received the issue of September 25, 1954. His earlier article, *The Anti-Communist Peril*, breathed fresh and sane contrast to the prevailing climate of stale anti-Communist platitudes and hysteria. An American Tragedy, a statement expressive of the same healthy sanity, indicates a direction of thought that should be explored in greater detail and applied more widely if guidance is to be given to efforts to check current mass dementia.

San Francisco GEORGE N. TANNER

The Shape of Things

The Warning Came Early

In connection with Mr. del Vayo's discussion of German rearmament on page 356 of this issue, the following warning, written by a distinguished American for the North American Newspaper Alliance on the eve of the 1945 San Francisco Conference which created the United Nations, makes interesting reading:

My fourth proposal for the San Francisco Conference is that agreement upon continued and total disarmament of the enemy nations must be entered into either as part of the United Nations Charter or as a separate agreement. In any event it will have to be enforced by the Security Council. And it profoundly affects the whole question of peace.

Three years ago Mr. Gibson [Hugh Gibson, American diplomat] and I proposed that the enemy states must be completely disarmed for an entire generation. We pointed out one of the great errors of the Treaty of Versailles in which Germany was permitted to retain a professional army of 100,000 men, supposedly for the purposes of maintaining internal order. She was permitted to have a navy limited only in tonnage and type of ships. We stated that this leeway perpetuated her professional armies and navies. It perpetuated the warrior caste and all its traditions. It afforded a skeleton army and navy of skilled men ready for quick expansion. It insured the continuity of the General Staff with its military skill, brains, and ambitions. It perpetuated their know-how to make war.

Repeated experience with the warrior caste of these nations in their intimidations, aggressions, blitzes, and attacks without even declarations of war should be enough for the world in this particular. We must make a better job of it this time. . . . We should prohibit the manufacture of arms of any kind [by these countries].

The writer was Herbert Hoover.

"Enslavement" and the Ex-Communist

The heresy hunt continues in the New York school system. Three associate professors at Hunter College, one of the municipal colleges, have been dismissed by the Board of Higher Education. The three admitted past membership in the Communist Party—two had left the party in 1941; the other in 1949—but refused to name colleagues who had been members. From the 111-page

report of the trial committee the plain fact emerges that the three scholars, with unimpeachable professional standing and excellent teaching records in mathematics, music, and philosophy of upward of twenty-five years, were dismissed for refusing as a matter of conscience to become informers.

In an editorial of October 2 the *Herald Tribune* notes that "the role of the informer may strike many people as repugnant" but concludes that the "enslavement" of a teacher who refuses to "cooperate in exposure" is "still plain," and warrants dismissal. Heretofore it has been argued that alleged membership in the Communist Party or its "fronts" warranted official inquiry and possible dismissal; now, apparently, the ex-Communist is also "enslaved," unless he informs, and will receive the same harsh treatment. The relative indifference of the rest of the country to the heresy hunt in the New York schools continues to encourage the heresy-hunters to experiment with new punitive techniques which are then copied by other school systems. It is time that the academic community began to focus its undivided attention on the New York witch hunt.

Whose U. N. Is It?

Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., United States representative at the U. N., achieved new dimensions of arrogance and crudity in his attack on Dr. Luther Evans, director of UNESCO, for failing to dismiss—without any sort of due process—eight American employees who had received adverse loyalty reports. Lodge's action was okayed by the State Department and so cannot be dismissed as a one-man outrage.

As Mr. del Vayo explained in *The Nation* of October 9, the Americans in question, employed in the Paris headquarters of UNESCO, refused to testify at loyalty-board hearings on the ground that their employment by an international agency could not be made subject to the loyalty procedures and orders of Washington. It is for this that they face dismissal. Dr. Evans, it should be said, has shown no sympathy with their stand. He has merely put off firing them until he thought he could do so legally. Four have already been notified that they will be dropped when their contracts expire at the end of December; the others, on indefinite tenure, can be dismissed only if the UNESCO meeting next month gives Dr. Evans the power he has demanded to terminate any contract at any time.

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But Mr. Lodge is not interested in Dr. Evans's legal scruples. What he wants is action. If the head of UNESCO fails to act, he is simply blocking the rapid completion of a purge which has been triumphantly accomplished in the U. N. headquarters staff. What does it matter to Mr. Lodge, or to the State Department, that the staff members in question have been sustained both by the U. N. Appeals Board and by the Administrative Tribunal in Geneva? The real boss of all the specialized agencies, and of the United Nations itself, so far as their American employees are concerned, sits in Washington, D. C.

If Dr. Evans were truly the international civil servant he is supposed to be, he would resign rather than put up with Washington's interference with his job and his office. Doubtless he will not resign. But we hope a general uproar of opposition from other delegations and agencies will check the American invasion led by Colonel Lodge. Otherwise the U. N. will be taken over whole, one day soon, and tucked away in some back corridor of the State Department where orders can be more easily given and more quickly carried out.

Without Shame

In "a highly unusual legal move" United States District Attorney Leo Rover, acting as we now know with the full knowledge and approval of Attorney General Brownell, has sought to disqualify Judge Luther W. Youngdahl from presiding at the trial of Owen Lattimore. Evidence of "bias" is found in Judge Youngdahl's action in dismissing four counts of the original indictment. By the same logic the Court of Appeals might also be accused of "bias" since it sustained, in an eight-to-one ruling, the dismissal of two counts but managed to stay in the department's good graces by ordering two of the dismissed counts reinstated, thereby maintaining an acceptable fifty-fifty ratio of favorable-unfavorable rulings.

Counsel for Lattimore have properly charged that Mr. Rover's suggestion is "scandalous"—a bald attempt to manipulate the administration of justice. It is that, but it is not unusual. The Department of Justice has consistently refused to observe acceptable canons of decency and fair play in its handling of political prosecutions. A few years back the department filed an affidavit of bias and prejudice against Judge Delbert Metzger when that courageous jurist refused to fix bail for the Hawaiian Smith Act defendants in amounts suggested by the prosecution (see *The Nation*, September 15, 1951, Judges or "Mere Instruments"?). The real scandal is that the department should still hesitate to dismiss a prosecution which would never have been initiated but for the outrageous pressure applied by the late Senator Pat McCarran as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee. If the department had a case against Lattimore it

would not resort to such shyster tactics as attempting to smear the good name and reputation of a fine federal judge. Perhaps on the morrow of the November 2 election Mr. Brownell will muster sufficient courage to restore public confidence in the department's handling of political cases by dismissing this scandalous prosecution. In the meantime he, and not Mr. Rover alone, should stand rebuked for this latest attempt to treat federal judges as though, in political cases, they were simply clerks acting on orders from the Department of Justice.

"What Kind of Country Is This?"

Two years ago this month the distinguished American poet Dr. William Carlos Williams was named Poet in Residence of the Library of Congress—an honor comparable to that of poet laureate and one which, incidentally, commands a stipend of \$7,000 a year. But Dr. Williams has still not assumed his position. *Nation* readers can guess the explanation. Soon after the appointment was announced, the usual smearing charges were leveled against the poet, and the F. B. I., which is increasingly in the habit of sticking its institutional nose into everyone's affairs while claiming complete freedom from investigation or supervision itself, launched an investigation. Dr. Williams still does not know what this inquiry revealed, but one may suspect that some F. B. I. cipher clerk is still working on his poems. Interviewed by the *Washington Post*, Dr. Williams said: "I don't know a thing. What did they find? They never did give me any indication. I received a communication from the F. B. I. to be fingerprinted and replied to all sorts of preliminary inquiries. Then I wasn't even given the courtesy of a reply. For heaven's sake, what kind of country is this?"

In view of this incident, which is merely the latest in a long list of similar ones, we are completely at a loss to understand J. Edgar Hoover's recent statement—in the current issue of the Northwestern University *Law Review*—that to blemish a man's reputation "by unverified allegations of disloyalty is to do a grave injustice." Someone—but who would dare?—should ask Mr. Hoover for a statement on the Williams case.

Where Were the Experts?

A recent issue of the *Annals*, the house organ of the distinguished American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, is devoted to "America and a New Asia," comprising addresses made at the Academy's spring meeting. The subject demands the utmost in sober and objective analysis, but the two sections of the issue which deal with the "New Korea" and the "New China" display grave shortcomings in both particulars. The writers on Korea are an adviser to Syngman Rhee, Rhee's ambassador to the United States, and Arthur H. Dean; the China "ex-

perts" are Adolph A. Berle, Jr., Chiang Kai-shek's ambassador to the United States, and a junior American foreign-service officer. Not unsurprisingly the result is a faithful reproduction of the Seoul and Formosa outlook on foreign policy. Surely the Academy should produce something more substantial in the way of scholarship than this. What is more disturbing is the thought that our own policy toward Korea and China is being formed on the basis of such misleading material.

Why did American Orientalists not participate in the discussions? Was the Academy cowed by the Korea and China lobbies? Or have the lobbies succeeded in gagging the Orientalists? With the new turn of events in Asia, the Soviets have begun to admonish their Far Eastern experts to turn out more and better work, while we have been sacrificing ours to the witch-hunters. "Nothing," said Goethe, "is more terrible than ignorance in action." A grim thought—for the Academy and for the country.

The Wilson "Slip"

BY T. K. QUINN

GENERAL MOTORS' Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense, has performed a service, albeit unconsciously, by emphasizing the latent attitude toward unemployment of many of our giant-corporation executives. When he remarked some months ago that "what is good for General Motors is good for the country," he was voicing his honest judgment. He is a sincere, hard-working man—and a victim of the ancient doctrine that the king can do no wrong. His latest comment in which he compared the unemployed to bird dogs and kennel-fed dogs, while undoubtedly not intended to be unkind, nevertheless came from deep within him and revealed an attitude not uncommon among his corporation colleagues. It is not that they are innately inhumane but that the very nature of their positions at the head of giant organizations, remote from the bread-and-butter struggle of their tens of thousands of employees, blinds them to the predicament of the common workman.

I am moved to write this by various news reports which tend to dismiss Mr. Wilson's latest statement as the error of a big industrialist who is not a politician. Such an attitude implies that how an official feels about a public issue is secondary; only his language matters.

The truth seems to be that few of our major industrialists understand the workings of the whole economy. They do not realize that in times of depression or recession the unemployed person cannot find work any-

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where unless he replaces someone else, thus leaving the over-all problem unaffected. The bird dog may indeed go "south" as Mr. Wilson suggested—or for that matter north, east, or west—without in the least subtracting from the unemployment rolls. I know from experience how rarely big industrialists concern themselves with the social implications of what they are doing. Mr. Wilson, who helped to form our dependent, corporate society, is in no position to complain of the inevitable results.

UNEMPLOYMENT is a demoralizing blight upon our country and must not be tolerated. To treat it lightly or as a mere statistical phenomenon is inexcusable. Yet how can Mr. Wilson, with his background, be expected to view workers as anything other than statistics? The line of authority in a giant corporation extends downward from the board and the president, through executive vice-presidents, to operating vice-presidents or division managers, thence to factory managers and superintendents, thence to foremen, and finally to the workers. How can the man at the top of this gigantic structure understand the problems of the countless men at the bottom?

The steady growth of such huge capital aggregations is crowding out the smaller, more creative, more humanly responsible companies and leaving less room for new enterprise. Yet Mr. Wilson no doubt honestly believes that "our free society depends upon the initiative of the millions and not on the dictatorship of the few." He appears quite unconscious of the economic dictatorship wielded by the small group of privately owned billionaire corporations whose influence extends beyond their workers to thousands of small suppliers, distributors, and dealers, and beyond them to the mass-communication media of the country.

Mr. Wilson spoke of having worked in a shop when he was nineteen. He should have admitted that he has long since become detached from the problems which were close to him then. I cannot help feeling how much better he might have served society had he become the president not of General Motors but of some small independent company where he could have remained reasonably close to the workers. In that case he would not have carried into public office the cold detachment natural to the remote manipulator of the destinies of people whose problems he has long since forgotten.

VERSAILLES AND LONDON

The Deadly Parallel . . . by J. Alvarez del Vayo

THE measures adopted, and to be adopted, to keep German rearmament under effective control are a constant theme in commentaries on the London conference. They cropped up in the debate which preceded the French Parliament's vote of confidence in Mendès-France. They are referred to repeatedly in the praise heaped upon the conference by statesmen and politicians. The conference itself has been described by President Eisenhower as "one of the great diplomatic triumphs in history." Apparently no one doubts that the arms-control agency to be set up as part of the Brussels treaty organization will be able to keep the massive armament output of the Ruhr within the limits agreed on.

To anyone over forty years old—and the principal authors of the London agreement were grown men by 1918—such optimism is incredible. The story of Germany's secret rearmament in viola-

tion of the Versailles treaty, of the complete collapse of the Allied effort to halt the rebirth of German militarism, is a story not from history books but of our own generation. The very statesmen who today speak so glibly and confidently of "guaranties" and "controls" were only yesterday fulminating against the inadequacy of either to halt the growing German military menace. It is as if the whole period between the two world wars has been expunged from time. There can be only one explanation for this astounding amnesia: the current anti-Communist obsession, the hatred of Russia and the fear of Communist China, has proved stronger than memory or reason.

Last week *The Nation* alluded to the manner in which the restrictive clauses of the Versailles treaty—considered by their authors as efficient as those of the London agreement—are considered today—were "respected" in actual practice.

On this subject I have some personal testimony to offer. Between the two world wars I spent many years in Germany for *La Nación* of Buenos Aires. My chief interest was in uncovering the maneuvers through which the Germans made a mockery of the disarmament clauses of Versailles. My reports were so full that several large Argentine firms with close business ties to German industry threatened to withdraw their advertising from *La Nación* unless I was fired. The newspaper refused to bow to the threat, and the advertising was indeed withdrawn. The freedom of the press was in those days not nearly so frequent a subject for discussion as it is today, and there were no solemn debates on the subject in any U. N. Committee for Human Rights. Nevertheless, a newspaper which in no way pretended to be radical had the courage to stand by its principles at the expense of its profits.

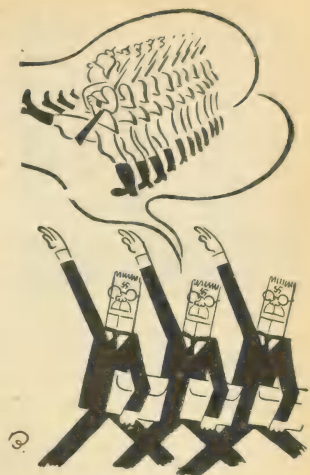
VERSAILLES allowed the German Republic an army of 100,000 men with limited armaments. The signatures to the treaty were hardly dry before this new *Reichswehr* became the dominant power in Germany, and the only one capable of restoring the country to Bismarckian eminence. In those agitated days of the twenties the attention of the press shifted from place to place, from personality to personality, as events followed each other with bewildering rapidity. For myself, nothing diverted my attention from the gray building in Berlin housing the General Staff of the *Reichswehr* under the leadership of its elegant, monocled chief, General von Seeckt. The General, too, refused to be diverted by events. He was unmoved by the spectacle of workers fighting in the streets; he knew that they were divided among themselves and had been deprived of the leadership which Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, both murdered by reactionaries, might have given them. He was equally unmoved by General von Ludendorff's belated entry on the political scene, because he knew that Ludendorff's only followers were the volunteers of the *Kampfbund*. The exploits of the right-wing terrorist bands also left him cold, even though they were responsible for the assassination of Erzberger, the "peace negotiator," in 1921, and, a year later, of Walter Rathenau, Germany's most capable post-war Foreign Minister.

Von Seeckt knew that in the long run Germany's destiny rested in the General Staff and not in the streets. Perhaps recalling the Austrian dramatist Grillparzer's famous line about Marshal Radetzky, "In his camp is Austria," von Seeckt felt that the Germany of the twenties was in *his* camp, or at least in the divisions which he commanded. And this, too, has a lesson for us today. The greatest menace of post-Hitler Germany lies neither in the neo-Nazis nor in the secret military organizations which are the heirs not only of Hitler but of the terrorist bands of the Weimar Republic days. It lies in the future German General Staff, which—despite denials—is already in the process of formation, and whose activities the statesmen of London hope piously to contain by paper safeguards.

In the twenties similar safeguards were systematically eluded, even under

the watchful eye of Poincaré of France, who did not hesitate to occupy the Ruhr. Von Seeckt looked to the future. The 100,000 men permitted him under Versailles served him as cadres; the system proved so elastic that Hitler had no difficulty putting together a trained army sufficient to resist the Allies, including Russia's massed forces, for five years. The important thing to von Seeckt was that Versailles gave him the embryo of an army, the numbers mattered little. One of his subordinates, General von Kuhl, wrote openly at the time that Germany needed only an "initial force" in order to reorganize itself very quickly into a powerful military nation, "Versailles or no Versailles." He added: "Let us have as many horses and trucks as we can get, since the smaller the army the more essential is its mobility." He reminded Germans that any army of 100,000, provided it included an efficient cavalry, "could in certain circumstances play an important role in the East." Today other von Kuhs are thinking of new German forces, no matter how small and how much under, supposed, international "control," also playing an important role in the East—more specifically, in the reconquest of territories now in the Soviet orbit.

HOW the French experts, so quickly disillusioned by Versailles, must be laughing now at their successors who put so much hope in London! The Germans reconstituted their General Staff as early as 1922. Its "secret" activities were not really secret. The German opposition press constantly reported how tank and aviation specialists were being trained by undercover "sports organizations" financed by the government. Experiments with "prohibited" arms were carried out with the cooperation of foreign branches of German industrial firms. (Today there will be no need for such camouflage; the new German General Staff will have a whole country—Franco's Spain—in which to produce arms "prohibited" by the new control agency.) Even the restrictions on manpower were evaded through the creation of all kinds of "police" forces ostensibly designed to protect the honest bourgeoisie of the cities against the dreaded Reds, but in reality as a means of building huge reserves of trained civilians for the army of the future.



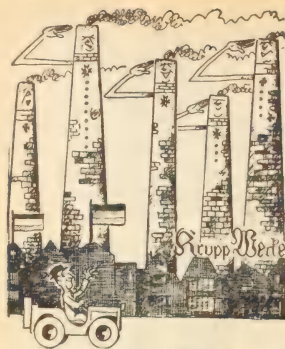
During my Berlin days I witnessed French despair at the way things were going. Then as today Britain frowned upon French "intransigence" in demanding that Germany live up to its international obligations. This time the British will be supported by the Americans, to whom West Germany seems to be the only country, apart from the United States, worthy to take part in the "great crusade."

Anyone who doubts my memory on post-Versailles events can easily consult available copies of original documents, orders, minutes of meetings, memoranda, and diaries, all captured on German soil in the closing days of World War II, and most of them signed by one or more of the principal defendants at the Nürnberg trials. One such document comprises extracts from "The Fight of the Navy Against Versailles," published by the high command of the German navy in 1937 for "restricted" circulation only. I quote from the page of contents:

1. First defensive action against the execution of the Treaty of Versailles (from the end of the war to the occupation of the Ruhr in 1923); saving of coastal guns from destruction; limitation of demolitions in Helgoland Naval Base.

2. Independent armament measures taken behind the back of the Reich Cabinet and Legislature (1923-1927); building up of the air force; preparation for the resurrection of the German U-boat arm; economic rearmament. . . .

3. Planned armament works tolerated by the Reich Cabinet, but behind the back



Frankfurter Rundschau

Return of the Prodigal Son

of the Legislature (1928 to the seizure of power [by Hitler]).

4. Rearmament under the leadership of the Reich Cabinet in camouflaged form (1933 to the overthrow of restrictions in 1935).

Quotations from many such documents can be found in Victor H. Bernstein's "Final Judgment--the Story of Nürnberg." A more academic analysis is furnished by the brilliant Ph.D. thesis

of George Castellan, just published in France under the title "Secret Rearmament of the Reich from 1920 to 1935 as Seen by the Intelligence Division of the French General Staff."

NATURALLY, not everyone stands to lose by the rearmament of Germany, least of all the German heavy-industry and financial concerns which were so directly linked with the illegal rearmament of the country after Versailles. Last week M. S. Handler, writing in the *New York Times*, pointed out that the prospect of West German sovereignty has increased pressure in the Bonn republic for the reconcentration and recartelization of banking and the Ruhr industries. Nor will American business suffer. Eliot Janeway, economist and armaments expert, recently told a joint meeting of the Cleveland and Akron chapters of the American Marketing Association that German rearmament would drive the price of scrap steel "to within the range of the O. P. S. ceiling price of \$42 a ton."

In human terms perhaps the saddest aspect of the developments of the last

few weeks is the failure of the French Socialists to seize the historic opportunity afforded them by their political confrères in Germany. Instead of aiding the German Socialists and trade unionists in their fight for a democratic Germany, peacefully reunited and free from a General Staff and a *Reichswehr* certain to lead the world into another war, the French Socialists preferred to use their votes to rescue Chancellor Adenauer. The mounting German opposition to Adenauer's policy, led by the Socialists, would surely have brought about his downfall if he had not been crowned with victory at London.

I had almost forgotten: the new German army, according to an announcement from Bonn, will not be called the *Reichswehr*, as it was under the Weimar republic, nor yet the *Wehrmacht*, as it was under Hitler. It will be called the *Streitkräfte*, or "fighting forces," a name which in German has a less militaristic connotation than either of the others. But to the millions of people in Europe who do not know German, but only Germany, the German army is the German army under whatever name.

VOODOO PROSPERITY

How Long Can It Last? . . . by T. Balogh

HARDLY a day passes without some new and glowing projection of the United States' economic future being published. These projections take in all the main sectors of the vast American economy. They look scientific, being often accompanied by complicated mathematical symbols. They are scientific in the sense that they show the relations between consumption, investment, income, and savings.

When *Fortune*, for instance, asserts that in 1959 American consumers may

T. BALOGH, British economist, is a member of the economic subcommittee of the British Labor Party Executive and of the Executive Committee of the Fabian Society. He recently made an extended visit to the United States.

be \$57,000,000,000 richer than now but that the rate of saving will nevertheless not grow, the influence of the increase in income being offset by a greater urge to spend, and when it predicts that savings will still be balanced by equal investments, it makes good sense statistically. Yet projections of this kind are somehow too good to be true. They are based on assumptions which, for all the careful scanning of the past, seem to beg the basic question they purport to answer. And their proliferation shows the unease of people who perceive the immense economic and social potentialities of American expansion and at the same time fear the expansion may not mature. Predictions of the American economy's capacity to double national income every dozen years or so could have been made,

quite justifiably, in 1929. The New Era had a right to be no less boastful under Hoover than under Eisenhower.

These projections play a vital psychological role. They are needed to give assurance to the managing élite and to justify them in dismissing setbacks in economic fortunes as temporary and in keeping their eyes firmly fixed on the long climb. Excelsior! In the same way neither the President's Economic Report nor the Midyear Statement should be taken at its face value. Reassurance on so high an authority enables investment to be continued, irrespective of the immediate outlook, without incurring censure.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating, and so far the American public need not be too discontented with the

cooks. True, industrial production has declined some 9 per cent from the highest point reached in the spring of 1953. Unemployment has risen from 1,500,000 to an estimated 3,500,000—perhaps even higher, since in some communities entry into the labor force has been postponed on account of the obvious futility of looking for a job. The trend of growth which seemed miraculously accelerating has slowed. An immense potential increase of demand and production over 1952-53, estimated by Leon Keyserling at \$27,000,000,000 and rising every day, has not materialized. However, none of the consequences which have long been taken as part and parcel of a fall in production and employment have been experienced. There has been no accelerating decline in demand.

APPARENTLY the reassurance to business has worked marvels. Expenditures on producers' durable equipment has dropped but so far only by 10 per cent, and it is still at a record level. There has been no panic cancellation of orders. Up to the end of 1953 the decline in national income could be attributed almost wholly to the sharp reduction of inventories. Frantic accumulation, it was stated, had given place to "de-stocking," with the expected result. But the "de-stocking," though appreciable, did not seem to be accelerating despite the fact that inventories of finished goods in the hands of manufacturers—a sensitive aspect of the whole inventory picture—remained at the highest level, with a consequent sharp fall in new orders. Moreover, the steady contraction of inventories could not go on forever, and once it ended, demand and production would automatically rise. The United States would again have accomplished a "rolling readjustment" and the prophets of gloom and doom have been proved wrong.

Since the beginning of the year a net fall in government expenditure has no doubt contributed to the lowered national income, but this is being offset by a sharp cut in taxation—mainly for the benefit of corporations and investors—which in the view of the architects of the policy should stimulate investment and thus reinvigorate the economy. Nor is this all. While there has been an increase in idle plant, there has been prac-

tically no drop in prices, despite the tremendous strides made in rationalizing and cheapening production. There has been no attempt as yet to cut wages; indeed, wage rates, if not earnings, have risen. Nor is there any indication of a determined export drive, which was one of the most disturbing aspects of the pre-war depression and even of the 1949 decline. Altogether, the picture presented, of an orderly slight retreat, is almost completely at variance with previous experience.

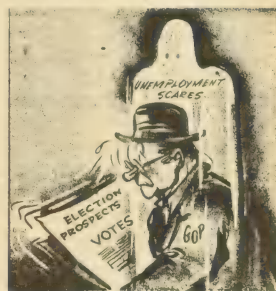
The only resemblance to the old pattern of American cyclical imbalance is seen in the sharp upward spurt taken by the Stock Exchange in spite of the marked fall in production and gross corporate profits, before taxes. The inference is clear. The existence of an Administration favorable to business, the confidence thereby engendered among business leaders, has sustained investment despite the rather inauspicious signs.

The question is how long this contradiction between a relatively static consumption and an ever-growing productive potential can be kept up. In recent years American productive capacity has been expanding some 5 per cent annually. In other words, the United States could, if there were sufficient demand, produce from fifteen to eighteen billion dollars' more of goods each year than the year before. Steel-ingot capacity, for example, has increased in the last four or five years by some 25,000,000 tons a year, or more than half the capacity of Britain. The output capacity of aluminum and chemicals has doubled since the end of the war.

It was, of course, this remarkable productive capacity which enabled the United States to belie all prophets of bankruptcy and inflation in the period of rearmament for the Korean war. Washington increased defense expenditure from \$22,100,000,000 in 1949 to \$54,300,000,000 in the first quarter of 1953 (in terms of 1953 prices), and productive fixed investment also expanded from \$42,000,000,000 to \$51,800,000,000. At the same time there was enough productive power in reserve to raise consumption from \$205,000,000 to \$230,000,000,000, or only a little less than Britain's total national consumption, at current rates of exchange. Rearmament, far from causing inflation

and bankruptcy, merely used American productive capacity to the full. It reinvigorated the economy and enabled entrepreneurs to concentrate on solving production problems, a task in which they excel.

IF THE Administration had used the past few months of continued confidence to prepare a comprehensive program for maintaining prosperity, all would be well. This does not seem to have happened. The uneasy balance within the Administration has now tilted from those who are aware of the increasingly urgent problem of maintaining employment toward those who still believe that the government can help best by cutting expenditure and getting out of the way—and possibly by preventing inflation through making money dearer. Last year the second group almost succeeded in wrecking the economy. By inaugurating a policy of dear money and stringency they came near to demoralizing the capital market on which necessary continuation of construction activity depended. Only a return to the expansionism of the previous regime saved the situation. Once the decision was taken to reverse policy, the Federal Reserve acted with commendable promptness. The market



in the York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily
"I feel a chill coming over me."

was flooded with money, and interest rates fell. Construction activity, especially housing, increased and took up most of the slack created by the cutbacks in investment in plant and equipment.

Theoretically, demand can be sustained by an expansion of investment due to new inventions, but the facts indicate that innovations will take no more than current depreciation allowances or, in any case, plowed-back profits. Thus there is no real hope in this direction.

The need is the more urgent as the contemplated further cuts in government expenditure will undoubtedly have a strongly depressing influence. The tax remissions, as could have been expected, seem to have increased savings rather than demand, though the statistical evidence is not quite conclusive on this point. The rise in defense orders recently forecast could of course jerk the economy temporarily upward, but there is as yet little evidence that it will occur. The dominant conservative element in the Cabinet seems convinced that incantation and confidence will be sufficient to sustain the present position. Little has been heard of the program for low-cost



housing, highways, schools, and hospitals promised as a standby.

Commercial housing has undoubtedly received a welcome stimulus from the fall in interest rates, but here again the success of last year's monetary action ought to have been followed up. Mortgage rates are still above the level of 1950, though the conditions of credit have been relaxed through new types of guaranties. The present impetus to building can hardly last without further boosts. While the slow decline in interest rates—the classical remedy for stagnation—if applied betimes, while confidence holds, might support any sagging of activity, construction must play an increasingly important role in total economic activity in the United States. Easier money can act as a stimulus only if it comes before any real decline has taken place, indeed before investment plans have been revised downward, before confidence and the momentum of optimism have petered out.

The Administration, partly by its very nature and partly by its reassurances, has succeeded in maintaining confidence and securing the active collaboration of big business. Nevertheless, the certain if slow decline in investment plans which has begun to manifest itself should be

viewed as a warning. It might be offset by construction and housing, or by a rebound in inventories caused by a slight speeding up of defense orders, but not for any length of time unless definite counter-measures are taken. Since money was made easier last year, policy seems to have veered round again, and interest rates have risen slightly above the low reached in July. Any improvement in business apparently strengthens the conservatives in the Administration and any deterioration the liberals, with the President pulled first one way and then the other.

There can be no doubt that a real downturn, say of 5 per cent or more, would once more bring a sharp reorientation of policy. But at that stage much more would be needed than cheap money or the toleration of a smallish deficit. Even Mr. Humphrey would be unable to persuade his friends to resume investment merely on his say-so. It is, moreover, quite unsafe to assume, as some Democrats do, that a deliberate increase in the budget deficit would cure a slump. A deficit might well evoke all those nameless fears which beset business men before the war. Any shock to confidence would have to be offset by further measures of expansion, and those measures would impair confidence still more. Reducing the taxes paid by the poor would have much the same psychological effect, even if the special favors granted by the present Administration to its rich backers—high tax-free rates of interest, greater deterioration and obsolescence allowances—were not revoked.

MUCH will therefore depend on the result of the elections. If the Republicans win control of both houses of Congress the danger will increase, for they will certainly be loath to go against the prejudices of business. Aggressive measures like increasing government spending in a period of shrinking revenues would offend the most cherished principles of a large section of the Administration and of Congress. In the end the politicians' instinct of survival would be victorious, but the fight would take time. Meanwhile the effect abroad of a further recession in the United States would be very different from that of the recent decline. Imports would probably fall, and greater pressure to export would be felt. Since a Republican Congress can be ex-

pected to increase expenditures for armaments more readily than for any other purpose, international tension would not be allowed to relax.

The picture would be different if the Democrats won both houses: aggressive relief measures might then be initiated without much ado, and the President would be hard put to veto them. In addition to cutting the taxes on the poor the Democrats would probably insist on greater expenditures on public works, especially highways and schools. Both actions would disturb confidence and thereby weaken their own effectiveness. Thus the Democrats eventually would be tempted to follow the Republicans in pressing for further rearmament. In any case they are being pushed in that direction by the Republican accusations of "softness" towards communism.

The American people face a real economic dilemma. The present policy of incantation and reliance on the "natural" resilience of the system is unlikely to succeed in the long run. Technical innovations which would utilize the immense productive power of the United States are not in the offing. While demand could be maintained by ultra-cheap money, the remission of taxation, public works, and foreign aid, none of these are really compatible with the nineteenth-century conventions still dominating business. Even the classical remedy of lower rates of interest on long-term investment seems to run up against the hostility of the banking world.

The potential productive capacity of the United States, if fully and well used, is sufficient to banish poverty in the not distant future. In this the long-range projections are quite right. It could also do much to help the economic development and the psychological integration of countries outside the Soviet orbit. Unfortunately, the competitive basis of this very productive capacity gives rise to feelings of aggressiveness coupled with acute fear, and it is fear about the working of the system which prevents the adoption of saner policies at home and abroad. The consequent sense of economic insecurity deepens the general distrust which at the moment contaminates America's relations with both its friends and its enemies. The vicious circle must be broken before the energies of Americans can be liberated for constructive opposition to the Communist challenge.

SHALL THE MEEK INHERIT?

Douglas Faces a Fight . . by Elmer Gertz

Chicago

DESPITE any existing Democratic trend, Paul H. Douglas, senior Senator from Illinois, will be hard put to defeat the Republican candidate, Joseph T. Meek. It is true that no word about Meek appears in the national "Who's Who" or in any of the A. N. Marquis compilations of locally distinguished persons. And in those parts of the country where he is known at all, he is written off as a lobbyist whose social orientation is far to the right of the late Senator Taft. But Joe Meek is a shrewd, persistent, and highly personable campaigner who finds it difficult to conceive of defeat. His formula resembles that by which Dirksen defeated Scott W. Lucas, Senate majority leader, a few years ago. Emulating Dirksen, Meek, a big, tortoise-like man, starts for his goal and reaches it while most men are asleep. Douglas is not minimizing the chances of his tireless and resourceful opponent who in the Republican primaries last spring turned into a rout his defeat of some good men—like the Eisenhower leader, Austin L. Wyman—and some bad ones in a field overrun with more entries than Illinois had ever seen before. The field was so large because Republicans thought they had Douglas's scalp in the bag.

Privately some of Meek's primary opponents wish him ill, but almost all of them, including the once aloof Citizens for Eisenhower, are doing chores for him in a desperate desire to add another Republican seat to the endangered majority. Vice-President Nixon has phrased the issue pithily: Meek may be a conservative, but he can be counted on to back the Administration in the pinches—that is, in the organization of the Senate and in purely partisan matters.

Douglas's campaign manager once referred to Meek as a "little lobbyist."

ELMER GERTZ is a Chicago lawyer and civic leader who has contributed frequently to national magazines on social and political issues.

Thereupon Meek, who knows he is not "little" though he talks about being the spokesman of the "little corner retailer"—Chicago's State Street stores, for example—called Douglas "a high-pressure lobbyist for the overthrow of capitalism," "a member of the Socialist group in Chicago known in the late thirties as the People's Lobby," which, according to Meek, advocated government ownership of natural resources, power, the steel industry, mines, railroads, and utilities. Meek is a true supporter of Eisenhower only in his approval of the "give-away" of the public domain.

Seldom has the reactionary Chicago *Tribune* supported a candidate more wholeheartedly than it does Meek, and almost never has a man better deserved that support. Basically Meek stands for everything that is holy to the sanctimonious Colonel McCormick. He is Midwestern and American in a fierce and narrow sense: that is, he fears and distrusts Easterners and all such foreigners. He hates all taxes and all regulations which inconvenience the business community. He has no love for trade unions, college professors, intellectuals in general, or idealists of any stripe. He has McCarthy's own attitude toward Communists—that they should be beaten with

any stick—and he includes among the Reds some persons whom reasonable men would call mildly liberal and anti-Communist. One of the few Republican candidates who invited McCarthy to speak in their behalf, he was saved by McCarthy's convenient sinus trouble. He can play ball with men of both parties if they have his kind of social astigmatism. When an election is to be won he can be an Eisenhower man, though he would have voted against almost every measure the President has supported in the current Congress. During the war he was against price and rent controls, rationing, and the other safeguards required to keep our economy going. In two sessions of the Illinois legislature he defeated F. E. P. C. almost singlehanded. In fact, he is the principal reason why Illinois has not been a leader in social legislation in recent years.

WHY, then, should he have a good chance to defeat Douglas, who is certainly one of the outstanding men in the Senate? Last summer I witnessed a sort of symbolical display of Meek's innate strength. Stupidly forgetting that Douglas's left arm was badly shattered by a mortar burst on Okinawa during the war, I proposed to him and Meek that they play a few holes of golf for the Eisenhower Senatorial cup. Meek replied in language that I quote because it is so characteristic of him: "It would be fun to play Paul a few holes—for golf or just comradeship. But I'm afraid he'd win." Thereupon Douglas reminded me that "in the United States Senate, members are frequently permitted to exercise a proxy through a fellow-member when they are unable themselves to participate in decisions" and proposed that Chick Evans, Chicago's outstanding amateur golfer, represent him. Meek good-naturedly acquiesced, making almost his last gesture of courtesy in the campaign.

Still talking modestly and with an air of great friendliness, Meek met the champion at Chicago's Chevy Chase. His



Herb Block in the Washington Post

Blessings on thee little Meek,
Barefoot boy with lots of cheek.

stocky, almost ungainly figure contrasted sharply with Evans's athletic frame, but he drove the ball as if he were himself a champion. His putts were still better, even while he continued to deprecate them. It was with difficulty that Douglas's proxy won. There was no gloating by Meek after this fine showing, just as there was none when he mopped up the opposition in the Republican primaries.

Meek's system is to please everyone in sight. His is not the usual kind of campaigning; it is more like the efforts of a first-class salesman, a born lobbyist, trying to charm prospective contacts. "Paul and I are worlds apart in our social viewpoint," he confided to me ingratiatingly, "but I cannot dislike him."

Supporting Meek are most of the intellectuals of the state, including many with college diplomas. They do not want in the Senate a cerebral man like Douglas who has attended Columbia and Harvard, taught at the University of Illinois and at Amherst and, worst of all, at the University of Chicago, and writ-

ten tomes on real wages, industrial education, and unemployment insurance. Mine-run politicians sneer at "perfectionists." They don't understand how it happened that they got not only the egghead, Adlai E. Stevenson, but Douglas as well. "Is he a Democrat?" they often ask. "Then why did he oppose President Truman's nominees for federal judgeships?"

Not only the spoils politicians but others who should be in Douglas's camp are disgruntled. Some feel that this Quaker has become militaristic in outlook and even a warmonger, or that he has joined in the witch-hunt and is too prone to find Reds under the bed. Others feel that he has spoken too softly about McCarthy. Supporters of Stevenson for President resented Douglas's luke-warm approval of him, but mutual friends have worked hard to bridge the gap between the two men and now Stevenson is giving effective aid to Douglas. He must know that if Meek should defeat Douglas overwhelmingly, his own chances for another try at the Presidency would be slim.

What Douglas's liberal critics chiefly dislike is his determination to be objective about all things. In the true spirit of research, he cautiously weighs the evidence. When the liberals are for a complete program of national health insurance, he sees the evils of bureaucracy and tries to evolve a scheme for protection against only catastrophic illnesses. When they are against Taft-Hartley, root and branch, he sees the danger of uncontrolled racketeering and jurisdictional strife. He asks his union friends embarrassing questions. He speaks up for F. E. P. C. and civil rights, but at the same time seeks to placate the Southern diehards. Despite occasional emotional outbursts, Douglas has the temperament of a statesman—a reconciler—and in a world of extremists it makes him an unpopular man.

The extremists of the right are with Meek in this campaign, and one still cannot be sure that they won't prevail. Illinois is one of the big question marks in the coming elections. What happens here may foretell the climate the President will encounter two years hence.

FACTS FORUM FABLE

A Congressman's Exposé . . . by Wayne L. Hays

FACTS FORUM broadcasts programs of the public-discussion type over more than one hundred radio and several score TV stations. It claims to present both sides of important issues, but actually it is in no sense impartial. If two sides are presented, there is no doubt which side Facts Forum is on. The technique is to identify one point of view with the entire philosophy of government to which Facts Forum adheres. Half-truths, distortions, generalizations, and exaggerations are used. One program dealing with the Bricker amendment even misquoted the Constitution. It stated that Article VI reads: "All

treaties . . . shall be the supreme law of the land . . . anything in the Constitution to the contrary notwithstanding"; whereas the actual language of the article is "anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding."

In a program called "The American Bill of Rights and Thanksgiving" the Facts Forum philosophy was frankly stated:

Today, all over the globe people are promoting a philosophy of government which they like to call liberal and progressive but which in its essence is a return to the dark ages of human civilization. . . . It is a philosophy which holds that government has the power and the responsibility to do something for the people; that the force of government must be used to control all the lives of all the people all the time, in order to insure them economic

security. It is a philosophy which has been promoting in this century throughout the world an implacable drive toward a monolithic uniformity, a leveling off of mankind to a dull level of mediocrity, a drift toward a great one-world of animated puppets where everyone will have his equal share of a little bit of nothing. . . . Countless numbers of Americans today—apparently, by what they say and do, are not only willing but eager to sell their birthright of freedom for the mess of pottage which goes under the label of government subsidies and economic assistance to the public.

An otherwise neutral Christmas program last year ("Hope of the World") declared in the context of an appeal for religious faith: "I do not look to government for rights, privileges, or assistance, knowing that government can give me nothing that government has not first taken away from me."

WAYNE L. HAYS, Representative from Ohio, is the ranking minority member of the special House Committee to Investigate Tax Exempt Foundations.

There is a close identity between the message of Facts Forum and the personal opinions of H. L. Hunt, who, in the words of Facts Forum moderator Dan Smoot, "was among the original founders of Facts Forum and is its heaviest financial contributor." In a pamphlet written in 1950—quoted in an interview in the *Washington Post*, February 16, 1954—Hunt said, "The public is entitled to the facts on both sides of all issues and cannot be pacified with the . . . kind of news which left-wing workers are willing to let them have." Hunt's ideas of how to present "the facts on both sides" without including "left-wing" views are apparently carefully followed in Facts Forum programs. According to the same interview, Hunt identifies "liberals" and "progressives" with "vicious, radical, spendthrift elements" and with "alleged people's parties ruled by ruthless and murderous dictators who say they are also liberals."

BY USING factual material in presenting the side to which it is opposed Facts Forum can claim that it is completely fair and unbiased. This may be compared to the procedure of a lynch mob which rushes its victim to the nearest tree, loops a noose around his neck, gives him two minutes to speak in his own defense, and then strings him up. Under those conditions, a bystander is not likely to be in the mood to believe him. Moreover, the facts presented on the side to which Facts Forum is opposed are carefully selected. Many of them are really neutral, deliberately chosen for their lack of persuasiveness. Some actually damage the case in behalf of which they are ostensibly introduced.

The world of Facts Forum is a world where wishy-washy liberals—and some Democrats and Republicans, at best naive and woolly-headed, at worst conscious traitors—are contrasted with red-blooded Americans upholding the principles of the Constitution to save America from communism, and in the process becoming advocates of isolationism and McCarthyism, enemies of the United Nations, foreign aid, and labor. For example, in one program the affirmative side held that an adequate national defense could be secured together with tax reductions and a bal-

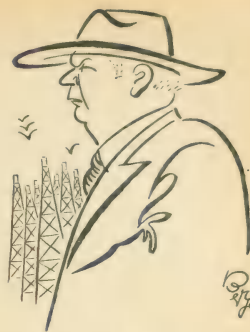
anced budget. The negative said an adequate defense was impossible without higher taxes. The prejudice was disclosed when the affirmative was linked with isolationism and Herbert Hoover's theory of hemisphere defense. The possibility that adequate defense might be secured without isolationism and without increasing taxes, simply by cutting fat from the defense budget, was not admitted.

In a following program the affirmative said the United States should remain in the U. N. even if Red China were admitted. The negative became a general argument against the U. N. The middle position—opposing Red China's entry into the U. N. but supporting the U. N.—was ignored.

Other examples can be cited: The affirmative said that the Democrats won a great victory in the 1953 elections, referring to the Wisconsin and New Jersey Congressional votes and the New Jersey gubernatorial race. The negative denied it but also denounced "New Deal Republicans" for aping the Democratic foreign policy, being soft on communism, and attacking McCarthy. It did not mention the moderate Republicanism which opposes the Democratic line, is not isolationist, and is against McCarthy. Disapproval of the Eisenhower foreign policy was linked with isolationism. Nothing was said about opposition to Eisenhower's foreign policy for other reasons than isolationism.

In one program the affirmative favored using picketing as a weapon in strikes, while the negative did not. But the negative also opposed unions in general. This eliminated the possibility of wanting to limit picketing while favoring unions. In another, one side favored Eisenhower's housing program; the other said housing and other government aids were "socialistic" and "communistic." It was supposed to show us that those who favor government aid in housing and other fields, whether they are for or against Eisenhower's policy specifically, are dupes of the Communists.

The views opposed by Facts Forum are often so oversold as to raise doubt of their validity. For example, in a discussion of defense we were told: "The fate of the free world depends on active, all-out cooperation, on unlimited effort . . . no expenditure is too large, no effort



H. L. Hunt

too great . . . we must be ready to accept these burdens . . . no matter what the cost may be." Such a presentation could well frighten a person who had believed that making some sacrifice was necessary but who would reconsider his position if "sacrifices and expenditures" had to be "unlimited" and "all-out."

At another time the anti-isolationist side said: "The announced motive of isolationism—politely called neutrality—is to prevent America from becoming involved in any future foreign wars." Facts Forum answered this argument rather weakly; and, indeed, isolationism doesn't look so bad when defined as the avoidance of war. The implication was that internationalism wants to get us into war. On the same program our system of alliances was oversold. "More than 1,500,000,000 people in the world . . . are . . . willing to stand and die with us against our common enemy." A true presentation of the internationalist position would admit differences between us and our allies.

A STRIKING characteristic of the programs is the deliberate and constant repetition of language discrediting liberals and lumping them with Socialists, Communists, and totalitarians. We have heard about "Adlai Stevenson, Dean Acheson, and their friends in the Socialist wing of the Democratic Party. . ."; "the Roosevelt-Truman New-Fair Deal [with] all the characteristics of the totalitarian movements . . ."; "totalitarian liberals and left-wingers"; "twenty years of New Deal socialism . . . it will matter little whether we call the final result progressive capitalism, social democracy, economic planning, New Dealism, or just

plain communism." And again: "In the late 1930's . . . we were caught in a strong tidal drift toward the philosophy of a Socialist labor government"; "the me-too tactics of liberal Republicans—promising to do everything the New Deal had done only better"; "if the only choice at the polls is between New Deal Republicans and New Deal Democrats, voting is meaningless"; "during the past eight years . . . fundamental decisions in American policy have been made by traitors or by men under the influence of traitors whose allegiance lay in Moscow"; "during the New and Fair Deals, the Socialist revolution made enormous advances in America."

The anti-Facts Forum side is often very inadequately presented: "Government business corporations, although operating as efficiently and economically as possible, are dedicated primarily not to making a profit but to helping the people." This is true. But a sincere partisan of that position would have mentioned that some government corporations have made profits and turned them back into the Treasury—like F. D. I. C., F. H. A., and H. O. L. C. Without this, there is the implication that government corporations always lose money. The same program said, rightly enough, that government-owned businesses pay no taxes. But since there is a great deal of discussion of T. V. A. on the programs, mention might have been made of the fact that because of T. V. A. private corporations do more business than they would otherwise do, make larger profits, and thus pay higher taxes.

In a discussion of Taft-Hartley about half the pro-labor time was wasted on a boring recital of the content of the disputed nineteen amendments. One heard such statements as "The definition of the word 'supervisor' in the original act should be limited"; or "The holding of a representation election should be delayed for a period of four months after the commencement of a strike." The argument for the employers, however, contained such colorful and emotion-packed phrases as "irresponsible power in the hands of monopolistic labor bosses"; "government was in the hands of those who had allied themselves with the labor bosses"; "President Eisenhower's labor advisers appear dedicated to the old New Deal philosophy that

the political support of powerful union leaders must be bought at any cost."

The programs often make vital issues of questions which are not really current but which provide a chance to attack something that Facts Forum is against. Union picketing in strikes, for instance, is not much of an issue at the present time. The idea, apparently, was to question a principle accepted to a large degree and to take another whack at unions. Similarly a program dealing with the International Labor Organization provided an opportunity to attack "totalitarian liberals" and "socialism" in the United Nations.

THE technique of the "smear" is widely used: "One of the most powerful Communist fronts is the Methodist Federation for Social Action. . . . This Communist Front's credo—rejecting the profit motive as an economic base for society—is closely similar to a resolution passed by the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam in 1947, rejecting the ideologies of both communism and capitalism, and also very similar to a statement along the same line issued in late 1950 by His Holiness Pope Pius XII."

The reaction of a high government official to Facts Forum's supposed "impartiality" was revealed in the New York *Herald Tribune's* regular Sunday column devoted to "inside Washington" news (August 15): "Unlike most members of the Cabinet, Secretary Dulles has refused to appear on television shows sponsored by Facts Forum, the program supported by H. L. Hunt, Texas oilman . . . he is not satisfied the program is either non-partisan or non-political." An excellent reason why Mr. Dulles should feel this way was provided by the program of July 3 last, discussing the Jenner-McCarran resolution to break off diplomatic relations with Communist nations. The following excerpts illustrate how Facts Forum can claim to be impartial and yet be guilty of the grossest partiality:

Same day, May 13, 1954, while Republican Senator Jenner was standing on the floor of the Senate introducing his resolution to break off diplomatic relations with the Soviets and their captive satellites, Republican Secretary of State John Foster Dulles was at Geneva, Switzerland, in formal conference with the Soviets and one of their captive satellites. . . .

It may or may not have embarrassed Republican Secretary of State Dulles to have Republican Senator Jenner introduce such a resolution. Be that as it may, Senators Jenner and McCarran posed for the American people a question of immense and far-reaching importance: Should America break off diplomatic relations with all Communist countries?

Facts Forum believes that a question of such great significance to the American people should be answered by the American people. Nowhere is an informed public opinion more critically needed than in the area of Soviet-American relations. Here is a problem that both underlies and overrides every other national problem we have. If we could find a correct and positive answer to the question of what to do about American-Soviet relations, we would thereby make an enormous contribution to the peace, security, and well-being of our nation. Here then is an excellent answer to those millions of sincere Americans who frequently and, it must be confessed, honestly say to themselves, "I know things are in bad shape, but what can I do? I'm just one little individual with no influence or authority, not too much information, not sure of my own convictions, and with rather poor ability to express the ideas and communicate the information I have. If the greatest people in our land are confused and divided about the terrible problems of our times, what on earth can I do about it?"

Notice how subtly these ideas have been phrased. Nowhere can you put your finger on the words which say specifically that Facts Forum questions the value of the Geneva conference and supports the Jenner move to break off relations with the Soviets. Yet that is the impression with which we are left. Remember, too, that these words are not read, so that they can be studied at leisure. They are listened to. They are heard fleetingly. What independent conclusion can a listener reach when these successive ideas are flung at his ear-drums: "Secretary . . . Dulles . . . in formal conference with the Soviets . . ."; "it may or may not have embarrassed . . . Dulles . . ."; "Senator Jenner and McCarran posed a question of immense and far-reaching importance, should America break off relations with Communist countries?"; "if we should find a correct and positive answer to the question of what to do about American-Soviet relations . . ."; "here then is an excellent answer. . . ."

It is time the American people, like Mr. Dulles, recognized the spuriousness of Facts Forum's claim to impartiality.

BOOKS

The American Writer, II

BY JOHN W. ALDRIDGE

MEANWHILE, in the literary market place, a parallel situation was beginning to emerge. The publishing boom which had been steadily gaining momentum through the five years following the war had reached proportions by 1950 so fantastically beyond the power of any human agency to imagine or control that one supposed the manufacture of books to have been taken over in the night by some monstrous, self-operating, perpetual-motion machine diabolically bent on conquering the world by smothering its inhabitants beneath tons of print. One was encouraged in this impression by the spectacle of the publishers themselves, many of whom appeared to have been stupefied by secret injections and brain-washings and to have been converted into the captive host-creatures of an autotelic business enterprise whose original purposes had been lost in antiquity and whose sole remaining function was simply to keep on endlessly and pointlessly running.

It seemed suddenly that all the old categories and relationships which had formerly guided and comforted one in one's thinking about the production of books had gone into the discard or had, like so many of one's old assumptions, simply ceased after the war to correspond to reality—if, indeed, there can be said to have been a reality after the war. It scarcely mattered, for example, that books had at one time been the results of the painful and loving efforts of intelligent men to communicate something which they conceived to be worth while, that they had been meant to say something, and by their saying to satisfy a very real and existing human

need. Books now were simply disposable items containing a two- or three-hour supply of psychic maintenance; when they were used up, they could be thrown away like Kleenex. There was no longer any question of their satisfying a need, nor was it necessary any longer that they should. For a public accustomed from childhood to buying at the dictates of every passing acquisitive reflex, it was enough that books were offered on the market for sale, that they were simply there to be bought. They would undoubtedly still have been bought in large numbers if they had been nothing but bundles of blank paper sewn into gaudy covers.

In the midst of all this the writers of the younger group who had begun their careers during the first phase of the boom were caught up in conditions so radically different from those which prevailed at that time that it is no wonder many of them lost their bearings and, in some cases, after remarkable initial successes lapsed into silence or mediocrity. The rise of mass publishing had effectively brought to an end the period of innovation and discovery into which they emerged, and where they had formerly been made to feel special and chosen by virtue of being young writers on whom the accolade of posterity was about to be bestowed, they now found themselves regarded simply as slightly older members of a transient, anonymous body of writers all of whom seemed equally young, equally talented, and equally forgettable. Not only had the traditional public image of the writer as a figure of glamour apparently faded along with the decline of interest in books, but there had grown up a widespread indifference to the fact of talent itself, and a feeling that fiction of whatever quality somehow no longer communicated any vision of reality which it was possible to respond to or recognize as true. Although novels of distinction were still being written, one could scarcely imagine a way in which they might have

been received with even approximately the kind of immediate shock of recognition that accompanied the appearance of novels like "The Great Gatsby" and "The Sun Also Rises," nor did there seem any possibility of their being preserved in the public consciousness long enough to be revived in ten or twenty years and accorded a similar place in the hierarchy of modern classical literature. The truth now was statistical and political; it yielded to the forces of tabulation and analysis, the devices of the survey, the corporate report, the personal interview, and the house-to-house poll, rather than to imaginative synthesis. The works of Dr. Kinsey, C. Wright Mills, David Riesman, Susanne K. Langer, and other socio-philosophical thinkers were the substitutes for major fiction in the fifties and made use of insights into contemporary culture which would undoubtedly in any other time have found their most natural expression in the novel form.

THERE was, furthermore, a sense in which it could be said that publishing had by now evolved to the point where its business interests were no longer best served by the novelist of quality but by the second- or third-rate writer who could be counted on to turn out in large volume and at fast pace a kind of pseudo-fiction, a species of high-grade, extremely serious hack writing, which contained all the ingredients of the real thing but in diluted or homogenized form, so that it could be fed over and over again to readers without ever bringing them to the stage of satisfaction where they would cease to buy. Many of the first novels by the younger writers who were discovered in the early fifties belonged to this category—including a few which were singled out for special praise by critics on the ground of their "sincerity"—and that was perhaps one of the reasons for the falling off of interest in the younger literary generation as such. But as more and more novels of all kinds were published, each tended anyway, regardless of its quality, to be reduced in value to the level of all the others and treated in the same anonymous manner. And as the promotional agencies of publishing became increasingly petrified in their attitudes of soaring high encomium and the reviewing profession increasingly drugged on the volume of novels flooding into the mar-

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ket, there finally remained no method of distinguishing good from bad or of separating out the work most likely to be of more than passing interest.

In previous literary decades such as the twenties it had been possible—although one no longer knew quite how—for the novelist sooner or later to achieve a continuity of reputation and public success at least equal to the stamina and value of his work. One thought of the young Hemingway and the young Fitzgerald and of the inevitability of the process by which they rose, through regular stages of gradual growth and single successes, as well as instructive failures, to the positions of fame in which they finally became secure. But one also thought of those small centers of enthusiastic opinion—the magazines like the *Dial*, *Bookman*, *Hound and Horn*, the old *Saturday Review* and *New Republic*, and the columns and articles of men like Edmund Wilson, John Peale Bishop, Van Wyck Brooks, Stuart P. Sherman, and Burton Rascoe—where their names and books were not allowed to be forgotten, and of that initially small but receptive reading public which fancied that these writers were speaking to them and which in turn spoke back to them. One thought, in short, of the existence of certain sanctuaries where the memory of talent was preserved during the fallow time between the actual appearance of books. But now, in a time which seemed suddenly to have gone rotten with literature, the young writer of promise found himself in a situation in which he felt compelled perpetually to remake his public bed with each new work, until finally, in far too many cases, he became exhausted and was overcome with a desire just to lie down on the floor and go to sleep. With the appearance of each new book he was hustled forward to stand naked for a moment in the public gaze. He was extravagantly promoted and meanly or indifferently reviewed. For perhaps three weeks he was granted a sort of low-grade, meretricious notoriety. But as soon as the reviews stopped coming in, he began to feel neglected, and in another month or so could consider himself lucky if an occasional literate reader remembered having seen his name.

Whatever his new book may have been, it stood small chance of being admitted to membership in a growing

body of selected work which represented the accumulated literary achievement of his time. After the popular reviews had appeared, he did not, if he was typical, see his book discussed at length in the serious quarterlies, compared with the work of his contemporaries, or assigned a place in the larger critical order. There was no Ezra Pound or Ford Madox Ford to write him letters of encouragement and advice; he had little or no sense that what he had had to say had found an audience among those of his own age who had shared in his own experience. The chances were that he was not even acquainted with other young writers to whom he might have turned at least for the comfort of a mutual obscurity. In a few months he was likely to be driven to conclude that his only hope for literary salvation lay in the quick production of another book, and then another and another and another, through which he might possibly gain by siege what he could not gain by honest stealth. But as the books came from him at increasingly shorter intervals, with each one perhaps bearing the increasingly unmistakable marks of technical haste and imaginative strain, he found himself going through the same old process, only now there were mounting reasons why he should slip backward two steps for every step forward he managed to take. In the end, he was likely to have discovered that in trying to build the public personality which his urge toward status demanded, he had drawn irrecoverably upon the creative capital which had been its sole justification and had succeeded only in cutting status from under his feet.

ONE has heard it argued—most recently with that hysteria of conviction which renders all conviction suspect—that the tremendous expansion of the paper-reprint industry during the boom years and the rise within the same medium of the mass-circulation literary review have done much to reduce, if not altogether to solve, the problems now confronting the serious writer. The large-scale manufacture of inexpensive reprints is said to have brought about in America a changed cultural situation in which the writer has been placed for the first time in contact with vast sectors of the average reading audience from which he had been formerly cut off; while the

mass-circulation review has allegedly made it possible for him, again for the first time, to reach that audience with work of a new or an experimental kind which has hitherto been supposed unpalatable to it and, therefore, suited only to small quarterly publication. It has been generally maintained that as a result of these developments the writer is now assured not only of the widest and most profitable market for his books but also of the chance to function up to his fullest capacity within that market without having to compromise his standards of artistic honesty and taste.

It is difficult to quarrel with these claims. One would prefer simply to accept them in toto as valid, for then one would be satisfied that the revolution for which, in one way or another, we have all so long been fighting had at last actually been won, and there would be nothing left to do but bury the ammunition, clear away the barricades, and settle down to work for the new coalition—as, in fact, many of our former colleagues of the underground have already been persuaded to do. But one is unfortunately still compelled to make distinctions, especially now in the face of a phenomenon which because of its enormous potentiality for good and the vastness of its implications for the future of our literature must always tend to appear to us in the shape of our wildest chimeras and to bedazzle us at every turn with the mirage of oasis. While it can hardly be denied that the rise to power of the reprint industry has profoundly altered the traditional relations between the writer and the mass audience as well as between the mass audience and the work of merit, it has yet to be proved that the lot of the writer has thereby, in a host of important respects, been appreciably bettered. There is much evidence for supposing, rather, that a number of partial and quasi-satisfactions, backed by almost unbelievable financial returns, have been substituted for the real satisfactions which the writer has always needed to get from the circulation of his work but which appear to be farther from him now than ever before.

The abstract idea of mass audience has, for example, been allowed subtly to crowd out, by seeming to satisfy, the writer's constant need for a public. He has been handed sheaves of statistics in-

dicating that the reprint sales of his books in the drugstores and on the newsstands have gone into the thousands or millions, and he has complacently concluded that such figures represent the true magnitude of his readership and popularity. But what he does not know and cannot know, so long as the reprint system continues to operate on its present basis, is who his readers are and why they buy his books—whether they buy them because they are his or only because they just happened, while foraging among the racks, to come into titillating collision with their covers. By the same token, he does not know whether, if he publishes a reprint edition of another of his books, it will be bought by the same people who bought his last or will have to make its way with an entirely new set of readers.

And even if he is lucky enough to acquire readers specifically his own, the chances are that he will still come out the loser, for under the present distribution system, in which the wholesaler supplies his retail outlets in lot form rather than on the basis of individual orders for particular books, there is no way for readers to make their wants known or even to be certain that the works of their favorite author will ever again be available at a given outlet. The writer is thus placed in the most paradoxical of situations. Through the reprint market he gains access to an immense potential audience but never to an effective, articulate public. If his sales are at all typical, he achieves through that market the financial status of the established, successful writer but not the reputation, or the means of reputation, by which such status must be accompanied if it is ever to be real. He consequently finds himself with all his relations with his medium impoverished to the point where the only sense he has of his literary existence is that abstractly provided him by his sales reports and royalty checks.

THE fallacy underlying the belief in the importance to the writer of an audience of sheer size is nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in the new mass-circulation reviews which have taken over the fallacy and inflated it into a first principle of editorial doctrine. Both *New World Writing and Discovery*—the two contenders in the field

at the moment—have been represented by their sponsors as guaranteeing the writer all the freedoms that were available to him in the "little" magazines of the past along with the advantage of incomparably wider readership, hence, incomparably wider opportunities for acquiring reputation. Within the terms of the quantitative fallacy these claims are of course entirely valid; but once again one is compelled to make distinctions. The "little" magazines of the twenties and thirties came into being in response to the rise of a literary movement which was too revolutionary to win support in the existing commercial periodicals. Their audiences were always small, but they were vociferous and vocal, and they constituted the only kind of readership the serious writer ever really needs, a readership of peers and informed disciples through whom reputations can be initiated and preserved until such time as they are confirmed by the public at large.

New World Writing and Discovery, by rescuing the writer from what is conceived to be the obscurity of the small coterie public, have abandoned him to the infinitely more impenetrable and permanent obscurity of the mass audience, where his influence is spread thin among thousands of inattentive minds and where his name is lost in the limbo of plenty. They have also placed him in circumstances which appear to have no purpose or objective, for it is characteristic of these reviews—as it is of so many of the products of our present drive to inflate still further by synthetic means the already bloated ego of literature—that they have no real cause to serve and no discernible demand to satisfy. They have grown up in response to no movement, and there is scarcely more than an academic sense in which it can be argued that they provide an outlet for work which would not have been acceptable—unless perhaps on grounds of quality—for publication elsewhere. They seem simply to have evolved out of a feeling that something approximating the "little" magazine probably ought to exist in our time and, by existing, might very well stimulate a movement or a fresh creative impulse to which it could then, albeit somewhat contrivedly, become a response. Such strained and self-conscious efforts to foment controversy as those recently made

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in *Discovery* by its editor, Mr. Vance Bourjaily, would lead one to believe this to be the case. But unfortunately, in choosing to make their way with the mass audience rather than with the coterie, these reviews have moved beyond the protection and support which the coterie alone can afford them and are brought up against a situation in which controversy can have no meaning or pertinence and in which new literature, like all literature, is simply used and discarded, without apparent motive or effect.

It would be inaccurate to say that these conditions present themselves to the writer in the shape of a dilemma. That, in fact, precisely is his dilemma: that he does not and cannot know that he is in one. All the evils of his situa-

tion come to him wearing Yeats's mask of innocent virtue, and he has been so long accustomed to taking his satisfaction where he could find it—in the appearance of acclaim, the illusion of audience, the hypocrisy of status—that his need for the satisfaction to be gained from the real thing has atrophied and disappeared. In an earlier time one might have conceived this to be finally a question of integrity. But integrity implies the existence of a standard to be maintained, and its loss the existence of a temptation to which it can be sold. The irony and terror of the writer's dilemma today are that the question of his integrity can no longer be raised. In the name of what can he hold out? To which temptation does he have anything left to sell?

Books in Brief

To Win Without Fighting

STRATEGY. The Indirect Approach. By B. H. Liddell Hart. Praeger. \$5.95.

Captain B. H. Liddell Hart, the British military analyst, offers in his newest work a summary of what can be and has been achieved throughout history by the "indirect approach" in battle as distinguished from the slam-bang assault on strong enemy positions. The various chapters record certain aspects of the great battles and campaigns of history, from the Graeco-Persian wars on through the Arab-Israel conflict, which illustrate his thesis. But perhaps the best part of the book is the brief but searching preface, which deals with our present prospect as affected by the new weapons and which cannot fail to stir the layman as well as the soldier to serious thinking about whether we are moving in the right direction.

That the new weapons, the nuclear weapons in particular, must be developed by the Western nations, and more rapidly and efficiently than by the Communists, is not questioned. But Hart believes they are so sure to bring well-nigh total disaster to nations employing them that neither side will initiate their use. He therefore believes that precisely as the H-bomb reduces the likelihood of an all-out war, it increases the possibilities of limited war and widespread local aggression; in fact, he observes that the Communist nations are waging such

Wars with great ingenuity, using guerrilla tactics and infiltration of ideas. Significantly he quotes from an early master of deception in war, Sun Tzu, who in 500 B. C. observed that "supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy's resistance without fighting."

In Melville's Footsteps

YANKEE WHALERS IN THE SOUTH SEAS. By A. B. C. Whipple. Doubleday. \$3.95.

Mr. Whipple, assistant editor of *Life*, has taken "Moby Dick" for a compass and gone sailing through the wonders and terrors of the great period of American whaling. In those days true-to-life adventures dwarfed fiction however vivid, however bizarre, but fiction had a Melville to transmute those adventures into purest gold. Mr. Whipple tells wonderful stories of rogue whales, cannibals, marooners, and runaway sailors, choosing the incidents in which Melville himself was an actor or in which, since they were the episodes told again and again by seasoned whalers, he was saturated. He does not address his book to Melville scholars or students of the whaling industry. He is a fan of maritime adventures and had a "whale of a good time" doing the research for his yarns. Readers who share that interest will have as good a time reading his book. The illustrations by Richard M. Powers are stylish and effective.

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.,

TWO major openings, neither of them in New York, dominate the mid-October scene. At the Philadelphia Museum of Art the Arensberg collection is at long last on permanent view in a series of galleries near the closely related Gallatin collection. With these two superbly selected concentrations Philadelphia now rivals New York as a center for the study of European painting and sculpture from about 1905 to about 1925. The Arensberg collection has a near monopoly on the work of Marcel Duchamp and a clear lead in that of Brancusi. The selecting was done in the heroic years when nearly everything was available, and furthermore when time had not yet projected the few above the many in the movement called cubism. Thus many of the secondary painters, generally missing or badly represented elsewhere, can be seen in their proper company. The experience is not unlike reading Guillaume Apollinaire on cubism: the reactions are at once fresh and historically authentic. The Arensbergs were also leaders in the pre-Columbian field. In installing their acquisitions, the curators of the Philadelphia Museum have developed a fine integration of ancient and modern styles which are fundamentally sympathetic.

At the Baltimore Museum of Art (through November 21) a remarkable exhibition in three parts celebrates the theme of Man and His Years in Art and Life. The museum collaborated with the Joint Committee on Geriatrics of the Baltimore Medical Society and the Chirurgical Faculty of the State of Maryland. One section shows the work of late beginners (a modern phenomenon, with examples including André Bauchant, Morris Hirschfeld, John Kane, Louis Vivin, and Grandma Moses); another, the portrayal of old people (with the examples running from pre-Gothic to modern times); and a third, the late-style of artists in comparison with their early work. For me, at least, this third section is of enthralling interest. Since I wish to write about some young artists now showing in New York, I can make

only brief mention of what can be seen in Baltimore, with the comment that exhibitions seldom have a theme so intelligently considered or so admirably worked out. Early and late works of Greco, Rubens, Rembrandt, Chardin, Goya, Delacroix, Corot, Pissarro, Cézanne, Renoir, Homer, Maurer, Hartley, Rouault, Braque, and Picasso are on view.

Herbert Katzmänn, whose exhibition closes October 23 at the Alan Gallery, is well launched into artistic maturity. The surge and power of the samples shown two years ago among Fifteen Americans at the Museum of Modern Art have been extended and made more complex. Brooklyn Bridge, a looping mass of blacks shoved left against a heaving olive field of sky and water, is at once violent and disciplined. In many of Katzmänn's pictures you look down from a height on a world that whirls away from you at great speed, whether it be Brooklyn Bridge or a still life or a nude drying her hair or even Thomas Eakins's old theme transformed—Single Scull. As a colorist Katzmänn is both brilliant and refined; for him contrast means no loss of resonance. There are strong overtones of Soutine, but the flat design is more emphatic, so that one thinks, at least in the figure pieces, of a Modigliani suddenly energized. A closer look, however, will show that in addition to all these effects Katzmänn is powerfully alert to three-dimensional structure; hence the shift to a plane of closely related color that makes all the difference in degree of projection or recession. Some day, I suppose, this will all turn out to be the early style of Herbert Katzmänn. I shall be much interested to watch what evolves as the decades go by.

A still younger artist, David Sawin, opens at the Korman Gallery on October 25 (through November 20). In the past two years Sawin has developed to a point where I for one am ready to suggest that we have an artist with a future, on the usually tenable theory that we have an artist with a present. These oils are murally conceived but painted with

the greatest concern for subtlety of texture, exact placement in darkly receding spaces, and color glowing from phosphorescent depths. They pertain to the city and to states of mind that it induces. I would call them nocturnal Légers were it not for their textures, which are as far removed from Léger as it is possible to be. Though they are composed in color they work in a powerful language of light and dark conceived as space; as evidence, I recommend a study of the few black-and-whites that are shown. If you can imagine the Piranesi of the

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Charles Shaw (Passedoit Gallery, October 11-30) is exhibiting what by the passage of years is no longer young work. One of our pioneers in abstract painting, he has now achieved a quality of moderation and graciousness which surely has its place in our frenzied world. On the whole I prefer his small and medium-sized pictures, for his gift is not a mural one. He can turn a flutter of newspapers or a corner of a bookstore into a gentle visual poem.

Theater

Harold Clurman

THE critic who reviews a Faulkner novel is rarely the same person who is asked to notice a collection of True Stories. The situation in the theater is entirely different. It is assumed that all "flesh shows" are somehow "legitimate" theater and that the man who is delighted by "Anniversary Waltz" is qualified to deal with Strindberg. Such an assumption is no more valid than the opposite belief that a critic who proves discerning about Shaw or Chekhov is necessarily a fit judge of "Can-Can." It

is part of the confusion of our theatrical times that the "ten best plays" of the year—the "Golden Dozen," as they are now being advertised—may include "The Pajama Game" with "The Confidential Clerk."

All these plays have a right to exist, since, for one thing, they answer specific needs, but it is disastrous to think of them as equivalent merely because they all form part of "show business." One of the reasons we are led to think of these entertainments as items in the same category is that to be socially in the swim we feel obliged to rush to all the hits, in which case "Sabrina Fair" is more valuable than "Ladies of the Corridor."

In a recent article Walter Kerr of the New York *Herald Tribune* pointed out the advantages of what might be termed the "double standard" in the London theater. He referred to the fact that the English theatergoing public is quite prepared to accept mild little family comedies along with the sturdier fare represented by such plays as those of Christopher Fry. Kenneth Tynan, dramatic critic of the London *Observer*, commenting on Mr. Kerr's article, deplores the "double standard," blames it in a certain measure for the defection of recent English drama, and calls for greater severity as a partial remedy.

The reason for the discrepancy of critical approach in the two countries is partly an economic one. The theater is cheaper in England, and relatively many more people throughout the country are consistent theatergoers. Writing in New York, I tend to side with Mr. Kerr in his praise of the leniency of the English audiences; were I writing in London, I should probably take Mr. Tynan's position. Yet though Mr. Kerr and Mr. Tynan have accurately observed the differences in the English and the American theatrical situation in regard to the degree of the audiences' and reviewers' tolerance, neither, it seems to me, has encompassed the problem.

A critic may be pleasant with "Kismet," and stern with "Camino Real" without necessarily impairing his mind

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If a railroad engine, powerful enough to pull thousands of tons, were used persistently—day after day—to drag a train of toy cars, everybody would say that the engine was being inefficiently employed. And yet, this is precisely the way the term "God" is habitually used by the honest and well meaning people who belong to the churches.

We have learned, in earlier installments, that the term "God" comes to us out of a great struggle, which was led by the Hebrew prophets, against the unjust economic and social practices identified with Baal and "other gods". It was this very struggle that lifted the terms "God" and "Jehovah" (or "Yahweh") upward from the level of heathenism. The prophets, who victoriously fought heathen gods, learned to think of Deity as a Personal Force, above Nature, but identified with Social Justice (not socialism or communism).

The idea of social justice was expelled so thoroughly from the ancient church that it has been treated as an intruder in the sphere of religion for more than fifteen hundred years. The term "God" has been restricted to the idea of individual righteousness and personal redemption—just like the powerful engine pulling only a toy train. In the prophet Isaiah's vision of God's purpose "He will bring forth justice to the nations [not simply to Israel]. He will not fail nor be discouraged until he have set justice in the earth" [not merely in Israel], (Isa. 42). Instead of this imperial world-ideal, most religious people, in all honesty and sincerity, have been satisfied with personal salvation and individual comfort from the Lord. (A little selfish, is it not?) Do you wish to use your influence in promoting knowledge of truth and fact which will help to bring the churches and the general public up to the intellectual level of our progressive theological seminaries and outstanding universities?—A circular will be sent to you upon receipt of a three-cent stamp to cover postage. Requests for the circular must be accompanied by the three-cent stamp to defray cost of mailing.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

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or debauching his readers' taste. The critic, without damage to the theater, may pursue not only a double standard but as many standards as are compatible with what he finds in each particular play. His value lies not so much in what he likes or dislikes as in his definitions. Above all, he must try to be lucid within the range of his own personality, mood, and prejudices—temporary or permanent.

A European screen writer some years ago submitted a "story" to a Hollywood producer. The producer suggested alterations. The exasperated writer protested, "I am offering you champagne and you are trying to turn it into Coca-Cola." "I prefer Coca-Cola" was the producer's bland reply—in my opinion, a very good one. What should be demanded of a critic, and an audience, is to be able to recognize the difference between Coca-Cola and champagne, and never to speak of either in praise or in disparagement as if they were the same thing.

My difficulty with Harry Kurnitz's "Reclining Figure" (Lyceum Theater) is that I could never quite make up my mind what sort of potion it was intended to be. Its subject—the art business—is fresh and interesting. The snobbery which frequently accompanies the growing art consciousness of our prosperous public invites comic treatment. There are a number of amusing cracks throughout the play, and I found most of the last act hilarious—particularly the scene in which an art dealer attempts to sell a Toulouse-Lautrec to a lady in Texas who recog-

nizes the French painter by identifying him with José Ferrer, the appearance of a testily superior curator of a Cleveland museum, the arrival of one of Renoir's old cronies who remembers the master chiefly by the meals they ate.

Yet much of the play seems labored because it tells its story with an unwarranted "straightness," and because its sophistication shows the strain of a certain intellectualism not uncommon in theater and motion-picture circles, where Berlioz, Hemingway, Paul Klee, the latest of Billy Wilder's film triumphs, and the politics of Henry Luce are all discussed in the same breath. The play's material might fittingly serve a Molnar or a George Kaufman—the mixture of the two styles does not make for a smooth brew.

Abe Burrows's direction is assorted—ranging from something like musical comedy and vaudeville to near melodrama without achieving any unified tone. Hence, though the company is full of capable players, there is something muscle-bound in the proceedings. Martin Gabel, a well-endowed actor, often seems to be demonstrating his characterization cleverly, but he embodies it only intermittently. Percy Waram, another good actor, plays a crusty millionaire with a quality which strikes one as more civilized than that of all the "cultured" folk who try to hoodwink him and to whom he is supposed to serve as a foil. Nehemiah Persoff and Alfred Hesse, playing bit parts, are funny in two of the scenes I have mentioned. The production wants a particular flavor.

Music

B. H. Haggin

THE New York City Opera has repeatedly undertaken works that one would have thought beyond its resources and powers—a formidable modern work like Berg's "Wozzeck," an equally formidable old work like Rossini's "La Cenerentola"—and carried them off with astonishing success. But with Verdi's "Aida" there is no succeeding without the resources for grandiose spectacle the company doesn't have; and with the resources it does have its present re-

vival achieves pathetic absurdity. Nor is there, this time, the fine performance of the music which the company offered in 1948. "Aida" also requires singing that is spectacular in beauty and amplitude of tone and style, which it didn't get at the opening-night performance from Frances Yeend, the Aida, Gloria Lane, the Amneris, or Giorgio Cocolios-Bardi, the Rhadames—the one impressive vocal performance being that of Lawrence Winters, the Amonasro. I speak of such

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singing as I heard—which is to say the singing that wasn't drowned by the coarse-toned, raucous playing the orchestra did under Rosenstock's direction. It is true that the City Center's acoustics are very poor; but I have heard other conductors produce orchestral playing there that was* beautifully balanced and blended and adjusted to the singing; and it is evident that this is something Rosenstock doesn't have the ear for.

As for "La Cenerentola" the next night, the musical performance lacked again what a more suitable conductor than Rosenstock would contribute in style, sharpness, and tension; and in addition it was sung less well this time. In place of Frances Bible, who had astonished one with her unexpected bravura style in the florid writing, there was Rosemary Kuhlmann, who has a fine mezzo-soprano voice but who sang the florid passages with evident effort; and this effort was evident also in the otherwise good singing of John Drury. The Dandini was Donald Gramm, about whom I wrote three years ago that his fresh bass voice was one of the most beautiful I had heard in years, and who shocked me now with the deterioration of the voice in this short period. But Richard Wentworth was again a superb Don Magnifico, and Laurel Hurley an excellent Clorinda. And the stage performance directed by Otto Erhardt—with the charming scenery and costumes of Rouben Ter-Arutunian, the make-ups of Michael Arshanian, and the inappropriate spoof of ballet replaced by a dance episode devised by Charles Weidman—was again a delight. This is the company's best production; and I was depressed by the small audience it drew.

Listening to Harold Shaper's Sym-

phony for Classical Orchestra on Columbia ML-4889 I hear confirmation of the observations by Aaron Copland quoted on the envelope—that "few musicians of our time put their pieces together with greater security," and that "this technical adroitness is put at the service of a wonderfully spontaneous musical gift." I also am aware of occasional echoes of Beethoven that Copland contends represent Shaper's "compulsion to fashion his music after some great model," but which I think Shaper is right in attributing rather to subconscious tonal memory. The work is, then, evocative of the past but stamped with the impress of the composer's own mind in the way some of Stravinsky's works are; and it is like Stravinsky's also in the assured mastery of the operation and the engaging result. It is given a beautiful performance by Leonard Bernstein with a Columbia orchestra.

As it happens, one of Stravinsky's works of that kind, the Symphony in C (1940)—characteristic in its exciting ostinatos and tensions, and much of it very engaging—is on Columbia ML-4899, performed by Stravinsky with the Cleveland Orchestra. With it is the Cantata (1952), only very little of which I find moving or attractive, and which is sung well by Jennie Tourel and Hugues Cuonod with members of Margaret Hillis's New York Concert Choir and the Philharmonic Chamber Ensemble under Stravinsky's direction.

MGM E-3119 offers a minor item by Copland, his Two Pieces for String Orchestra (1923 and 1928) and a number of bigger and more elaborate pieces by other composers that I don't care for: David Diamond's Rounds and Roger Goeb's Three American Dances for String Orchestra, Quincy Porter's Music for Strings, and Vincent Persichetti's "The Hollow Men" for strings and trumpet. Good performances under Izler Solomon's direction.

Two of Britten's best pieces, "Les Illuminations" for tenor and strings, and Serenade for tenor, horn, and strings, are on London LL-994 sung by Peter Pears with Dennis Brain and the New Symphony under Goossens. Pears's quavering voice is not much pleasure to listen to; and a more enjoyable performance of the Serenade by David Lloyd, James Stagliano, and members of the Boston Symphony is on Boston 205.

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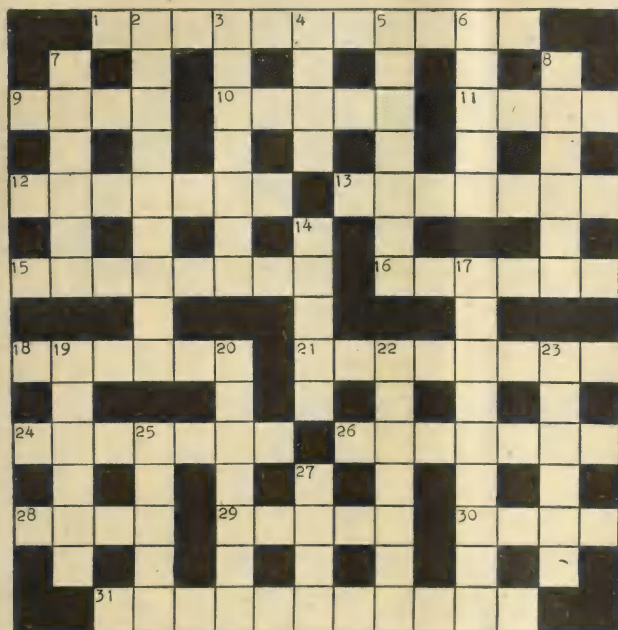
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Crossword Puzzle No. 590

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1, 9 and 10. See 29 across.
- 11 Stream of sudden light reflected? (4)
- 12 Angle measured clockwise from south or north. (7)
- 13 What comes from pig in what comes from sheep. (7)
- 15 Not quite so ridiculous as a malapropism. (8)
- 16 Eliot's Florentine woman. (6)
- 18 One who doesn't make an original bullet. (6)
- 21 A cross-bow is nothing less than a sort of astrolabe. (8)
- 22 See 29 across.
- 26 What one doesn't like to have with an automobile. (7)
- 28 See 14 down.
- 29, 24, 8 down; 9, 1, 31 and 10 across. Evidently the girls think the ball is flat (because of the drill?). (3, 2, 3, 4, 3, 3, 4, 3, 2, 4, 2, 3, 3, 2, 3, 5)
- 30 and 25 down. They're bigger than 17, but the owners are not original even if benevolent. (4, 5)
31. See 29 across.

DOWN

- 2 Conducive to happiness, despite the evilly inspired ending. (9)

- 3 These cells see the rise of a dumb Irishman! (7)
- 4 and 23. What might be on foot moves stealthily. (10)
- 5 Might light in London? (7)
- 6 Turban worn by the ancient Persians. (5)
- 7 Red dog? (6)
- 8 See 29 across.
- 14, 22 down and 28 across. Suns? (5, 5, 2, 4)
- 17 They don't take cream fillings, however! (4, 5)
- 19 Put a wig on, as one sometimes has to do to bow? (6)
- 20 Latin, eligible for the draft? (7)
- 22 See 14 down.
- 23 See 4 down.
- 25 See 30 across.
- 27 Intimidated by a short day? (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 589

ACROSS:—1 OUT OF WHACK; 6 and 12 USED CAR; 10 FANCIER; 11 ARRARS; 13 SALMAGUNDE; 15 RAPOED; 16 and 24 down RADICAL SIGN; 17 FEEL OUT; 20 STEPHEN; 22 HORNBLÉNDE; 23 SPAR; 25 DISEASE; 26 PRIMULA; 27 YEAR; 28 COMPONENTS.

DOWN:—1 OFFICER OF THE DAY; 2 TANCED; 3 FLIP; 4 HARVARD; 5 CHARMER; 7 STANLEY; 8 DISQUALIFI-
CARIANS; 9 BRIGADIER; 14 MOTOR-
BOAT; 18 EURASIA; 19 THERETO; 20 SODA POP; 21 BEPURN.

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The Returns Are In!

Here's what readers are saying about "The Great Giveaway":

"The Nation Magazine has done a great public service by devoting an entire issue to an outstanding discussion of the Republican giveaway program. The revenue lost to present and future generations of Americans under this raid on some of our greatest national assets is conservatively estimated by The Nation, but the enormity of the loss is nevertheless revealed. Every voter who is concerned over the great giveaway program of the past year and one-half should read the October 2 issue of The Nation from cover to cover before going to the polls in the coming election."

Senator Wayne Morse

"May I congratulate you on your 'Great Giveaway' issue? It is a public service of the first magnitude to marshal all this challenging material, and to present it so fearlessly and effectively. This issue of The Nation is an historical landmark."

Allen Nevins,
Professor of History, Columbia University

"I enjoyed reading 'The Great Giveaway' in The Nation's special issue of October 2 more especially so because it is just what I have been telling the Congress and the people of the country for the last two years. It is good that it has been put into such readable form in one issue. I only wish every voter could read it before election."

Senator Warren G. Magnuson

"The Nation's issue entitled 'The Great Giveaway' is a great campaign document. It is a severe indictment of the Neanderthal Republicans in power. It is also proof positive that our President is most naive and uncomplicated and unable to cope with complicated politics as played in Washington. The Rich Men's Junta about him are having a field day. They set the clock of progress back many years. The Nation is to be congratulated for emphasizing the 'steal' now going on in Washington."

Representative Emanuel Celler

"This is one of the best issues I have ever seen. Congratulations to The Nation and I hope the issue is receiving the widespread distribution it deserves. It is a great contribution."

Dr. James T. Shotwell,
President Emeritus of the Carnegie
Endowment for International Peace

"Warm congratulations on the simply superb issue. It sharpens for the American public, if they will read it, the foremost domestic issue of the day."

Morris R. Mitchell,
Director Putney Graduate School for
Teacher Education

Day After Day



Editorial Cartoon, Page 1
York Gazette & Daily

"To all those Americans who have an interest in going behind the appearances and slogans of political life, we recommend the . . . issue of The Nation . . . titled 'The Great Giveaway'."

York (Pa.) Gazette & Daily
Lead Editorial

"I want to thank you for your courage to print what our one-party press doesn't print. As I read the issue, as a Christian clergyman, I was outraged at the social immorality of the present regime in Washington."

Reverend Cleon E. Prowell,
St. Mark Lutheran Church
West Fairview, Pa.

THIS IS A SAMPLING of the reactions which have come pouring in since we published the "Great Giveaway." In Wisconsin, editor William T. Evjue featured the issue on his radio program. In subsequent days the Madison Capitol Times ran excerpts from it on its front pages.

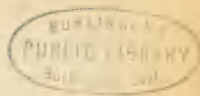
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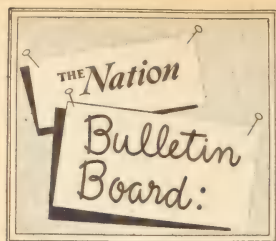
World in Deadlock

Konni Zilliacus

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Two Books on India and the West



LAST MONTH *The Nation* noted the five-year sentence given Frank Hashmall, an Ohio Communist leader, when Hashmall was tried on a charge of using a false name and address in filling out a motor-vehicle registration form. *The Nation* agreed with the Ohio Supreme Court that the trial judge had handed down an excessive sentence. Our editorial was featured in the Akron *Beacon Journal*, which noted the concurrence between the magazine and the state Supreme Court. Next day the *Beacon Journal* featured another story about a man named William Snowden who was fined \$50 by a trial judge. "His offense," the story said, "was the same as that on which Frank Hashmall . . . is serving a . . . term in the Ohio Penitentiary."

The Supreme Court in its decision observed that "a Communist is entitled to even-handed justice in our courts." At present the only man who can do something about Hashmall's sentence is the Governor of Ohio, Frank Lausche.

THE DECISION-MAKERS (*The Nation*, August 21, 1954), Floyd Hunter's study of the "men behind the scenes" who help make national policy, received widespread attention. It was summarized in the New York *Post*, featured on the front page of the Madison *Capital-Times*, and quoted in a number of other dailies and in labor papers. Hunter, it will be recalled, on the basis of a series of interviews had come up with a list of twenty "decision-makers." Most of those he named have read the article and said they found it interesting.

For example, R. W. Woodruff, chairman of the executive committee of the Coca-Cola Company, comments: "Professor Hunter writes well, and certainly his approach to the subject is completely logical; yet with respect to myself, however flattering such a designation may be, I must, in the light of actual facts, disclaim any right of membership in the group he labels 'the decision-makers.'"

F. G. Gurley, president of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe: "About all I can say is—I'm overwhelmed!"

Edward Ryerson, chairman of the executive committee of the Inland Steel Company: "I have noted with great interest the article written by Mr. Hunter and am rather surprised that I am included among the select group of twenty."

Ernest T. Weir, chairman of the board of the National Steel Corporation: "As you know I have always had a continuing interest in the politics of this country. I enjoyed reading Mr. Hunter's article."

Among other readers, Margaret A. Fellows of Cummington, Massachusetts, believes Hunter "laid too much emphasis on individuals and too little on organizations." John Newcomb of New York says that "Hunter deals with the superficial and the particular and is not concerned with discovering the laws underlying surface phenomena. From what source does power flow? How does an individual, group, or class acquire power; how does it hang on to it?" Thomas Campbell of Brooklyn and Frederick J. Miller of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, found the article significant, although Miller wondered whether Norman Chandler, publisher of the Los Angeles *Times*, named as one of the twenty, was as powerful as Colonel McCormick of the Chicago *Tribune*.

FROM TIME TO TIME readers write in to ask whether organizations to which they belong might get a member of the *Nation* staff to speak at a meeting; at the same time, they suggest, the magazine could be introduced to potential subscribers. The proposal seems possible if the meeting is not too far away—that is, if it is in or around New York, Boston, or Philadelphia. Those interested might drop me a note at *The Nation*.

LAST SUMMER *THE NATION* published a story by Leslie Bain on the witch hunt in Miami. The leading spirit among the hunters was State Attorney Brautigam—obviously a dedicated man. Recently a child named Judith Ann Roberts was murdered in Miami, and her father, a lawyer and former labor leader, has been indicted for the crime. Before the indictment Brautigam declared that the murder was a "Communist plot" against the child's father. MARTIN SOLOW

Letter from Burma . . . by Maung Maung

WHEN the Anti-Colonial Bureau of Asian Socialists met in May this year at Kalaw in Burma, it decided to fix a day on which Socialists, East and West, should gather to express their disapproval of the remaining traces of colonialism in the world. October 30 was afterward chosen for what was to be called International Freedom Day. Morgan Phillips, chairman of the Socialist International, who recently visited Rangoon, has joined the Asian Socialist Conference in urging Socialists throughout the world to make the day a resounding success. [In New York a group of Americans will mark the occasion with a meeting to be held Friday, October 29, at 8:15 p.m., at the Community Church, Park Avenue and Thirty-fifth Street. Among the speakers will be Waldo Frank.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

It is true that colonialism will not beat a hasty retreat just because indignant peoples shout at it, but when peoples of many nations unite and shout long and loud, they become a force to be reckoned with. Even the cynical must concede that public opinion and popular will have their compulsive strength.

Peoples which are still engaged in the struggle for freedom will be heartened by the worldwide sympathy and moral support they will receive, and those who are already free will be reminded that freedom has to be fought for and preciously preserved. Many countries are still not free. Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, Iran, Barat are on the agenda of the current United Nations General Assembly; Malaya and Kenya, though drenched in blood, are not. But dependent peoples are not satisfied with being made the subject of learned debates by government representa-

tives at the U. N. Words are no substitute for the freedom they yearn for.

Slowly the world is learning that even backward peoples can look after themselves very well if left to themselves in peace. There need be no white man's burden. This has been proved by the recent great experiments in which the colonial power abdicated power voluntarily. As a result India, Pakistan, and Ceylon have become independent members of the Commonwealth of Nations; Burma elected independence outside the Commonwealth.

Before independence the Burmese spent their time and energy fighting colonialism; now, after a spell of fighting among themselves by way of keeping in fighting form, they are spending their time and energy on welfare and development programs. Not a nation has yet been driven to surrender its freedom or admit its inability to make freedom work.

Premier U Nu of Burma is not the only Asian leader who speaks up for "neutrality" in the present conflict between the two power blocs, but he has of late been one of the most eloquent. "We are a small nation, and the big powers may not take much notice of us," he said at a conference attended by commanding officers of the Burmese army, "but it is our duty to speak out, and we will not shun that duty." U Nu's formula for world peace is simple: let the dependent peoples be free—free to choose their own trusted leaders, to build their new lives in ways that suit their genius. If they need aid, let it be given in the form of material for development projects and technical instruction, Marshall Aid and Point Four, Colombo Plan and U. N. assistance—

(Continued on page 392)

EDITORIALS

The Better Bet

THE election campaign now drawing to a close has been monumentally irrelevant, inept, and evasive. It is as if both major parties had initiated a secret protocol to exclude the major issues. Thunderous debates have echoed across the country over such questions as whether a candidate for sheriff in Cook County, Illinois, once said that "police officers have a disproportionate number of wives that were former prostitutes," the views of Charles E. Wilson on bird dogs versus kennel dogs, and whether the Adelaide Case who once had a nervous breakdown is the same Adelaide Case who once sipped cocktails for Spain. The tendency to evade issues has been reflected, too, in the choice of candidates. In several key Senatorial campaigns, voters have been presented with candidates neither of whom, from any coherent liberal point of view, represents a desirable choice. In others, such as those in New Jersey and Kentucky, the margin of preference is microscopically thin. In only isolated instances, as in the case of Richard Neuberger's candidacy in Oregon and John Carroll's in Colorado, do liberals have a wholly admirable candidate to support for the United States Senate.

There has been no significant debate on foreign policy, on the loyalty-security program, on foreign-trade policy, on civil liberties. Little has been said about the United Nations, though the Charter of the U. N. will be up for possible revision next year. "Gentlemen's agreements" in New York and elsewhere have banned McCarthyism as a debatable subject. The most sharply disputed issues have been those related to the Great Giveaway or, as in many Congressional districts, bearing on local concerns. It is not surprising, therefore, that the pollsters report widespread apathy or that registration fell off in many states.

THIS is not to say that there is no basis for an intelligent preference or that the liberals should stay at home on November 2, reading Spengler and Toynbee. For one thing, the control of Congress is at stake. A quick rundown of the key Senate committee chairmanships will indicate, on this score alone, a basis for choice. If the Democrats should win control of the Senate, these would be the key substitutions: Agriculture—Allen J. Ellender, Louisiana, in place of George W. Aiken, Vermont; Appropriations—Carl Hayden, Arizona, in place of Styles

Bridges, New Hampshire; Armed Services—Richard B. Russell, Georgia, in place of Leverett Saltonstall, Massachusetts; Banking and Currency—J. W. Fulbright, Arkansas, in place of Homer Capehart, Indiana; Finance—Harry F. Byrd, Virginia, in place of Eugene D. Millikin, Colorado; Foreign Relations—Walter F. Georgia, Georgia, in place of Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin; Government Operations—John L. McClellan, Arkansas, in place of Joseph R. McCarthy, Wisconsin; Interior and Insular Affairs—James F. Murray, Montana, in place of Guy Cordon, Oregon; Interstate Commerce—Warren G. Magnuson, Washington, in place of John W. Bricker, Ohio; Judiciary—Harley M. Kilgore, West Virginia, in place of William Langer, South Dakota; Labor and Public Welfare—Lister Hill, Alabama, in place of H. Alexander Smith, New Jersey; Public Works—Dennis Chavez, New Mexico, in place of Edward Martin, Pennsylvania; Rules—Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island, in place of William E. Jenner, Indiana. Senator Paul H. Douglas, Illinois, would probably head the Joint Committee on the President's Economic Report, whose chairman is now Representative Jesse P. Wolcott of Michigan, and Senator Clinton Anderson of New Mexico would probably head the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, replacing Representative W. Sterling Cole of New York.

READILY conceding that the Democrats are not, in each instance, ideal choices for these key committee posts, nevertheless in only two cases would *The Nation* feel that the Republican was to be preferred, Senator Millikin is a real conservative, whereas Senator Byrd is a reactionary. And it might be argued that Senator Aiken is a better choice for Agriculture than Senator Ellender. But the legislative outlook would be definitely improved if the Democrats were to organize the Senate, and the situation in the House is much the same. In some cases the preference is not political but based on the greater ability or longer experience of one of the men. For example, Senators Saltonstall and Russell are not too far apart politically, but Senator Russell is one of the ablest committee chairmen in Washington. His handling of the "smear" charges against Anna Rosenberg was most skilful. Similarly Senator George on the score of ability and experience, is greatly to be preferred to the maladroit Senator Wiley in the key Foreign Relations chairmanship. It should be noted, in passing, that a Democratic sweep of

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both houses would much dilute the strength of the "China Lobby" in Congress.

Admittedly the basis for these preferences is purely pragmatic, but we have always thought of the "lesser evil" not as a fallacy but as a political truism. Saints are as rare in politics as in barrack halls. Moreover, once the candidates have been selected, the unfortunate voter must react rather after the manner of a person who wants to place a bet at a race in which only two nags have been entered. Neither may be a very fast horse; the problem, of course, is to select the better bet.

While from the liberal point of view this has been a thoroughly unsatisfactory campaign, nothing is to be gained by lamentations. Unsatisfactory as the candidates are, in many instances there is ground for an intelligent choice. Liberals can perhaps work up some enthusiasm by reflecting that they will be voting in this campaign not for their hearts' desire but for the chance to create a set of conditions out of which more meaningful alternatives may emerge. This is just not their inning—indeed, they are not competitors at the moment—but if they want to keep the know-nothing elements out of power, they should choose "the better bet" on November 2.

Near-Miracle in Paris

PERHAPS the new-born Western European Union, delivered last Saturday at Paris, is the "near-miracle" Secretary Dulles has called it. At any rate, with the signing of various protocols, conventions, declarations, and pacts by the fourteen NATO member states and by the Federal German Republic, a Europe torn by dissension less than a month ago has recreated something that looks like unity. It has also agreed to the rearming of a sovereign West Germany under controls less rigid than those provided in the defunct E. D. C. plan, but fortified by Britain's full commitment to the W. E. U. and by Adenauer's acceptance of permanent economic integration of the Saar with France.

The chief diplomatic victory went to Premier Mendès-France, who managed through a remarkable combination of agility and firmness to win almost every point in a difficult, tricky match. But the real substance of victory went to Chancellor Adenauer, whose impressive concessions on non-essentials won for Germany the two solid objectives he has steadfastly pursued—sovereignty and an armed alliance with the West. And by the same token Mr. Dulles came home with a success he seemed at some earlier stages to have lost for keeps through his rough tactics of pressure and threat. It is natural that he should look upon the Paris accord as somewhat miraculous.

But the job is far from finished. In France and Germany the political forces against the agreements are re-

grouping for a new fight. The German Socialists oppose both the Saar settlement and rearmament; conservative elements within the Adenauer coalition are preparing a showdown on the Saar. The opposition in France, though probably stronger, is more diffuse, and Mendès-France has disarmed part of it by the concessions he won from London and Bonn and the promises he has made. But the deep-rooted hatred of German rearmament will have time to crystallize before ratification is finally voted.

The new Russian note to France, Britain, and the United States, calling for talks next month on Germany and European security, will no doubt be rejected or countered with demands for more explicit terms. It was well timed none the less. And its text, apart from a few foolish statements such as the claim that no "strongly armed Soviet grouping" exists in Eastern Europe, is effectively designed to play on Western fears of a revived German military machine. As the hour for ratification draws near these fears will mount—and with good cause. Premier Mendès-France won preliminary Assembly support for the plan just adopted at Paris only after he promised that talks with Russia would be carried on "parallel" with the rearming of West Germany. The Moscow note will probably not prevent French acceptance of the W. E. U. treaties, but it may help the opposition to tie ratification tightly to negotiations with Russia for an over-all settlement which would make the arming of Germany an anachronism. The Paris "miracle" may be the end of one battle, but it is the beginning of a new and much longer one.

The Back Door

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

CLEAR proof of how profoundly the recent H-bomb test explosions have shaken the world's conscience is to be found in the fact that disarmament and the control of atomic weapons are the issues which dominate this session of the General Assembly. No one feels secure any more, and even President Eisenhower, who last week spoke again of maintaining "enough military strength to deter aggression and promote peace," must know that such a policy, perhaps a practical one five years ago, is today an impossibility. With Russia in possession of the H-bomb the West is no longer in a position to dictate terms to the East. I could quote a dozen American military and political experts who have come to this conclusion.

It is not only that the West's faith in its superiority in nuclear weapons has been diminishing; its faith in finding an effective defense against them has likewise diminished. The United States recently created a Continental Air Defense Command to solve this problem, but

at every hand there are indications that it has a long and difficult road to travel. The fact is that nobody seems to have produced an answer to the question: What happens in an atomic stalemate? Reliable reports from Russia indicate that the stalemate is imminent if it is not already here.

Former Secretary of the Air Force Thomas K. Finletter suggests that the answer lies in the spending of eighteen to twenty billions a year on the air force. The United States could then be assured, he thinks, of having "the kind of air atomic power which would give us reasonable assurance that the Russians would not dare to start an atomic war or allow one to start." But Western experts point out that such an expansion by the United States would be offset by expansion on the part of the Soviet Union. Perhaps, say these experts, the United States would forge ahead for a year or two; then the Russians would catch up and the stalemate would be upon us again.

IF there exists any solution for the problem, it would seem to lie not in a futile atomic race but in the Political Committee of the General Assembly, which is now seeking a compromise on disarmament and atomic controls that would be acceptable to East and West. The committee started its work encouraged by the earlier general debate in the Assembly in which practically every speaker expressed grave concern at the prospect of an atomic war. During this debate Andrei Y. Vishinsky announced that Russia would no longer insist on its old plan for atomic control but would accept the Anglo-French plan, elaborated last year in London, as a basis for discussion.

The Vishinsky statement gave the Political Committee something to work with, even though the skeptics remained skeptical and argued that the "persistently aggressive design" of the Russians and Chinese "shows no evidence of genuine change." This feeling, however, was by no means shared by most of the Western delegations, which agreed that the Soviet acceptance "in principle" of the Anglo-French proposals represented substantial progress. Up to the moment Vishinsky stepped to the Assembly rostrum, at any rate, the situation had been hopelessly deadlocked for years, with the East insisting on, and the West rejecting, the prohibition of atomic weapons *before* any control plan was put into effect. The Anglo-French plan provides for a series of simultaneous operations designed to reconcile the opposing views.*

There still exist weighty differences between the two sides. The Anglo-French scheme, for instance, envisages the creation of a single control organ, while the Russians want two such bodies—one to obtain the reduction of conventional weapons and military forces, and the other

*An excellent report on the successive stages of the arms negotiations has been prepared by Josephine W. Pomerance for the Committee for World Development and World Disarmament, United Nations Plaza, New York 17, N. Y.

to carry out the control of atomic weapons. As the debate ebbs and flows, it is natural that hope should ebb and flow too. Both sides have already made significant concessions. To match the Soviet Union's acceptance of the Anglo-French plan as a basis for discussion, the Western Big Four on disarmament—the United States, Great Britain, France, and Canada—agreed last week to accept two of the four amendments which Russia demanded as the price for cosponsoring a Western resolution calling for the revival of negotiations on disarmament and atomic control. It is significant that the Russians them-

selves seem optimistic about the outcome. "We shall come to an agreement," Mr. Vishinsky told the Political Committee.

On Friday the Russians accepted cosponsorship of the Western formula—the first time East and West have agreed on a major U. N. resolution in years. I think it wise not to underestimate the value of this step forward. The people who today exult over the rearmament of Germany may yet have reason to be grateful that a back door to peace is still open, no matter how narrowly, in the United Nations.

SECRET BLACKLIST

Untold Story of the U. S. I. A. . . by *Scrutineer*

Washington

A FORMER deputy director of the United States Information Agency (U. S. I. A.) has joined the now-it-can-be-told club. His name is Martin Merson. He is a business man who stumbled into this government job last year and stayed there about five months. Throughout the experience he whimpered at the door of Senator McCarthy in the hope that that gentleman would stroke or pat him just once or at least deign to say, "Give me a paw, Marty." It never happened. Joe wouldn't play.

Now, about fourteen months after putting all this behind him, Merson feels remorse. So he has unpacked his U. S. I. A. luggage and spread the dirty laundry across the pages of the *Reporter* (October 7, 1954). It is the epic of McCarthy's domination of the American government's information agency. The essentials of the story became public last year, but Merson has supplied interesting and repulsive details that were then missing.

His report is at once informative and misleading. It is unconsciously deceptive in that it suggests that the nightmarish Battle of the Books is over. The theory that things are now clean and tidy in the front office of the U. S. I. A. is put more

strongly and positively in another article in the same issue of the *Reporter*. In this second piece a former Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, Edward W. Barrett, gives the U. S. I. A.'s present chiefs a clean bill of health. "The new administrators," Barrett writes, "have performed valiantly." The administration of the agency, he says, has come back a long way "from the shocking shambles of 1953."

The *Washington Post and Times-Herald*, after reprinting a lengthy summary of the Merson article, editorially supports the notion that the Information Agency has gone straight: "The U. S. I. A. has striven mightily to recoup the national prestige ground into mud by the truckling to McCarthy." Before the end of this article I hope to make abundantly clear that those who believe the U. S. I. A. administration has undergone a fundamental change are very gullible indeed.

In fairness, one improvement should be mentioned. When the Battle of the Books was moving to a climax early in 1953, the average number of volumes shipped abroad monthly by the Information Agency dropped from 119,913 to 341, or to about .3 per cent of the previous norm. Lack of clearance for authors was drying up the supply of publications for the government's overseas libraries. Such complete paralysis has been overcome. Books are reaching the libraries

nowadays, though often there is still a long delay owing to the slow clearance.

The overriding truth, however, is that the spirit of McCarthy continues to permeate the United States Information Agency under its present director, Theodore Streibert. If one hears much less about it, that is for two reasons. First, many a cripple grows accustomed to his deformity. Second, Streibert has managed to conceal the deformity. He has stated publicly and privately time and again that the U. S. I. A. evaluates books by their content and not by the political complexion of the authors.

LET'S go back a little into the history of the agency. Among the things Merson has spotlighted is this: If so many of the nine thousand U. S. I. A. employees were stricken by fear for their jobs and livelihood, it is small wonder. For the men at the top of the agency were obviously clinging to their jobs, too.

Merson was number two to Robert L. Johnson, who took leave from the presidency of Philadelphia's Temple University in order to conduct the U. S. I. A., or, as it was then called, the I. I. A. Its main functions then as now were operating the Voice of America and some two hundred information-center libraries in about ninety countries and territories. United States overseas libraries contain more than 2,000,000 books and have been visited by at least 36,000,000 for-

SCRUTINEER is the pen name of a New York newspaperman who occasionally covers the Washington scene.

eigners a year. The \$85,000,000-a-year propaganda agency also controls film services, traveling exhibits, lecturers, and exchange students. We are here concerned with the libraries.

These were the object of one of McCarthy's most overheated, wildest performances last year, when he charged that they harbored 30,000 volumes by Communist authors. He produced the names of only 418 of these culprits, among whom were Foster Rhea Dulles, cousin of the Secretary of State, and such anti-Communist liberals as John Dewey, Elmer Davis, Robert M. Hutchins, Sherwood Anderson, Louis Bromfield, Edna Ferber, Carl and Mark Van Doren, and many others. In fact, the list just stopped short of William McKinley.

This was the climate in which Johnson and Merson quickly found themselves gasping for air. They took charge a fortnight after the State Department issued its notorious instruction to the Information Agency: "No material by any Communists, fellow-travelers, et cetera, will be used under any circumstances." They are still trying to discover what an et cetera is in order to be sure to ban his—or is it her or its?—books.

Merson's story is one of pitiful self-degradation. He and Johnson spent weeks figuratively crawling up Capitol Hill on their bellies to curry favor with McCarthy. They failed. For months they were unable to worm their way into the Wisconsin panjandrum's presence. They had to be content with coaxing Messrs. Cohn and Schine to lunches or dinners in the vain hope of quelling McCarthy's agitation against the Information Agency.

They found the White House and State Department toadying to Joe. Mr. Eisenhower's favorite psychological warrior, C. D. Jackson of Time, Inc., answered their S. O. S. with a cool warning that it was "the President's passion not to offend anybody in Congress." They could not get a single Administration leader to protect the United States against being held up to what Merson now admits was "worldwide contempt and ridicule." Johnson and Merson were exhausted and depressed by the futile attempt to feed the insatiable Wisconsin crocodile. They decided to quit.

Before leaving their jobs they published a long policy declaration or death-bed repentance. It revoked previous di-

rectives. Its theme song was that each book would be judged on its merits and no longer on the basis of whether its author's great-grandmother, liked red caviar or whether in childhood the author himself read "Little Red Riding Hood." It indicated that the blacklist of writers, composers, and books would be abolished. Indeed, a gust of fresh air suddenly swept through the agency's moldy offices. By the end of July, 1953, books for United States overseas libraries were really being chosen according to their content. That was the important thing.

ON AUGUST 5 the agency's new boss, Streibert, former chairman of the board of the Mutual Broadcasting System, took charge. Two weeks later he ordered a retreat from liberalism. He reinstituted security clearance for authors and composers. A central catalogue was established—a combined whitelist and blacklist of writers, artists, and composers. Today there are sixteen large files. They contain about 7,000 names of authors cleared, rejected, or awaiting investigation. The list is constantly expanding.

There is a long-standing, publicly announced order barring from overseas libraries the works of three types of authors: (1) avowed Communists; (2) invokers of the Fifth Amendment; (3) persons convicted of crimes involving the security of the United States. The existence of a fourth category, known in official jargon as "additional data" cases, has never been admitted. This includes all authors against whom

derogatory information has been lodged. It may be, and often is, wholly unverified gossip and slander. It may be a newspaper story putting a writer or musician in an adverse light. It may be an anonymous letter.

Nobody wants the responsibility for approving the books of writers whose names appear on the "additional data" list. Consequently a stop has been put to the U. S. I. A.'s purchase of any works by these writers or composers, pending their screening and clearance.

Existence of this graylist, which is in fact a blacklist, places U. S. I. A. Director Streibert in a strange light. In an interview with *U. S. News and World Report* last March, Streibert declared unreservedly that "books should be judged primarily on their content... less attention should be paid to the author." Under his leadership exactly the opposite is being done. The accent more than ever is on snooping into an author's private life and thoughts while disregarding his book's substance.

As recently as September 15, 1954, one of Streibert's aides, Acting Assistant Chief for Operations Parker May, circulated a confidential list of 141 names of authors on whom "additional data" existed. It was labeled "a consolidated list." A few days ago it was recalled from all offices with the explanation that otherwise it might fall into the hands of newsmen.

Alas, Streibert, too late! It had already happened, and here are a few of the 141 names: Henry Seidel Canby, Aaron Copland, Malcolm Cowley, Adolph Dehn, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Martha Foley, Julian Huxley, Saul K. Padover, Dorothy Parker, Frederick L. Schuman, Roger Sessions, Edgar Snow, George Soule, and Victor Yakhontoff. This is a random selection of just 14 of the 141 American—with a Briton here and there—authors, scholars, composers, and artists. The entire list reads like a "Who's Who" in the realm of American culture.

Besides these 141 victims of existing "additional data" there are hundreds of others whose names have been sent to the U. S. I. A.'s security officers for investigation. There they remain buried. As long as they have not been cleared and returned, their works may not be added to the United States libraries abroad. To all purposes, their books,



Herblock in the Washington Post

"Sometimes I wonder what's in those darn things."



Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Round and Round

music, or paintings are blacklisted. Some of the authors have been awaiting clearance for nineteen months and may well wait indefinitely.

The case of Saul K. Padover, dean of the School of Politics at the New School for Social Research in New York, is an oddity. Under its educational exchange program the State Department engaged Dr. Padover to visit Indo-China, Burma, Malaya, Thailand, and India and to lecture on history, politics, and economics from August to mid-November, 1953. His talks stirred interest, and requests for his books began to arrive from the countries where he had been speaking. Padover had received the State Department's loyalty and security clearance before being offered the Asian assignment. But his name appears on the U. S. I. A.'s "additional data" list, and therefore his books are barred from American overseas libraries.

THERE are stranger goings-on than this. For instance, some months ago a member of the New York *Times* Washington staff, Dana Adams Schmidt, telephoned the U. S. I. A. to check a rumor that the agency was blacklisting the works of Ernest Hemingway. The reporter's inquiry went to the U. S. I. A.'s deputy director—Merson's successor, Abbott Washburn. Perhaps a vision of headlines floated before Washburn's half-closed eyes: "United States Government Outlaws Hemingway's Books." That would hardly do. There's a limit to just how silly you can look and survive. Washburn nervously called his subordinate, Franklin L. Burdette, chief of the

Information Agency service which controls the overseas libraries. Yes, Burdette replied, Hemingway's name is on the "additional data" list, and so purchase of his works for the U. S. I. A. is prohibited. Washburn was cool enough promptly to direct removal of Hemingway's name from the list.

The U. S. I. A. then called back the New York *Times* man and solemnly denied that there was any U. S. I. A. restriction against Hemingway's novels. Dana Schmidt must be annoyed to learn that he missed the news of this little result of his inquiry. But he can derive satisfaction from having restored Ernest Hemingway to respectability, for a while anyhow.

But did he? I have just remembered something that makes me doubt it. Some days ago it was proposed to Burdette that the U. S. I. A. should secure world rights to Burdette's "The Old Man and the Sea." Burdette turned down the suggestion because there were "additional data" of an undisclosed character concerning Hemingway. So maybe it's A Farewell to Ernest, after all.

Burdette distinguished himself far more impressively in another episode. This concerned something officially described as Expendable Libraries. These are specially-made two-shelf containers that can be put on desks to hold cheap paperback volumes. The U. S. I. A.'s sensible idea was to use this contraption to familiarize foreign peoples with the availability of good books at nominal prices in America.

The Expendable Libraries are given gratis to cultural institutions abroad. The institutions can let readers take these books and either return them or keep them as gifts. The two-shelf paperback collections are also in United States overseas libraries. They come under Burdette, who was a teacher of government at the University of Maryland until he joined the U. S. I. A. via the Republican National Committee in March, 1954.

One afternoon Burdette noticed among the paperbacks a book called "Walden" by someone named Henry Thoreau. Burdette carried the book home and read or skimmed it. That was enough. Returning to the office the next day he announced that "Walden" was downright socialistic! One of his colleagues drew him aside and expostulated. Was Burdette aware that a lot of

plain folk as well as scholars consider "Walden" the greatest American classic? It was wasted effort. Burdette ordered "Walden" removed from the Expendable Libraries.

I don't suppose anybody troubled to inform Burdette that 1954 happens to be the hundredth anniversary of "Walden's" appearance. American publishers, magazines, newspapers, schools, and universities have been commemorating the event with intense devotion to the great American who gave us this masterpiece. It remained for a junior and expendable official in Washington to observe the hundredth anniversary of "Walden" by having the book withdrawn from circulation in the United States government's Expendable Libraries.

WITHOUT their knowledge, two well-known American writers of popular books on psychology have been enduring a bumpy passage through the U. S. I. A. sausage machine. They are Harry Allen Overstreet and his wife, Mrs. Bonaro W. Overstreet. In a statement which Johnson, the retiring director, issued in July, 1953, books by the Overstreets were specifically mentioned as approved for use in American libraries abroad.

Nothing is ever quite that simple in the U. S. I. A., though. For the late Senator Pat McCarran, McCarthy's buddy, had elicited a promise from the U. S. I. A.—or I. I. A., as it then was—that the Overstreet books would never be used in the government's overseas libraries. McCarran just disliked the Overstreets and their works. Nobody seems to know why, but the Senator had power; so that was that.

Books by the Overstreets were already on the libraries' shelves abroad, and the U. S. I. A. was preparing a condensation of Harry Overstreet's "The Mature Mind." It was to be published in translation, and at least one edition was already in print overseas. Suddenly, bingo, a directive was issued ordering that the Overstreet book should not be used. The entire edition in translation was destroyed—physically demolished. Subsequently the Overstreet works received U. S. I. A. approval by special dispensation, as in the Hemingway affair. But this absolution came too late to rescue the destroyed edition of "The Mature Mind." Perhaps to foment a little more chaos, in the past few weeks Burdette has ruled

that the Overstreet books have not been cleared. Thus, while their writings were not removed from the libraries, a ban was put on further government buying of their works.

P. S. to the *Reporter*: The latest "additional data" list circulated confidentially last month inside the U. S. I. A. provisionally blacklists an author whose name is familiar to the *Reporter*. It is

Theodore White, who wrote the best-selling book on "European politics" "Fire in the Ashes" and who is one of the editors of the *Reporter*, with the title of national correspondent.

WORLD IN DEADLOCK

The Story of Western Policy . . by Konni Zilliacus

London

THE dead end reached by Anglo-American policy in Western Europe is only a small part of the international picture. It must be seen in the context of deadlock in Korea, defeat in Indo-China, and the military failure of E. D. C., which long preceded its political collapse. This failure is part of a "global" failure of Western defense policy, which has been geared to unattainable objectives based on unreal assumptions. Disillusionment with United States world leadership in non-Communist Europe and Asia has kept pace with the march of untoward events. How great is the collapse of Western policy and how far-reaching and acute the need for "agonizing reappraisal" becomes clear when we step back and look at the whole picture in the perspective of the last few years.

Sir Winston Churchill set the ball rolling on March 4, 1946, at Fulton, Missouri, when he called for the mobilizing and banding together of the military power of the United States, the British Commonwealth, and Western Europe to "contain" communism, which was treated as Soviet expansion and aggression. "What we want," he said, "is not a quivering, precarious balance of power, but an overwhelming assurance of strength."

The foundations of the policy of an Anglo-American line-up to contain communism had been laid during the Second World War. And that policy was the lineal descendant of the British and

French policy of anti-Communist intervention and pro-Fascist appeasement which was launched against the Russian and European revolutions during and after the First World War. It was sold to the public as defensive and dictated by necessity. In fact, it always rested on fear and hate so strong as to reject the idea of peaceful coexistence and aim at destroying Communist regimes, meaning thereby any regime actively hostile to the colonial or social order. The policy connived at Hitler's rearmament so as to use Germany as a bulwark against communism. In the resulting war it was suspended because Western Tories, much against their will, had to rely on the Soviet Union as an ally.

But Prime Minister Churchill had begun to apply the policy again in Greece and Italy in 1943 and 1944, against the resistance movements and their political allies, and after 1945 Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin was being led by his officials down the cold-war garden path. The Fulton speech was the first full-blooded, "global" proclamation of the policy of "containment," and it was with some justice that Churchill later claimed to be the father of both British Labor's and the United States' foreign policy.

For four years after the war Sir Winston Churchill led a campaign based on two assumptions and drawing one conclusion. His assumptions were (a) that communism was a mortal enemy, so fundamentally and unalterably hostile that no peaceful coexistence based on a recognition of common interests was possible, force being the only argument that would be recognized as valid; and (b) that the West, thanks to the United States' monopoly of the atomic bomb,

which in those days was believed to be an all-powerful weapon that could compel instant surrender, possessed a decisive preponderance of force.

The conclusion from these premises was that we must have a showdown with the Soviet Union quickly, before it was too late, and use the threat of the atomic bomb to impose our will on the Russians and roll communism back from Eastern Europe to the Soviet frontier.

THE United States did not swing officially into line until a year after Churchill's Fulton speech, when President Truman applied the "containment" policy to Greece in his message to Congress of March, 1947. He revealed the policy's social roots in a passage which the *New York Herald Tribune* headlined: "President Says Americans Value Free Enterprise More Than Peace." "There is one thing," he said, "that Americans value more than peace. It is freedom. Freedom of worship, freedom of speech, and freedom of enterprise. The pattern of international trade which is most conducive to freedom of enterprise is one in which major decisions are made not by governments but by private buyers and sellers."

A few months later, in July, 1947, George F. Kennan, then head of the policy-planning staff of the State Department and its leading Russian expert, published his famous Mr. X article in *Foreign Affairs*, in which he discussed the methods, formulated the premises, and revealed the political aims of "containment." Mr. Kennan was less optimistic in his estimate of the current relative strength of the West and the Soviet Union and therefore more cautious in his methods than Sir Winston—he looked forward to a long cold war rather than a

KONNI ZILLIACUS, for many years a dominant figure in the left wing of the British Labor Party, is the author of a number of books on British and international politics.

quick showdown. But he was just as intransigent in rejecting the very idea of peaceful coexistence based on common interests in promoting trade and preventing war, and even more ambitious in his political aim.

In his 1948 message to Congress President Truman extended anti-Communist containment to cover the whole



Sir Winston Churchill

world and said it was also the duty of the United States to protect countries menaced by communism against "internal aggression."

In Europe, NATO and the idea of arming Western Germany within a West European military alliance had been born, with "made in America" written into their birth certificates.

By the autumn of 1949 three things had happened: first, it was dawning on Western military authorities that the atomic bomb, in the state of development it had then reached, could not win a war against a country like the Soviet Union unless backed by great land and air forces. Secondly, it was discovered that the Soviet Union now also possessed the atomic bomb. Thirdly, the Chinese Communists, single-handed and without Russian aid, won the civil war against Chiang Kai-shek in spite of massive logistic support from the United States. That was the beginning of the great change. General Leslie Groves, chief of the United States Atomic Development Project, 1942-47, told the London Star (December 14, 1949) that the next war would be fought between Russia and America. The only way of opposing Russia was by using atom bombs against its main cities, industries, airfields, and mil-

itary centers. Americans were confident that in a "long-range atomic slugging match between the two big powers" they would win. But Groves did not think England could survive an atomic blitz for more than a week: its ports would be blasted and sealed off, its industrial centers and cities smashed, the survivors would face starvation. But, he paradoxically insisted, the United States could not fight Russia without using Britain as a base.

ON November 30, 1950, Sir Winston Churchill told the House of Commons that we were now so far behind the Russians in conventional arms that even if we pressed on more rapidly with preparations for an Atlantic army and West European army, including a German contingent, "a long period must elapse before they could offset the Russian superiority, even if the Russian strength itself were not increased meanwhile."

In March, 1953, a leading British military critic, Captain Liddell Hart, explained in an article in the *Manchester Guardian* that the projected West European force was so far behind schedule that it would take years to catch up with the Russians, even if they did no further rearming. Militarily the whole scheme was a failure and it would be logical, since half-measures were useless, to stop throwing good money after bad. But the moral shock to public opinion of abandoning it would be so great, and the possible economic and political consequences so serious, that it was better to go on pretending.

Meanwhile the two-years war in Korea and the nine-years war in Indo-China were an object lesson in the military effort and expenditure required by anti-Communist "containment" even on the fringes of Asia, and in the ultimate futility and risks of the whole policy. The widening rift between the United States and its European allies and the alienation of most of the Asian nations are only the first instalments of the political cost.

The Republican Administration and Congress have stepped up "containment" to mean "dynamic containment" or "liberation," expressed in boycotts, support of Chiang Kai-shek, the barely frustrated attempt of Admiral Radford to drop atomic bombs on Dienbienphu, and the methods used in Guatemala and

Quemoy. Britain and France want trade and peace with the Asian nations and, as they showed at Geneva, may be driven to get them without and in spite of the United States.

On July 14, 1954, Sir Winston Churchill told the House of Commons that the Western alliance could, on a hypothetical D-plus-thirty day, dispose of strength in the forward areas of Europe of well over 100 divisions. The Soviet Union and its European allies could by that date put 400 divisions into the field. He did not think the question of 12 German divisions should be given undue importance in that situation. This calculation, made without considering the man-power of China's 600,000,000 population, explains why the "new look" strategy frankly concedes defeat if both sides fight with "conventional" arms, and pins its faith to A- and H-bombs.

But the West now knows that the Soviet Union possesses both, as well as the long-range, fast stratosphere jet bombers to deliver them. We also know that the latest H-bomb is more than two thousand times as powerful as the Hiroshima bomb. What is the use, said Jules Moch, the Socialist *rapporteur* on E. D. C., to the French National Assembly, of talking about twelve German divisions, when fifteen H-bombs could wipe out France. A dozen could perform the same office for this little island.

Some fanatics, like Lord Esher, may claim they prefer "vaporization to communism." But they do not include Sir Winston Churchill, who told the House on July 14 that he was for peaceful coexistence because "the appalling character which war has now assumed and its fearful consequences go even beyond the difficulties and danger of living side by side with Communist states."

This is increasingly the mood of the British and West European peoples and of the German people too, to judge by the Socialist victory in the Schleswig-Holstein election on their program of a four-power conference to discuss German unification and European security. The whole policy of anti-Communist containment plus liberation is slipping and crumbling. The West has never possessed the power to make it stick and is farther off than ever from that goal. America's allies are ceasing to follow it on that path and may yet do in Europe what they did at Geneva.

"DYNAMIC" HOUSING

Record of the G. O. P. . . by Helen L. Alfred

WHEN the President signed the Housing Act of 1954 he referred to it as a "dynamic housing program." But long-time friends of public housing refer to it as an act to scuttle the public-housing program and to bail the landlords and their bankers out of the slums.

The program was inaugurated early in President Roosevelt's term of office in part as a means of stimulating construction and employment during the depression. Under the Housing Act of 1937 new homes were built for more than 700,000 low-income families. Projects were undertaken in more than a thousand localities. Local housing authorities eradicated 200,000 slum dwellings.

During President Truman's Administration the program was stepped up. The Housing Act of 1949 authorized federal-local contracts for the construction of 810,000 additional family dwelling units—135,000 units annually for the six-year period 1949-55. Then came the Korean war, with its heavy demands on the supply of labor and materials. The traditional foes of public housing—the real-estate boards, building-and-loan associations, and other private home-finance institutions—intensified their efforts against any further slum clearance. But by the end of 1952, despite war conditions and the mounting opposition, contracts had been entered into, with President Truman's approval, for more than 350,000 new low-rent dwellings.

When General Eisenhower became President, nearly 450,000 units of the 1949 program were still technically on the books. But the Republicans chose to ignore the mandate of Congress. In July, 1953, passage of the First Independent Offices Appropriations Act slashed the program for the fiscal year 1954 to 20,000 units.

HELEN L. ALFRED was one of the founders of the National Public Housing Conference (now known as the National Housing Conference) and served as its executive director for thirteen years.

The President then appointed an advisory committee on government housing policies and programs which consisted largely of opponents of public housing. On the basis of the committee's recommendations and in the face of the urgent needs of the country's ill-housed millions, an omnibus public-housing and private-home-finance bill introduced by the Administration proposed that public housing be cut back to 35,000 new units annually, or to a total of 140,000 units during the next four years. This bill was defeated by the President's own party. When it was brought to a vote in the House, 156 of the 211 votes against the public-housing section were Republican.

A long battle in Congress followed. The arguments of the real-estate lobby to end public housing for all time were echoed on the floor of both houses. The program that finally emerged from the Senate and House conference committee authorized 35,000 additional dwelling units for the next fiscal year but made no reference to the following years. Thus the 1954 act not only cut the low-rent public-housing program to the bone but prevented planning for the future.

Local housing authorities, moreover, now find stop signs and road blocks in their way when they undertake even this reduced program. In its declaration of principles the 1937 act gave first consideration to the rehousing of low-income families living in substandard dwellings. Clearance and rehousing were recognized as interdependent responsibilities of the local housing authorities. Under the 1954 amendments rehousing of these families is considered last. The first concern seems to be property values. No new contracts for federal loans, annual contributions, or capital grants-in-aid may be entered into except with respect to low-rent public-housing projects to be built in a community in which an urban slum-clearance and urban-redevelopment program has been undertaken. Nor may a local housing authority initiate a project for low-

income families with federal assistance unless the local governing body certifies that such a project is necessary for the relocation of families displaced by a slum-clearance program. If a project is approved on this basis, the local authority is allowed to build no more new dwelling units—whether with federal, state, or local aid—than are required for the rehousing of such families.

Of the more than 1,000 communities now being served by local housing authorities, 586 have populations of 5,000 or under, 604 of from 5,000 to 100,000, and 91 of 100,000 and over. Only two or three of the larger cities in this last category can qualify for low-rent projects under the limitations of the current act. Commenting on the probable delay that would result from the restrictions approved by the Senate and House conference committee, Representative Albert Rain, Democrat, of Alabama, said: "If your community is one that does not now have the slum clearance under way . . . and your community were to take action immediately to qualify, it would take a minimum of two years to be in a position to take advantage of the housing provisions in the conference report."

FORTUNATELY, there is reason to believe that despite the Administration's insensitivity to the importance of public housing the foes of the program will finally yield. For one thing, the need for modern low-rent homes is too urgent and widespread to be ignored. The 1950 housing census of the Department of Commerce, covering nearly 46,000,000 dwelling units in urban, rural farm, and rural non-farm areas, disclosed that 15,000,000 dwellings in this plumbing-proud land lacked a flush toilet, nearly 14,000,000 were without private bathtub or shower, and more than 6,000,000 had no running water inside or outside. In 2,200,000 units without plumbing married couples had doubled up, with serious overcrowding.

Because of their population density

and high land coverage the urban slums of the United States have been rated among the worst in the Western world. The New York City Housing Authority reports that in Greater New York, "as a result of the failure to maintain an adequate building rate," 426,792 apartments in "old-law tenements" were still on the market and in use in 1952. These ancient rookeries were below the minimum standard established for new construction by the New York State tenement-house law of 1901. Yet more than fifty years later, nearly 2,000,000 men, women, and children were obliged to call them "home."

The Eisenhower Administration places major reliance on homes built by private enterprise for sale. These will become available, it declares, now that the federal government is assuming more of the risk through loan insurance and mortgage guaranties and now that financial terms have been made easier. Boris Shishkin, secretary of the housing committee of the A. F. of L., expressing the conviction of organized labor in general, believes this to be a serious error in judgment. In his appearance before the House Committee on Banking and Currency earlier this year Mr. Shishkin criti-

cized the Administration's proposal to have the Federal Housing Administration insure 100 per cent loans for forty years on homes to sell for \$7,000, as a means of rehousing former slum residents. He stated that the purchase of a \$7,000 house would require an expenditure of \$62.50 a month for housing, and added, "This is twice as much as low-income families in most cities can afford to pay. . . . In 1952, the latest year for which figures are available, only families with incomes of more than \$5,000 a year could afford to meet monthly housing expenses for the average F. H. A. house or apartment."

James B. Thimmes, chairman of the C. I. O. housing committee, testified at the same hearing that 10,000,000 American families were earning less than \$3,000 and 8,000,000 less than \$2,500. "This is the segment of our population," Mr. Thimmes said, "whose housing need is the most urgent because it is so largely made up of occupants of substandard dwellings."

Finally, and perhaps this is the most accurate gauge of the value of any public service, public housing has wide popular support. Various national organizations have submitted to the President and Con-

gress estimates of the minimum program required. The National Housing Conference some years ago urged that local housing authorities receive federal aid in building 150,000 dwelling units each year for a period of at least ten years. The A. F. of L. and C. I. O. and the A. D. A. would have the nation try to rehouse 200,000 low-income families a year until the need was filled. These and many other influential groups can now be expected to join forces and submit to the President and the next Congress a new set of amendments to the Housing Act of 1937 that will be commensurate with the needs of low-income families. A people's housing lobby, working chiefly in Washington but seeking supplemental aid from state legislatures and local bodies, seems more necessary than ever before.

The strength of popular opinion favorable to public housing will undoubtedly be clearly registered in the coming elections. When the millions of men and women who are gravely concerned over the conditions in which their own families live go to the polls, they are likely to be more influenced by the Republican cutback of the housing program than by any other issue.

UNIONS AND POLITICS

Anglo-American Contrasts . . by Paul L. Phillips

THE United States does not have a "labor movement," at least not in the full sense of the term. A true labor movement consists, as in Britain, of trade unions, political party, and cooperatives. Lacking a party the American labor movement emphasizes collective bargaining rather than political action. American trade unions have to win almost all their benefits through negotiations with the employers. The British obtain them through legislation.

PAUL L. PHILLIPS is president of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, A. F. of L. This article is based on his recent address to the British Trade Union Congress.

Coordinated political action by labor groups in the United States has been extremely hard to achieve. There are scarcely any ties, for example, binding together factory, white-collar, and agricultural workers.

Industry in America, moreover, is on the threshold of a second "industrial revolution" brought on by the development of what is called "automation." As a result of the spread of this "push-button" control over manufacturing processes, manual workers will in all likelihood decrease in proportion to the total labor force in the next few years and white-collar workers will increase.

As for consumers, this group has no effective voice in the United States.

There are some cooperatives, but very few compared with the number in England, and these few are widely scattered geographically and representative of disparate groups. They have not yet developed any political or economic ties with the trade unions.

But the greatest obstacle to the building of a true labor movement in the United States has been the lack of unity and cooperation among the trade unions themselves. Every union has complete autonomy and exercises the democratic right to make its own decisions, political and economic. This democracy does not come cheap: the price is a certain amount of confusion and disunity. Being divided, labor in the United States is

politically weak. This is not to say it is impotent. On occasion, when thoroughly aroused, the workers have effectively united for a political purpose. But such action is unfortunately the exception rather than the rule.

In practically all political elections workers must have a score card to distinguish their friends from their enemies. No candidates belong to a party or political organization around whose banner and principles labor rallies as a matter of course. This situation is largely the result of a widespread and deep-seated prejudice against direct political action. And the prejudice in turn is a legacy of Samuel Gompers' admonitions to workers to rely on delayed timing in political action, to gain their ends by rewarding their friends and defeating their enemies—an impractical method today.

For these reasons American labor can usually bring no concerted pressure to bear when important issues are at stake. Whereas British labor accepts as self-evident the benefits derived from the nationalization of the power industry, in the United States we are finding it difficult to hold on to the 20 per cent of our power industry which is publicly owned. Even the Conservatives in England appear to embrace national health insurance. Here the idea is under constant attack, and Congress has refused to permit the government to go so far as to re-insure private health-insurance plans. The British government has decided to retain full control of atomic energy, but the United States government is handing over this control to private monopolies.

On all these questions as on many others the American trade unions are divided, the extent of the division varying of course from issue to issue. Handicapped further by the absence of any effective working arrangement with other groups, American labor is constrained to measure political success by negative instead of positive results. We consider it a victory today when we are able to prevent the passage of a bad law.

ON THE economic front progress has been considerably faster, though by no means at express-train speed, and it was almost stopped by a business recession early this year. In June, 1954, unemployment had reached serious proportions: three and a third million persons were without a job, more than double the

number unemployed in 1953, and these figures do not include persons working reduced hours per week. Farm income also declined in 1953 and has continued to decline so far this year. Recent legislation lowering government price supports for basic crops may mean still greater income loss. Employment in construction, finance, and government has increased over 1953, but in mining a continuing decline now amounts to more than 12 per cent.

Despite the slump in the economy, the unions have continued to negotiate wage increases and higher fringe benefits; only in a few scattered instances, mostly in textiles, have there been wage reductions. Construction workers have obtained substantial increases, but smaller ones than a year ago. The same is true of the durable-goods industries. In the paper industry increases have averaged roughly 5 cents an hour. Since the cost of living has remained practically unchanged during this time, the gain in real wages is encouraging.

American labor has not been able to use tax legislation to correct inequities in the distribution of national income. On the contrary, in terms of purchasing power, labor is not sure it can hold on to the increases won in collective bargaining.

The people of the United States are faced with a rapidly growing concentration of economic power—and hence political power. The big companies are getting bigger, and the small companies are being merged in the big companies. Already 1954 is spoken of as the Year of the Big Merger. A case in point is automobiles. The recent merger of Studebaker and Packard eliminated the

last of the independents. In most other industries economic difficulties are forcing numerous mergers.

THE trade unions have had only nominal success in devising counter-measures to protect the people as a whole against this accumulating wealth and power. But the full picture is not so discouraging as some may think. Unions which have long been bitter rivals are gradually moving toward united effort in dealing with employers. Two recent examples of this are the joint negotiations in the meatpacking industry and a joint strike against the West Coast lumber industry. The trend toward cooperation is in accord with the general understanding that the signing of the no-raid pact was really the first step toward the organic unity of the two national federations. If solidarity can be achieved, we can expect some day to see a true labor movement in the United States.

On the political front, when the nature of the issue has made a united effort possible, it has been successful. Thus social-security benefits were increased and the so-called "millionaires' amendment" to the tax program was defeated.

The political arm of the A. F. of L., Labor's League for Political Education, has been expanded by the setting up of permanent regional offices with a full-time staff. Its activities have not been the deciding factor in national elections, but its success in scattered areas has amply demonstrated its potential effectiveness. The political-education program has developed a growing worker consciousness that government can render aid in an economic crisis and help cure economic ills, such as unemployment, unfair tax-

October, 1954

Now the time of year has come for the leaves to be burning.
October, and the month fills me with grief
For the girl who used to run with the black dogs through them,
Singing, before they burned. Light as a leaf
Her heart, and her mouth red as the sumac turning.

Oh, girl, come back to tell them with your bell-like singing
That you are this figure who stands alone, watching the dead leaves burn.
(The wind is high in the trees, and the clang of bluejay voices ringing
Turns the air to metal. This is not a month for anyone who grieves.)
For they would say that a witch had passed in fury if I should turn,
Gray-haired and brooding, and run now as I once ran through the leaves.

KAY BOYLE

tion, and so on. The next serious depression can be expected to produce a vigorous political organization. The worker is becoming aware that his failure to take an active interest in politics can affect the welfare of himself and his union. He has seen laws enacted which take money

out of his pay envelope faster than his union can put it in. He has seen states put severe restrictions upon his union.

Broadly speaking, the unions are gaining ground; the American worker today enjoys a higher standard of living than did his father or his grandfather, and it

should be higher tomorrow. On the record the American economy has grown at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent a year over a long period. It must continue to go forward; and the workers cannot relax their efforts to share in the benefits of that growth.

RAYMOND ROBINS, CRUSADER

[Raymond Robins, who died September 26 at his Florida home, played a key role in early American-Soviet relations as head of the American Red Cross mission to Moscow in 1917-18. Appreciations of the man and his work are presented here by two friends: Albert Rhys Williams, author of "Through the Russian Revolution," one of the early important books on the Russian revolution, who met Robins in Moscow; and William Appleman Williams, author of "American-Soviet Relations, 1791-1947," who is editing Robins's papers for publication.]

The Outdoor Mind

BY WILLIAM A. WILLIAMS

WE SHALL bury him and remember him as Raymond Robins.

Courage and integrity were his unspoken names.

He was a deep, deep breath of the hopes and a cannonade of the conscience of his time.

He was a man without a country. He had pledged his loyalty to man. His one mortal fear was that America would fail to serve that flag.

For fifteen years he fought a delaying action with death to help justice, tolerance, and freedom get to higher ground. That battle was to him but one more campaign in the war against poverty, greed, and conquest that he began when he organized a strike in a Tennessee coal mine at the age of seventeen. There in that mine, both going to work and quitting while the stars were on, seeing the sun one day a month, he became a man before his time. So he was tense and impatient, harried and worried, and sometimes scared that America would never cease to be a child.

But he never lost his faith in man. Digging coal, he uncovered a creed. The only answer to the demand for a better human life is a better human life. This became the pick with which he chipped away at cant, hypocrisy, and cynicism for the next fifty years. It was a tool he liked to call the "outdoor mind."

Do not misunderstand. He never ceased to be a man. He touched the soft curves of success and sipped a mild wine of fortune. He managed William Jennings Bryan's campaign of 1896 in the city and county of San Francisco. It was the only city north of nineteenth-century slavery that the Boy Orator won. And as he said, laughing back over his own seduction, Robins was just young enough and his clothes just new enough to convince him that he had done it all alone. The next morning he stood on one of those lusty, windy, cocky corners of Market Street and flipped a mental coin. Hire out to the Southern Pacific? Or buy a ticket to the raffle of Alaskan gold? Accept a slot and ride without a name—or sift a sand box for the chance to be a man?

Robins got his chance. Not paid for with gold but with the fright that comes to all men who almost abandon their ideals—but don't. He watched another man risk death by freezing to save a weaker soul while he stayed in the safety of the crowd. Robins asked him why he did it. "Because, I guess, it's what I thought Jesus Christ would have done." That was the first lesson in Robins's education for Christian socialism.

He got the rest in Chicago, Moscow, and Washington. The brawling, bloody Seventeenth Ward took him to its heart. But the big boys mistook him for a play-boy courting reform. They slugged him

and rolled him in the gutter for daring to run a day-wage mason for mayor. He got up and elected the man. He fought to build better schools and to hire policemen to protect the poor. He defended the Chicago anarchists in the hysteria after the assassination of President McKinley. Clarence Darrow had turned them down. And he helped build the Progressive Party that Theodore Roosevelt led and later was to destroy.

In Moscow he learned that you can learn from men with whom you disagree. And that you can live with governments, if not with women, you do not love. He saw the Bolshevik revolution not as the future working but as the desperately striving and hopeful revolt of a Seventeenth Ward on the national level. It was to him a noble effort that challenged America to accept its obligations as well as exploit its opportunities. He wanted to work with it, as he had worked with men in Alaska and Chicago. He also knew, and warned, that America could not get the chance to achieve its own ideals without help from Russia against Germany and Japan.

The Great Depression convinced him that refusing to let men starve was not enough. It was necessary to plan the jobs instead of organizing bread lines and making work. The dignity of man, he knew, lasts not very long when crisis follows crisis. He worried, too, about giving more and more power to men who were not sure for what purposes, or to what consequences, they used it. He had heard too much music played by ear to like the idea being taken up as a philosophy of government. So he reread Keynes and peeped into Toynbee and looked hard again at the Bible. It

seemed to him that it was time for America to substitute for the myth of the frontier a Christian democratic socialism.

His sophisticated critics scorned him as naive. His enemies hinted he was worse, but wore the mask of cowardice when cornered by the facts.

He did believe in man.

If for this he be accused of sin, let the plaintiffs specify the charge.

Sword and Bible

BY ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS

I FIRST heard of Raymond Robins as a crusader in lineal descent from the Ironsides of Cromwell—sword in one hand, Bible in the other.

Soon after his arrival in Russia in August, 1917, with the American Red Cross mission which he later headed, I was his guest in a big restaurant. When dancing girls in scant attire sallied out on the floor to the strains of the Marseillaise, Robins resolutely turned his back. He neither smoked nor drank: "Why stimulants when life itself is so exciting?" Later, in tense sleepless moments of the revolution, he was gulping down coffee; he was almost a chain coffee drinker. I twitted him about it, and with a humorous glint in his eyes he queried, "Anything against coffee in the Bible?"

Of all the foreign emissaries coming to Russia no one was better equipped in temper and training to understand and appraise the situation. A life-long fighter—with Ickes in the crusade against the corrupt bosses of Chicago; beside his wife and her sister, Mary Dreier, organizing the sweated trades; with Theodore Roosevelt at Armageddon battling for the Lord—Robins was in his element amid the fervid oratory, the clashing factions and intrigues of a land in the throes of a great revolution.

Turning from the rumors and gossip of embassies and palaces, he went out to hear what the people were saying in the factories, barracks, and straw-thatched villages. He found them in ferment and rebellion, like the insurgent masses of Asia and Africa today in revolt against age-old hunger, inhuman drudgery, and war. In the thousands of Soviets that sprang up spontaneously all over the vast Eurasian plain he found soldiers, workers, and peasants arguing, working, pressing forward toward their long cher-

ished goals—land, peace, a new social order.

He came back to Petrograd to declare that the revolution was uppermost in the minds and hearts of more than 90 per cent of the people; it was the "social binder" holding them together; it was the big thing and the Allies must deal with it realistically. To most of the diplomats and generals this was akin to treason. They saw the revolution as some inexplicable act of God, largely carried out by evil men, fanatics, and German agents. Robins said they were indulging in fantasies and that policies based on those fantasies would lead to disaster.

When they conjured up ways to repress or strangle the revolution, Robins said, "As well try to put the genie back in a bottle or push back the rising tide." When they backed the Cossack General Kornilov as the Man on Horseback to ride down the rabble with whip and sword, Robins acidly remarked, "Why, he hasn't even a horse!" That was almost literally true. Many of Kornilov's Cossack horsemen, capitulating to the arguments, pleas, and bayonets of the revolution, refused to move against the Soviets.

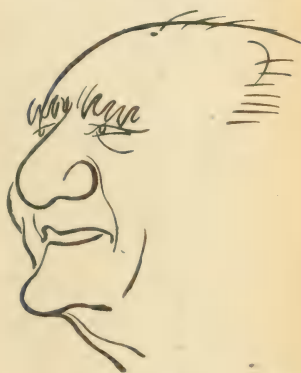
Rapidly growing in power and prestige, acting more and more like a government, the Soviets on the momentous night of November 7 became the government. With derisive cries of "Caliph of the passing hour," the opponents of the Soviets predicted they would last a few days, at most a few weeks. Robins stoutly maintained, "They are here to stay," basing his conviction on his knowledge of the people and their past, the efficiency of the Bolsheviks, as ruthless with others as with themselves, the ineptitude of their enemies.

Students of Russia today tend to concur in this appraisal: the Menshevik Dan traces the roots of Bolshevism into the deep Russian past, and Florinsky in his recent history comments on its "inevitability." Just as wit is saying on the spot what one thinks of tomorrow, Robins showed real wisdom in declaring amid the turmoil of a great revolution what historians in their quiet studies discovered long after.

As Robins insisted on the stability of the Soviets he was assailed with scathing epithets; he was even called a Bolshevik himself, though up till now he had zealously fought the Bolsheviks and

as a liberal capitalist was antagonistic to their basic principles. But Robins knew a revolution when he saw one, and pursuing unperturbed the main objective of his mission—by any means to keep Russia in the war against the Germans—he "followed the bayonets" to the Soviet center of power and negotiated effectively with Lenin to have the Soviets continue the war. In this he was backed by his confrères—the millionaire William Boyce Thompson, Allen Wardwell, Alex Gumberg, Judge Thacher, and General Judson, all now converted to Robins's plan for a working arrangement with the Soviets.

But the Allies would have none of it. Instead they chose intervention with all



Raymond Robins

its tragic consequences—the killing of thousands of the ablest and sincerest young Russians, the authoritarian cast impressed on the Soviets in those early formative years by the harsh, arbitrary measures of war, the evil heritage of mutual bitterness and suspicion that now bedevils the peace of the world.

Happily, peoples take heed of favors rendered as of evils inflicted upon them. The services of Lafayette in the dark days of our revolution created in the hearts of Americans a lasting fund of gratitude and good-will to France. So the sympathy of Raymond Robins for the Russians during the ordeals of their revolution will long continue to work toward the great objective of his life, a spirit of accommodation and cooperation between the two great countries, so imperative in this atomic age if the peoples of the world are to have a good life, or perhaps any life at all.

BOOKS

Legacy of Wounded Pride

ASIA AND WESTERN DOMINANCE. By K. M. Panikkar. The John Day Company. \$7.50.

AN AMERICAN IN INDIA. By Saunders Redding. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$3.50.

By Edgar Snow

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU is said to have sent personal memos to his government officials abroad urging them to read this important recent book by K. M. Panikkar, one of India's brilliant diplomat-historians. Someone should pass along the advice to our own foreign-service officers—with Saunders Redding's unique book suggested as a companion volume.

Mr. Panikkar's scope of study is ambitious, covering the 450 years from the arrival of Vasco de Gama in Calicut in 1498 to the British withdrawal from India and the collapse of Western prestige in China in 1949—years which constitute a "clearly marked epoch of history." India is his starting point, but his survey extends to practically all Eastern countries. He is probably the first Asian to bring together the salient facts of conflict and power in this huge area of time and geography and to try to organize them on the broad canvas of an Asian historical perspective.

"The imposition of a commercial economy on the peoples of Asia and the gradual revolution in almost every aspect of life that it brought about constituted the dominant features of Europe's relations with Asia." Maritime control was first imposed to stabilize and extend coastal trade; political conquest accompanied the opening and enlargement of interior markets. The "doctrine of racialism and European solidarity against the Asians," though it came only in the nineteenth century, was also dictated by economic needs, those of the later imperialist system, just as the attempt to Christianize the East was "synchro-

nized," Panikkar thinks, with "Western political supremacy."

In the author's arrangement 1750 is fixed as the end of the Age of Expansion and the beginning—with power seized by the East India Company in Bengal—of the Age of Conquest. In 1858 the British are entering the Age of Empire in India and throughout Asia—with smaller portions of the continent and its islands here and there falling to France, Holland, Germany, Portugal, Russia, and the United States. There follows a section describing the Recovery of Asia through the rise of nationalism, first in Japan, then in India, China, and the lesser countries. In his account of events and their causations the author appears thoroughly at home in the Indian scene, but he is not always so successful when he turns to other lands for material that parallels or confirms the Hindu experience. This is particularly true of his emphasis on religious conflict. At the end of a long summary of missionary efforts to evangelize Asia he concludes that they ended in complete failure.

HAVING satisfied himself in that verdict, Panikkar concedes that the bee has fertilized the flower it robbed. His last chapter lists many features of "Western civilization" deemed likely to abide in Asia. "Western dominance," is found to have inspired "Asian reform movements," including a Hindu reformation, and "policies of education, welfare schemes, and even political training." It introduced "not merely the first conception of the modern state to the Asian mind but equipped it with the mechanism necessary to realize it in time." The "great nation states" of Asia, themselves "of a kind unknown in previous history," came "directly out of Europe's long domination" and its "integration of vast territories." Republicanism supplanted the monarchical "Oriental despotism;" and organized labor emerged as a new social force. Modern cities arose and with them a wholly new "civic tradition."

Five centuries of Moslem rule failed

to change Hindu social ideas, but "as a result of contact with the West untouchability has been abolished and caste no longer is king in India"—while China has seen Confucius dethroned. A "truly magnificent legal structure" brought India wholly new concepts of justice and equality and infinitely raised the status of women. In greater or lesser degree this is true throughout Asia, where Western power also introduced the veritable new universe of modern science. Languages have been enriched and nationally unified. New art forms have developed which "owe little or nothing to earlier traditions."

Panikkar attributes all those innovations to "Western dominance," apparently seen as something organically independent of the moral-political impact of Christian doctrine. Similarly his analysis of communism in Asia fails to examine Marxism as a lineal descendant of Judeo-Christian dogma—a heretical one now no doubt, but no less challenging to Oriental faiths than early Christian missionaries. If, as Panikkar stresses, Christianity failed because "the doctrine of the monopoly of truth and revelation is altogether alien to the Asian mind," then there would be no chance for Communist dogma to make converts, either. And yet it is moving into precisely that lacuna left in the Asian mind by decaying faith in traditional religious or religio-philosophical systems from Korea to Iran.

The relations of Asia with the U. S. S. R. and the United States are viewed as "altogether different" from those with Europe, and Panikkar dismisses America in a few lines. Russia and the impact of the Russian revolution are studied more extensively. The author's judgment that Russia "alone among the European states, during her three hundred years of contact with the Chinese, never had to resort to war" and "did not resort to coercive measures" would doubtless startle Lenin—not to mention many Chinese and Japanese, as well as Western, students.

ONE could point out other sins of omission, and minor factual errors, but these little diminish the chief service of Panikkar's work—which is to present this period of history in terms generally accepted as objective among Asian intellectuals today. Consider, for ex-

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ample, the author's reasons for feeling that Russia is "altogether different" from other Western countries. First and last this is because Russia is organically part of Asia—geographically, culturally, racially. For centuries ruled by Tartars, it has Asian blood as well as Asian history and tradition in its heritage. Russia never "shared the European feeling of superiority in her relations with Asian peoples." Always it treated them "as equals in every respect" and after the October revolution further won Asia's confidence by returning to China some of the fruits of past aggression.

Contradictions in the foregoing picture are less important than the fact that this is history as it looks to Panikkar and apparently also to Nehru—both of them gentle, learned, and eminently reasonable men. Furthermore, the heart of this friendly feeling is the perfectly viable truth that Russia's relations with Far Asia exhibit few of the racial, color, cultural, and national superiority pretensions which poisoned the past century of "Western dominance"—and left behind a legacy of wounded pride and hate now being fully exploited by the Communists.

PAINFUL encounters with that intolerance bred by intolerance are the main burden of Saunders Redding's story of India. His book covers a study of weeks compared to Panikkar's review of centuries, but in its way it is quite as meaningful. A graduate of Brown and a gifted author and instructor in English literature at Hampton Institute, Mr. Redding responded to a State Department request that he make a speaking tour in India. In many cities he talked formally and informally about America to hundreds of students, educators, writers, scientists, and officials, and sought to learn what he could of Indian views. He is an anti-Communist himself, but it was no part of his job to try to win India away from "neutrality."

"Let me make it clear to you," Redding quotes former Ambassador Bowles as briefing him on his arrival in Delhi. "We don't want India to take sides with the United States. . . . While neutrality serves her own best interests . . . it's serving ours." That sounds strictly irreconcilable with Secretary Dulles's recent activities in South Asia, and Redding found Indians far from convinced,

too. Among them he met suspicion and open hostility to America as a materialistic, aggressive, imperialist power dominated by McCarthys, racketeers, cultural oafs, and A-bomb enthusiasts, threatening India and all Asia with renewed enslavement. To many Indians it seemed incredible that Redding, a Negro, did not fully share their views.

It was perhaps naive of him to expect to be received simply as an American. To his dismay Indians regarded him as first of all a colored man. Keenly aware of the Negro's ordeal in achieving his native heritage and civic rights in America, Redding nevertheless felt compelled to defend his country against repeated slanders and distorted or obsolete notions of racial oppression here.

"I do not wish to oversimplify emotional and psychological matters of great complexity," he writes, "but many Indians were color-conscious to a degree completely unimaginable even to American Negroes. It seemed impossible for these Indians to conceive of a dark-skinned American as being other than an enemy of white, or of having a loyalty that goes beyond color. I was asked more than once whether the Negro community of America would join with the colored peoples of the world in a war against the white man. If the question was plainly theoretical and diagnostic, the color-consciousness in which it was conceived was not, and this color-consciousness, as involuted as all unnatural drives, was for some Indians the matrix of the new nationalism in the East."

Badgered and often insulted by student and even faculty interrogators invincibly armed with misinformation, Redding found his own weapon—the truth as he knew it from personal knowledge and experience—quite inadequate to cope with prejudice convinced of its infallibility. He relates all this more in puzzlement than rancor. His story is told with the eyes and ears of a skilled novelist, and the personalities he meets emerge as real and vivid, if often baffling, people. He gives the impression of being honest and accurate in reporting what little he saw of progress made under the Indian government, and he warmly acknowledges generosity and good-will wherever he encountered it. He does not fail to point out shortcomings of individual Americans abroad and their offenses against good manners

and good relations. But it is not probable that such indications of objectivity in his report will make it any more palatable to Indian sensibilities.

IT WILL be said that Redding was poorly equipped to interpret India, lacked the background necessary to understand nationalist passions rooted in ancient wrongs, and did not stay long enough to grow to love India and see its present turbulent transition in balanced perspective. That may be true. Yet his particular experience is something no white American could duplicate, however long he lived among Indians, and hence is valid and significant.

On the other hand, the failure of this attempt to modify hostile Indian opinion about this country by sending a writer there to speak of American literature raises the question whether officially sponsored tours of this nature do not do more harm than good. For one thing, as long as our literary exports consist so largely of comic books, pornography, crime fiction for sex morons and psychopaths, and sensational periodicals featuring bellicose or patronizing articles offensive to foreigners, it is unfair to expect a few cultural envoys to repair the damage.

Redding himself points out that he never met an Indian who had lived in America who did not wish to return

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here. At the same time that he was being needled by Communist-led students carrying "Go Home American" signs he was furtively visited by Indians begging him to help them get to this country. Indians are far less likely to be persuaded of our virtue and peaceful intentions by State Department lecturers than by those of their own people who have been allowed to come here and see the best and the worst for themselves. Instead of excluding the thousands of Indians, students and others, who wish to visit us every year, we should be welcoming them with Fulbright and similar grants—expressions

of friendship which Indians prefer to offers of free arms. This conclusion reached by Redding is entirely sound.

One strength of Communist propaganda everywhere is the fact that its freight is carried largely by native enthusiasts, with the Russians remaining well in the background. Until the West can win and rely on native partisans of its own, the labors of the United States Information Service are bound to be ineffective. However, unless we are prepared to receive such visitors "as equals in every respect," to use Panikkar's words, perhaps we had better stay home and grow up to it.

on Cape Cod—brick fireplace, Dutch oven, hanging pot, pewter platters, copper skimmers, etc., etc. This, believe it or not, is the "executive dining room" of the J. Walter Thompson Company! It was assembled in the twenties and would hardly be built new today. But is "functional modernism" always less self-conscious?

Mr. Lynes covers a great deal of ground, including that occupied by "high art" as well as by low, giving us, for instance, an anecdotal account of the excitement over Powers's The Greek Slave exhibited in the 1850's and of the Armory Show which presented Nude Descending a Staircase. Advancing into the realm of theory, he enumerates the shibboleths by which present-day low-, high-, and middlebrows may be recognized, and is clever enough to be embarrassing to all except the highs, who will certainly class him as one of those middles by whom they cannot possibly be embarrassed. There is also an amusing table of pictures arranged in parallel columns to illustrate the wanderings of certain works of art taken up successively by the three kinds of brows. Thus Whistler's Mother was highbrow between 1870 and 1890, middlebrow from 1910 through 1920, and lowbrow ever since. Thanks no doubt to the Modern Museum's film department, the Griffith primitives leaped from lowbrow in the twenties to highbrow in the forties without attracting the interest of the middles at all.

ANYONE looking for a quarrel with Mr. Lynes will find the best basis for it in his more serious theses. To say that, on the whole, contemporary Americans are too little influenced by their own likings and too much by mentors of one sort or another is sound enough. But to imply that therefore everybody ought to let them alone is another matter. The advertisers certainly won't let them alone, and what the advice comes down to is that those who can be influenced should be abandoned completely to the merchants, who always have something new to sell and would like to see everything they sold previously torn down or thrown away even more promptly than it is.

Similarly, to say that "a great many people enjoy having taste, but too few of them really enjoy the things they have

Who Forms Our Taste?

THE TASTEMAKERS. By Russell Lynes. Harper and Brothers. \$5.

By Joseph Wood Krutch

JUST what is the matter with American taste, if anything is the matter, with it? I believe that there is a great deal the matter with it, and the first thing is that too many worry about it. Thus Mr. Lynes in the last chapter of his entertaining book, and if anyone should reply that Mr. Lynes himself has just been worrying about it for more than three hundred pages he might answer with some show of reason that "worrying" isn't quite the word.

Taking as his chief subjects architecture, decoration, and the graphic arts, he follows the lead of such other *Harper's* men as Allen, Kouwenhoven, and Bryson in searching out those concrete facts of cultural history to be found just outside the beaten tracks, and much of his book could be read as simple antiquarianism. But he has also at least half a dozen theses, of which the two first are: that what is commonly called "taste" is actually "fashion"—a very different thing because it means not "what you like" but what "you believe you ought to like"; and that at least since the mid-nineteenth century the popular so-called "taste" has been largely the product of propaganda undertaken by all sorts of persons and groups from all sorts

of motives, ranging from the missionary zeal of largely disinterested enthusiasts to manufacturers and merchants who merely had something to sell. At the present moment the perfect illustration of the first group is the Museum of Modern Art. But the two most powerful influences are, first, the advertiser and, second, the innumerable band of columnists, advisers, counselors, and "experts" on this and that who overwhelm Americans—especially American females—with unending admonitions to do or not to do something about their dress, their furniture, their kitchen, their lawn, and their toilet bowls.

As is always the case, the concrete illustrations of what has been at one time or another held up as an example of the newest and best taste are hilarious or depressing according to the temperament of the observer. To anyone old enough to remember such minor and harmless touchstones as Rookwood pottery, Libbey cut glass, mission furniture, and the butcher-paper periodicals issued from East Aurora there is also a good deal of what lower middlebrows—to adopt Mr. Lynes's classification—call "the nostalgic." Is it really possible that the gingerbread monstrosity illustrated in one photograph was not only admired but recommended as "honest"? Or that Edward Bok could have campaigned against the shingled turrets and stained-glass windows of a later time only to praise in their stead a half-timbered pseudo-Elizabethan absurdity? As a cure for smugness take a look at what one would suppose some ye olde tea house

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH is the author of *"The Measure of Man"* and, with others, *"Is the Common Man Too Common?"*

taste about" is to state wittily a melancholy truth. Those who don't know anything about art but know what they like are in a better state than the all-too-prevalent type of middlebrow and highbrow who thinks he knows all about art but doesn't know what he likes because he doesn't really like anything, even though he does like liking what he thinks he ought to like. On the other hand, there is something wrong with the statement "I do not know what *good taste is*" if you go on to imply, if not quite state, that there is therefore no use talking about it.

The fact that opinions will differ and change and that "good taste" can never be legally, scientifically, or dictatorially certified does not mean that no such thing exists or that, as Mr. Lynes himself certainly does not mean even to imply, one taste is as good as another. The eighteenth century had as good a way as any out of the dilemma when it relied upon what it called somewhat grandly

"in accordance with nature" and meant "having an enduring as opposed to a temporary, merely modish appeal." Not even the highbrow is likely to maintain that Whistler's Mother is "bad taste" in the same sense that a gingerbread house or the J. Walter Thompson ye olde dining-room is. There is something enduring, something "natural," in the appeal of the one that was never in the appeal of the other two.

As a matter of fact, the principle was well stated by a nineteenth-century popular writer whom Mr. Lynes quotes: "Taste is like conscience; all have it, but they may blunt it—it becomes strengthened by use, and the more it is listened to, the stronger and more correct it will become, so as finally to be to the heart what sound judgment is to the mind." This, of course, is pure Pope. And there is enough truth in it to save a public, as perhaps nothing else can save it, from the advertiser and from those "experts" who are his secret allies.

Pamphleteer Turned Historian

THE UNITED STATES IN A CHANGING WORLD. An Historical Analysis of American Foreign Policy. By James P. Warburg. Putnam's, \$5.75.

By Frederick L. Schuman

EFFECTIVE critics of foreign policy in the Age of Suspicion must be (1) impeccably anti-Communist, (2) financially independent, (3) possessed of a distinguished record of public service, both military and civilian, (4) capable of objectivity regarding the official "line," and (5) well-informed, keenly analytical, and able to present an argument with lucidity and eloquence. Among the few writers who fill the bill the ablest by far is James P. Warburg.

One of the most brilliant pamphleteers of our day, Mr. Warburg has now taken "time out" to write a history of foreign policy from a point before the beginning to a point beyond the now. Since this is not a work of "research" but of synthesis and reinterpretation, some diplomatic historians may snort and sneer, and all will find things to quarrel with. But Warburg, as always, is not quibbling with scholars but appealing to the reasonableness of his fellow-citizens.

The result is a lively reappraisal

which deserves the widest possible reading and pondering. Mr. Warburg possesses in abundance the genius of the late Max Werner and the late Chester Wilmut—i.e., a gift of insight enabling him to penetrate the fog of facts and arrive at the inner essence of the great issues of policy-making. No one need agree with his judgments. Yet no one can afford to ignore the method of his analysis, which is the antithesis of the method of advertising slogans and the orgies of moral indignation which currently pass for "thinking" about foreign affairs. He concludes that "the teachings of Jesus Christ have now become the imperatives of survival. . . . The United States cannot, alone, save civilization; but, by default of affirmative leadership, it can come perilously close to insuring civilization's end." If this sounds strange, or even if it does not, read the book.

Next Week

The Paradoxes of Dr. Toynbee by Frederick L. Schuman

A comprehensive critique of the final four volumes of Toynbee's "Study of History"

Woman's Emancipator

SUSAN B. ANTHONY. By Katharine Anthony. Doubleday, \$6.

Susan B. Anthony did not live to see the enfranchisement of women in the United States by constitutional amendment, but for fifty years she was the undisputed leader of the fight for women's suffrage, undaunted by poverty, illness, or, finally, the disabilities of old age.

Susan Anthony was sensitive to all manifestations of social injustice, not only injustice toward women, believing that they were all part of a pattern. "So long as all men conspire to rob women of their citizen's right," she wrote to a labor newspaper, "we cannot expect these same men to be capable of perfect justice to each other."

Her biographer recounts her life and achievements with careful detail, giving at the same time a complete history of the woman's movement from 1850 until Miss Anthony's death in 1906. Interesting portraits of the great women in the movement are included—Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, Anna Howard Shaw, Carrie Chapman Catt, and others.

Muir and Mountains

THE WILDERNESS WORLD OF JOHN MUIR. Edited by Edwin Way Teale. Houghton Mifflin, \$4.50.

Next to Thoreau, Muir is probably the most original and powerful of American nature writers. Though less a thinker and less a natural-born writer, he was as much at home in the great world of the Western mountains as Thoreau was in his New England parish, and at his best he can evoke the living presence of a primeval grandeur Thoreau could only dream of as something forever lost. This admirably edited volume is especially welcome because Muir seems to have been buried under the weight of a collected edition no longer much read. Here is a substantial selection including many of his grandest passages—those which describe his feats of mountain climbing as well as reminiscences of his incredibly hard childhood and youth. The result of these hardships seems to have been that he could enjoy as a man severe trials in lonely wildernesses. Mr. Teale's brief introductory notes are apt and illuminating.

Theater

Harold Clurman

IN Rodgers' and Hart's "On Your Toes" (Forty-sixth Street Theater) Elaine Stritch sings "You Took Advantage of Me" as if nobody could. Miss Stritch's non-expressive vigor says a lot. All these terrible things happen to me—I am devastated, destroyed by love, etc.—but nothing really happens: I go on being trim, bright, fashionably awry, and somehow untouched. The effect is coldly electrifying, the best, almost the only thing, in the show.

There are some pleasant, by now nearly nostalgic, songs, a rather funny dance routine in which an American yokel busts up a Russian ballet, girls who show a pretty portion of generous thigh in Balanchine's disappointing choreography. For the rest, Bobby Van, a nice boy and a good dancer, cannot make a musical as Ray Bolger could. The revival suffers from the lack of any central strength—originally supplied by that artist, whose dancing is really a wonderful form of acting.

"The Tender Trap" (Longacre Theater), judged in almost abstractly statis-

tical terms, stands somewhere on the middle level of American theatrical entertainment. It has the racy immediacy of sidewalk talk, it is funny in a fairly undistinguished but unobjectionable key, and in an oblique way—not altogether unpremeditated—it makes a comment. A farce about bachelorhood in New York, it suggests that it is better to marry than to mess.

Plays like "The Tender Trap" and the better "Seven Year Itch," which are designed for fun only, always seem to me to have a certain significance which should not be entirely overlooked. They make valuable footnotes to such documents as those of Dr. Kinsey.

"The Seven Year Itch" reflects the notion that a good part of our public would like to regard sex as a palliative, a hygienic sport as harmless and agreeable as an ice-cream soda. "The Tender Trap" hints—rather broadly—that to many American males marriage is a ball and chain which may or may not be preferable to the strain of the bachelor's life. More pungently it says that an in-

telligent girl over twenty-five finds it hard in New York to contact a male who is not already married or a drunk or a homosexual or a wastrel or a dumb-bell. And make no mistake about it—many, many women will confirm this seditious report. There are attractive girls in "The Tender Trap"—always an asset—and the cast is generally pleasant. There is a public for this sort of play, though probably not many among the readers of this journal.

Robert Ardrey, whose latest play, "Sing Me No Lullaby," is the respectable choice of the worthy Phoenix Theater, writes plays of meaning and frequently of good meaning. In this play he tells us that America is in serious trouble because it has fallen victim to the theory that there can be only two sides in social and moral questions, with an absolute cleavage between the two which nothing can bridge. Thus, when Mike Hertzog finds himself hounded by his past—he was a supporter of Soviet ideology in the thirties—he is robbed of all means of earning a livelihood and feels that there is nothing left for him to do but to seek refuge in China, since he too holds to the "either-or" theory.

Ardrey, whose sentiments are motivated by our traditional democracy, finds our mechanized conformism tragic and fatal, but as he is an optimist at heart, he bids us fight for a truer belief, no matter in what humble capacity. All this is honorable and sound; yet apart from the urgency of its theme "Sing Me No Lullaby" is Ardrey's poorest play. The story he tells is clumsily dramatized, so that very little we see happening on the stage is striking or moving, while the dialogue and behavior of his characters suffer from a schematic and juvenile ardor which at best should be found in notes for a play, not in its text.

Ardrey has always had this problem—he conceives plays abstractly, intellectually, if you will, though he has little intellect, and finds some theatrical image to embody it with greater or lesser effect—much as do the lighthouse and the ghosts out of the past in "Thunder Rock." But in "Sing Me No Lullaby" the flashback to the idealistic and hopeful thirties, with their contrast with the frightened fifties, falls flat, for here we are in the realm of contemporary history and we want concrete realities, not editorial rhetoric.

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Nothing convinces in the theater so much as the specific, and if we are to have plays to reveal the decline of our national morals—an abundant and imperative subject—they should not be pompous political or "social" plays but real studies of our intimate everyday life,

so that we may see how our ordinary behavior becomes the typical tissue of which our social problems are woven. Ardrey is wholly American in his talent, and that talent usually manifests itself most tellingly in humble detail rather than in broad generalization.

London also has issued a number of Backhaus's performances of Beethoven's sonatas. When I heard him in the twenties Backhaus was a pianist with prodigious technical powers and phlegmatic temperament who sat quiet and relaxed while his fingers glided up and down the keyboard as though in oil. With things like Chopin's Etudes or Brahms's Variations on a theme of Paganini the combination worked fine: some noisy old Victor records of the Chopin that I have, and a couple of better old records of the Brahms that I heard a few weeks ago, confirm my recollection of performances in which Backhaus's technique did not merely produce the figurations with dazzling speed, smoothness, and brilliance, but transcended difficulties to achieve an incandescent ease and grace.

Records

B. H. Haggin

AT ITS concert in Carnegie Hall the great Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra played, under Eduard van Beinum's direction, the Symphony No. 2 of Henk Badings to give the audience a sample of music by a Dutch composer, and Weber's Overture to "Der Freischütz," Ravel's Suite No. 2 from "Daphnis et Chloé," and Brahms's First Symphony to demonstrate the quality of the orchestra and conductor. In the first and last movements of Badings's symphony one heard competent use of a dissonant modern idiom, which in the slow movement produced writing that was beautiful and moving. And in this slow movement, as in some quiet passages of the Weber and Ravel pieces, one heard the refinement of execution and tone that one had heard in the orchestra's recorded performances. But the tuttis in the Weber were surprisingly dry; in the Ravel there was none of the glow, the shimmer, the splendor, the sumptuousness that the great American orchestras produce in the piece; and in the *Danse générale* of the Ravel piece, as in the concluding movement of the Badings symphony, there were unintegrated and raucous sounds from the brass such as the brass of these American orchestras don't produce in any music. Moreover, van Beinum's slow-moving expansiveness was more suitable and effective in the introduction of the Weber than in the *Lever du jour* of the Ravel; and his deliberate pace created no excitement in the *Danse générale*. As for the Brahms First, I hold with Shaw that there are things which can't be asked of a critic; and listening to the Brahms First is one of the things which can't be asked of me.

Two of Schumann's finest works for piano, the *Fantasia Op. 17* and the "Childhood Scenes," are played superbly

by Curzon; and his performances are reproduced with more beauty and clarity of sound on London LL-1009 than the excellent Yves Nat performances of the *Fantasia* and the *Etudes Symphoniques* on Haydn Society 87.

TERM "GOD" UNDERVALUED IN CURRENT CHURCH USAGE

If a railroad engine, powerful enough to pull thousands of tons, were used persistently—day after day—to drag a train of toy cars, everybody would say that the engine was being inefficiently employed. And yet, this is precisely the way the term "God" is habitually used by the honest and well meaning people who belong to the churches.

We have learned, in earlier installments, that the term "God" comes to us out of a great struggle, which was led by the Hebrew prophets, against the unjust economic and social practices identified with Baal and "other gods". It was this very struggle that lifted the terms "God" and "Jehovah" (or "Yahweh") upward from the level of heathenism. The prophets, who victoriously fought heathen gods, learned to think of Deity as a Personal Force, above Nature, but identified with Social Justice (not socialism or communism).

The idea of social justice was expelled so thoroughly from the ancient church that it has been treated as an intruder in the sphere of religion for more than fifteen hundred years. The term "God" has been restricted to the idea of individual righteousness and personal redemption—just like the powerful engine pulling only a toy train. In the prophet Isaiah's vision of God's purpose "He will bring forth justice to the nations [not simply to Israel]. He will not fail nor be discouraged until he have set justice in the earth" [not merely in Israel], (Isa. 42). Instead of this imperial world-ideal, most religious people, in all honesty and sincerity, have been satisfied with personal salvation and individual comfort from the Lord. (A little selfish, is it not?) Do you wish to use your influence in promoting knowledge of truth and fact which will help to bring the churches and the general public up to the intellectual level of our progressive theological seminaries and outstanding universities?—A circular will be sent to you upon receipt of a three-cent stamp to cover postage. Requests for the circular must be accompanied by the three-cent stamp to defray cost of mailing.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

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But music of high expressive content came out very dull, or even worse than dull when he tried for expressiveness. A couple of years ago a London record revealed a loss of the speed and smoothness, the ease and grace in his performances of the Chopin Etudes; and the present records reveal no gain in power to give clarity and continuity of outline and expressive effect to a Beethoven sonata movement.

Mozart's delightful Piano Concertos K. 271 and 450 lose by Münchinger's characteristic over-delicate tempos with the orchestra, and the lack of sharpness and force in Kempff's playing of the solo parts, in the performances on London LL-998.

On the other hand it is amazing to hear how the tensile strength of Casals's tone and the tensions of his phrasing give coherence to Schumann's rambling Cello Concerto, in the performance with the Prades Festival Orchestra on Columbia ML-4926. And exciting in the same way are Casals's performances of a number of small pieces on the reverse side, including the impassioned performance of the Aria from Bach's Organ Pastorale in F that was included as a bonus in the second volume of the 1951 Perpignan Festival.

Of Walton's Viola Concerto, played on Columbia ML-4905 by Primrose with the Royal Philharmonic under Sargent, I like only the second movement and the first part of the third, which Primrose plays better than the other parts. Hindemith's "Der Schwanendreher" is on the reverse side.

Schubert's "Death and the Maiden" Quartet gets a poor performance by the Vienna Philharmonic Quartet, badly reproduced on Telefunken LGX-66016.

Listening to Suzanne Danco's lovely and sensitively phrased singing in Bach's Cantatas No. 51 "Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen" and 202 "Weichet nur, betrübte Schatten" with the Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra under Münchinger, on London LL-993, one realizes that Elisabeth Schwarzkopf's performance of No. 51 on Columbia ML-4792 was a vocal tour de force, not a performance of the music. However the tour de force kept one from noticing what Danco's performance allows one to hear—how dull the piece is. And so is No. 202 after the impressive opening section of the first aria.

Letter from Burma

(Continued from inside front cover)

these, not military aid or alliances, are wanted. Peoples living in freedom and prosperity offer the strongest defense against communism and other totalitarian creeds. "If there is a war," U Nu thinks, "there will be no victors; atom bombs and hydrogen bombs will blast the world, and out of the devastation only communism will rise."

International Freedom Day is not just a day when Socialists the world over will unite in support of peoples who still live under the shadow of colonialism. It is the day when all dependent peoples will decide to build peace and happiness for themselves on the solid foundation of equality and freedom and cooperation.

Rangoon, Burma

Price Support for Honey

Dear Sirs: The operation of flexible price supports for farm commodities can be judged from the record of honey under price support since 1949. The support price for honey never has been set higher than 70 per cent of parity, although the bee population is decreasing and no domestic surplus of honey exists, only an imported surplus. By application of modernized price this represented an average price of 11.5 cents per pound in 1952 and only 10.2 cents per pound in 1954. The authority allowing officials to adjust prices according to area and grade has reduced the support price for light-amber table honey in the West to 8.4 cents per pound in 1954. The consumer can judge whether these prices bear any relation to the retail price of honey.

Protests of producers to administrators of the program in the Department of Agriculture are as hopeless as negotiations with God when He proposes to have one struck by lightning—useless before the deed and impossible of revision afterward. At stake is the pollination of the fifty crops dependent upon the services of the honey bee, a gift to agriculture as important as paper tillage.

MRS. LAURA SHEPARD, Secretary,
Imperial Valley Beekeepers Association
Calxico, Calif.

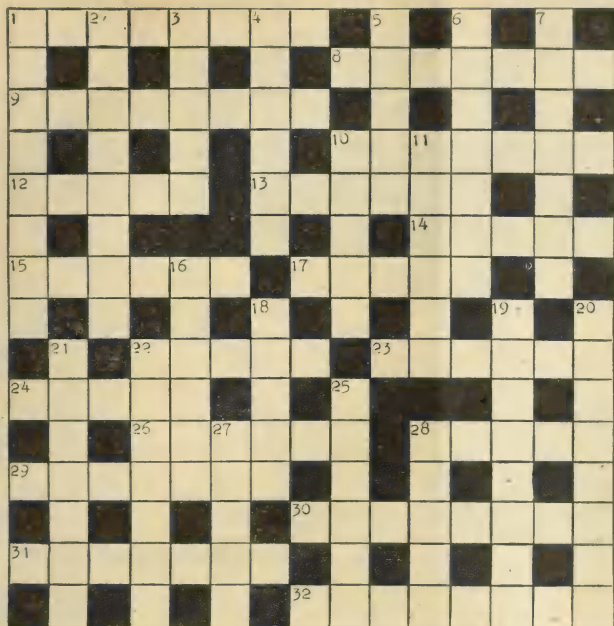
Alain Leroy Locke

Dear Sirs: The works of Alain Leroy Locke, recently deceased professor emeritus of philosophy at Howard University, are being edited for publication, and this committee would like to include such letters as significantly express his personality, philosophy, and personal relations. We are particularly interested in Professor Locke's comments on social philosophy and interracial problems. Any material sent to us, at 12 Grove Street, New York 14, will be returned if so desired.

ALAIN LOCKE MEMORIAL COMMITTEE
New York

Crossword Puzzle No. 591

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 and 22 down. Evidently not the occasion of an original idea. (2, 6, 7)
- 8 See 15 across.
- 9 Experimental method of London travel? (4, 4)
- 10 Rams about in the valleys. (7)
- 12 Give up production. (5)
- 13 Known as a comer on the stage. (6)
- 14 Acute disturbance in Spanish Morocco. (5)
- 15, 8 and 11 down. Character that disapproves of Hoover, for example? (6, 6, 1, 6)
- 17 Indistinct sound associated with you and me. (5)
- 22 In accord. (5)
- 23 Current physicist. (6)
- 24 The part of the rope you grab with your teeth? (5)
- 26 Sort of one to one, when it comes to figuring a lover of Paris. (6)
- 28 Employers. (5)
- 29 "The moon, rising in _____ majesty." (Paradise Lost) (7)
- 30 Will the thing that lists him as a performer? (8)
- 31 Urge the boss to be intellectual, in a rather vulgar way? (3-4)
- 32 Rose. (8)

DOWN

- 1 Stretching the truth more than anyone! (8)
- 2 What one does when the proof is rather vulgar way? (3-4)
- 3 Spoken of as a saw-like sound. (5)

- 4 The gist of things over the box, or a piece of it. (6)
- 5 What shouldn't be in the eye opposite the middle? (5)
- 6 Not quite snuggish, according to some. (7)
- 7 Looks like a 2 without a country. (7)
- 10 See 28 down.
- 11 See 15 across.
- 16 Started on the right track or turned back. (6)
- 18 Her force is despotic. (5)
- 19 and 21. Auburn, perhaps. (8, 7)
- 20 Cut or scratched, maybe. (8)
- 21 See 15 across.
- 22 See 1 across.
- 25 Sex is a peculiar thing to find in court? (6)
- 27 Penal state. (5)
- 28 and 10. Harris and MacDowell told his tale. (5, 5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 590

ACROSS:—11 AVON; 12 AZIMUTH; 13 BAHAMAS; 15 MISNOMER; 16 ROMOLA; 18 TRACKER; 21 ARBALEST; 26 PLATCAR; 29, 24, 8, 9, 1, 31 and 30 NOW IS THE TIME FOR ALL GOOD MEN TO COME TO THE AID OF THE PARTY; 30 and 25 ELKS TEETH.

DOWN:—2 EIDEMONIC; 3 TAPETUM; 4 and 23 CORNSTALKS; 5 MAYFAIR; 6 TIARA; 7 BORZOI; 14, 22 and 28 GREAT BALLS OF FIRE; 17 MILK TEETH; 19 REHAIR; 20 ROMANIA; 27 AWED.

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our time*



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Silas' Wife



Ike Amsterdam
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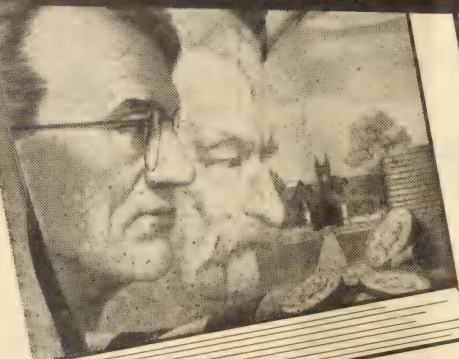
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THE CAMPAIGN THAT FAILED

THE *Nation*

 November 6, 1954

20¢

Arms to the Arabs

by Lillie Shultz

Mars Over Germany

by Carolus

Paradoxes of Toynbee

by Frederick L. Schuman

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

 Witch Hunt at Hunter *Broadus Mitchell*

Soviet Vignettes

John Berger

Letters

Witch Hunt at Michigan

Dear Sirs: Two members of the University of Michigan faculty have recently been fired as a result of the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings held in Michigan last spring. We feel that readers of *The Nation* would be interested in some of the events occurring on the Michigan campus as a result of the Congressional hearings.

Last May three faculty members appeared before the Clardy subcommittee in open hearing. All three refused on constitutional grounds to answer questions about their political affiliations and beliefs, though all stated that they were opposed to violent overthrow of the government and that they had never engaged in espionage. Immediately afterward the president of the university, Harlan Hatcher, suspended the three men. The suspensions set off a large and vocal protest by faculty and students. Before the president made a final decision either to reinstate or fire the men, the cases were heard by a series of faculty committees appointed by the president.

The committee members evidently did not see themselves as representing the faculty. They were not trying to advise the president on the best solution for the teaching and research staff of the university. Rather they set themselves the job of suggesting to the president a decision which would take into account both the university's relations with the state legislature and traditional academic values of freedom from political coercion. This resulted in the committee members taking over what would have been a reasonable position for the president, who should consider faculty welfare and the university's appropriations from the legislature. The president seemed primarily oriented toward public relations and only slightly toward faculty morale. In other words, the formal set-up provided no clear representation of faculty opinion; yet the appointed committees gave the president the appearance of faculty backing for his actions.

Because of the strong public-relations emphasis in the faculty committee hearings, questions of political affiliation and belief dominated the decisions. The fact that the men's personal integrity and high competence were attested to by colleagues and students was not considered relevant to the disposition of their cases.

Dr. Clement Markert, an assistant professor in the zoology department, was reinstated by the university. According to newspaper reports, he admitted past membership in the Communist Party, talked freely and openly with university officials investigating his case, and indicated strong

disagreement with the Communist Party.

Dr. Mark Nickerson, an associate professor in the pharmacology department, was fired. His position before the faculty committees was to admit past membership in the Communist Party and to state that he was no longer a member. There was no question here then of lack of candor. Dr. Nickerson, however, evidently did not convince the president that he was sufficiently opposed ideologically to the Communist Party.

Dr. H. Chandler Davis, instructor in the mathematics department, was also fired. Having used the First Amendment before the Clardy committee, he continued to stand on the principle of the right to privacy of political convictions throughout the faculty hearings. He did, however, answer all questions which concerned his professional and personal integrity. In a letter to Dr. Davis, later made public, the president said: "You have taken the same attitude and refused to answer these or related questions [questions concerning Communist Party affiliation] or to talk candidly about yourself and your alleged activities in the Communist Party before me and the special Senate committee to advise the President."

Assessing the effect of these three cases at the University of Michigan, there is no doubt that academic freedom has suffered a severe blow. The picture, however, is not all black. A man who used the Fifth Amendment before a Congressional committee has been retained by a state-supported university. Furthermore, out of the situation will also come an important test of the constitutionality of the powers of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Dr. Davis challenged the committee's powers to ask him about his politics on the grounds that the First Amendment prohibits Congress from making any inquiry or passing any legislation which abridges freedom of speech and assembly. He has been cited for contempt and is now making plans for his trial, scheduled for November.

The experiences here at Michigan can also be useful in helping the faculty members of other universities to meet the threat to their freedoms produced by Congressional and state investigating committees. For one thing, we feel that it is important for faculty members to work for the opportunity to express their own unique point of view in such cases and not to feel that they must consider all the factors which are necessarily important to the university administrators. At Michigan only one faculty committee out of the four involved took a clear faculty position and left the responsibility for public relations up to the administration. Obviously administrators are subject to strong

pressure from sources outside the university. If no group clearly voices a faculty position, the outside pressures are going to be what counts in the decision.

NANCY C. MORSE and
Ann Arbor, Mich. ELIZABETH DOUVAN

Catch as Catch Can

Dear Sirs: In my article, Cannery Row Revisited, which appeared in *The Nation* of November 16, I wrote that "optimistic business men speak of the return of the sardine, basing their prophecy on a catch of four or five tons in southern waters." Some time after the article was forwarded to you a much larger catch, of some five hundred tons, was made and canned. This does not invalidate my argument that, so far as Monterey is concerned, the sardine has disappeared. The unusual catch is thought to represent a "lost generation" which had previously escaped netting. To date no more have been found, and the season is nearly over.

Monterey, Calif. WARD MOORE

The David Hyun Case

Dear Sirs: I wish to thank *The Nation* for publication of the article on my deportation case in the August 28 issue.

As an American raised and schooled since early childhood to honor, to practice, and to defend the great democratic traditions of our country, I am naturally fighting the deportation order on the same principled grounds that impel many liberals into action today—to defend our Constitution against the ravages of today's hysteria and to rest our defense upon the sovereign power in our democracy, the American people.

Such a defense is possible only through an informed public. *The Nation's* article is the first to bring national publicity to my case and helps to bring about justice through a free press.

Readers who may wish more detailed information on the physical persecution which threatens me in case I am deported to South Korea may obtain brochures by writing the "Friends and Neighbors of David Hyun," P. O. Box 26026, Los Angeles, Calif.

Los Angeles, Calif. DAVID HYUN

Thought Control

Dear Sirs: How far down the road of thought control will we go when a grand jury in a federal court indicts Lattimore as a "follower of the Communist line" and a "promoter of Communist interests"? How do you prove a man's intent?

Who better promotes the more distasteful and cowardly aspects of such a line than he who would control thought and speech and impugn a man's intent, *ex post facto*? Does wild fury blind us to the essence of liberty? JAMES E. AMICK
Kansas City, Mo.

The Campaign That Failed

BY the time this issue reaches our readers the results of the November 2 election will be known. But the results are not likely to invalidate this appraisal of the miserably inept campaign now drawing to a close.

Through all the pre-election reports runs a common theme: voter apathy. To be sure, "apathy" is an ambiguous concept. Voters can appear apathetic when they have simply made up their minds; apathy can reflect satisfaction as well as disgust or indifference. An appearance of apathy can also be created when in truth only certain sections of the electorate are affected; in New York City registration was reported "normal or better" in Jewish and Negro districts, low in the German and Irish wards. Even so, the reports of apathy are so widespread—not for years have registrations been as low as they were this year in such states as Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey—that they cannot be brushed aside. If these reports are substantially true, then our political life must be seriously out of kilter, for seldom have more issues greater gravity been involved in a Congressional campaign. Explanations are a dime a dozen but those most frequently encountered can be grouped under three headings: weak candidates, a failure to sharpen or dramatize issues, and cheap tactics.

WHILE some interesting new political figures emerged—George M. Leader, the Democratic gubernatorial candidate in Pennsylvania, is one—the current batch of nominees was more than usually disappointing. "No man can go across the country from one political meeting to another," reports James Reston in the *New York Times*, "without being disturbed by the mediocrity of the candidates. . . . In far too many states [the people] have been asked to choose between candidates they dislike with equal zeal." It would be pointless, for example, to attempt a comparison of California's Senatorial nominees—Sam Yorty, Democratic, Senator Thomas Kuchel, Republican. Both men would make fairly mediocre councilmen in a sixth-class city. Only strong candidates will bring people to the polls.

Turning from candidates to issues, the fault seems to lie not in any dearth of vital issues but in a confused handling of questions on many of which both parties were in substantial agreement. The domestic issues were fairly well defined in some fields—public power, farm

policy, and the like—and here the differences were significant. But the failure to define and debate issues of overshadowing importance in the field of foreign policy made the discussion of hydroelectric dams and farm prices seem overheated and slightly absurd. The failure of any group of candidates or of any substantial section of the electorate to be aroused over the question of German rearmament—to single out one of many issues—is a dreary comment on the level of political thinking in the country. In more general terms the Republicans could have advanced a telling argument, namely, that President Eisenhower stands for a somewhat more cautious foreign policy than the chief Democratic spokesmen. But the President was not a candidate; hence about the best the Republicans could do was to exploit his personal popularity and induce his right-wing critics within the party to pipe down.

ON the other hand, the Democratic criticism of G. O. P. policy was negative, oblique, and question-begging. The charge was advanced that Mr. Dulles had diminished American influence and endangered our alliances but he was praised for his handling of so many matters that the voter was left with the impression—largely correct—that the Democrats endorsed his policy.

Just as both parties "by common consent" confined the discussion of foreign policy to peripheral questions, so, also by agreement, they discarded McCarthyism as a campaign issue. Here and there Democratic nominees pressed their Republican opponents on this vulnerable point and even a few Republicans spoke out, but for the most part rival candidates were delighted to ignore it. That both parties were so eager to forget McCarthy was, as the *Wall Street Journal* noted, a sure sign that he still enjoys very widespread support. And before the campaign was over, Vice-President Nixon's unscrupulous red-baiting made it painfully clear that McCarthyism lingers on; indeed it was incorporated in the Administration's official campaign, presumably with the approval of the President. From a purely tactical point of view, the Democrats should have made an issue of McCarthyism and of Mr. Brownell's repressive "anti-Communist" legislation at the outset. They would have been in a much better position to denounce Nixon's last-minute smearing and his shameful personal intervention with the Navy

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Department to force revocation of Dr. Edward U. Condon's security clearance.

Cheap campaign tactics are, of course, both a cause and a consequence of voter apathy. In New York, after a pious rejection of smear tactics on October 18, Governor Dewey proceeded to dig up and ventilate on October 19 the first of his quarter-century-old charges against Averell Harriman. In Connecticut, anti-Semitism of the quiet undercover variety was a prime factor in the campaign, with both parties electing to ignore it. Here a credit should be noted for Vivien Kellems, running for governor as an independent—and generally reactionary—Republican, who publicly protested the organized whispering campaign against Abraham A. Ribicoff, the Democratic nominee. In New Jersey, Republicans red-baited Republicans—an entertaining twist—and generally, the A. D. A. was used as the symbol of radicalism much as the Progressive Party was used in the 1948 campaign. Fortunately the public's apathy was disturbed by these tactics, as was indicated at the huge Democratic rally in San Francisco's municipal auditorium on October 16 when Robert L. Condon, nominee for Congress in the Sixth District, received a stunning ovation, the biggest of the evening, despite the publicity given the "derogatory" items which the F. B. I. had turned up about him.

Thus with some minor exceptions Mr. Reston's verdict on the campaign will stand: "The people are bored—unfortunately they were not angry—with two-bit politicians and cheap debating tricks. . . . They are not in a mood to be harangued by men repeating the stale arguments and manufacturing false cries. The people have been offered not a single noble speech by either party. . . . The Republicans are still determined to get Truman out of the White House and Alger Hiss into jail."

But there have been indications this fall that some new forces may be at work in American politics. Indeed the "news" of the campaign may have been that in its final weeks the prospects for united labor political action suddenly improved. It was not so much organic labor unity for purposes of collective bargaining that was discussed at the Washington meeting on October 14 of the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. leaders as it was united political action. Labor has a long distance to travel before it can amount to a real political movement, but never before has labor emphasis been so exclusively concentrated on one party. As *Business Week* pointed out in an editorial on October 8, labor meetings this year conveyed an impression of being "pro-organized rallies for the Democratic Party." Labor is beginning to emerge as a unified political force openly identified with the Democratic Party. This could have an important effect in helping to bring about the basic realignment that must take place before existing parties can fully express the conflicting social forces in American life.

Sir Ivor Jennings, in his book "The Queen's Govern-

ment," points out that the essence of political stability in a two-party system is to be found in a balance of social forces held together by the lower middle classes. Nowadays, however, the lower middle classes are not an economic class nor are they an income group. Under these circumstances, both parties tend to take more and

more the same position on major issues and right wings develop in each which exercise an effective veto over popular majorities. It is as labor emerges as a real political force identified with a major party that a new basis for stability can be found. This is the crux of the argument for realignment.

ARMS TO THE ARABS

The Road to Chaos . . by *Lillie Shultz*

THE new United States arms policy for the Middle East is apparently based on the concept that the human race is obsolete. Or, at least as far as this area is concerned, expendable. This is the only rationale for a policy which completely ignores the human factor and the whole social, economic, and political complex resulting from the human conditions.

In the name of security this country has embarked on a policy which is either sheer adventurism or one which will mire us in quicksand. Either way we are building friends for Russia, enemies for the United States, and chaos for the Middle East.

With the settlement of the Suez dispute the United States and Britain had it within their power to launch a great constructive enterprise to develop this important backward area through a proffer of funds and skills—in exchange for regional peace. Every Arab government has development plans the execution of which depends upon Western skills and Western funds. Iraq and Saudi Arabia alone have sufficient funds from oil to finance development. Both need Western guidance and know-how.

FOR the first time in decades this area is to be freed from "occupation" by any principal power, as Britain departs from Suez and probably soon from Iraq. Stretching across some 2,000,000 square miles, the area is made strategic by its geographical position, connecting as it does Europe, Africa, and Asia, and by its possession of 53 per cent of the world's oil reserves. It is a prize coveted by East and West.

Obviously a defense vacuum exists.

In this area 40,000,000 people live under feudal conditions, in ferment against unspeakable poverty and degradation, and on the threshold of revolt against their rulers, against "foreigners," against bases. The area's crying need is social and economic development. Without it, no government can remain in power. Without it, there is no assurance that the area will not fall a prize to communism without a shot being fired.

The United States has chosen to meet this situation by providing arms to unstable governments in the illusory hope that once armed, the Arab states, their vanity assuaged, will join the Turkish-Pakistan Treaty allied to NATO; and that we shall be permitted to move in and build roads, railroads, ports, airfields, bases costing billions—lacking any assurance that the populations will be loyal to our cause or that the governments which make the arms agreements will remain loyal in power.

Our failure to seek regional stability or regional peace as a preliminary to such a program, our willingness to truncate the area by eliminating Israel from this defense perimeter, is the most startling indication of our belief that we can go it alone. What the United States is really saying is that once in possession of base rights, we are prepared to man the area, ignore people and conditions, rely on our own capacity for instant retaliation.

Israel's justified fears for itself have put the spotlight on the problem. But it is not Israel alone which is threatened. The security of the United States and the West is jeopardized by the dangerous folly we call policy. For what are the unchallengeable facts?

1. There is no certainty that any Arab government with which arms agreements are made will survive to honor these agreements—unless the American arms are used against rebellious native populations. The outstanding political fact in the Middle East is the frequency with which governments fall, either by military coup or by assassination. In Iraq there have been two elections in the past four months, the last conducted in an atmosphere of strictest censorship, with the opposition parties not participating. Egypt has seen four changes in the governing personnel of the military junta since March, 1954. On October 26 Premier Nasser narrowly escaped an assassin's bullet, the climactic point of a campaign by the fanatical Moslem Brotherhood directed mainly against the agreement to permit Britain to reoccupy the Canal Zone in the event of an attack on an Arab League country or Turkey.

2. Relations between the Arab states are similarly unstable. Mutual suspicion and rivalry are so strong that in nine years of existence the Arab League has been unable to undertake a single constructive act for the benefit of the region.

The inner tensions have now been aggravated by Arab strife over the Turkish-Pakistan Treaty. To induce Iraq to refuse to join the pact, Salah Salem, Egypt's Minister of National Guidance, promised that Egypt would not oppose the Greater Syrian Federation, a union of Iraq, Syria, and Jordan, long an Iraqi dream. This at once created a crisis between Saudi Arabia and Egypt, resolved by the dismissal of Salah Salem, called euphoniously a "temporary leave," and the repudiation of his agreement

with Iraq. Salem has now been restored to office, the rift with Saudi Arabia healed. But Egyptian-Iraqi relations continue disturbed.

Further to cement relations with the Moscow world, Nasser, after a trip to Mecca, has undertaken with Prime Minister Mohamed Ali of Pakistan and King Saud of Saudi Arabia to embark on a crusade to save Africa from "Christianity and Communism." Christian missionaries have been characterized as "vanguards of imperialism."

3. No enduring system of regional defense has ever been built in the absence of regional stability or regional peace. Neither exists in the Middle East. The whole area is rocked by social, economic, and political unrest which could assume revolutionary proportions. Ninety per cent of the population is in virtual peonage to a small group of landowners and moneylenders. Illiteracy is almost universal. The mortality rate is among the highest in the world. Disease is so widespread that the average life expectancy is twenty-six years.

On this fertile soil Communist propaganda sows the seeds of disaffection with its promise of bread and of freedom from foreign domination. Only a week ago under the impact of such promises Jordan, a protectorate of Britain, elected two pro-Communists to the legislature.

4. Arms furnished now to Arab governments are only an incitement against the West, since they fail to supply food for the hungry, health for the sick, or the kind of economy that could produce a decent standard of living. In a realistic appraisal of the situation Egypt's Prime Minister on September 3, 1954, told the *U. S. News and World Report*:

I should prefer to have social development and to raise the production of my country rather than develop the army because I think by developing the army I would be keeping the standard of living of the people at the same low level it is now. If you want to build an efficient army you must base it on people who have a good standard of living, who are interested in their work and are not worrying about their people's living conditions and unemployment.

No Arab government can hope to survive for long unless it is able to satisfy the social and economic needs of its people. No Arab government can assure the West of the loyalty of its people in case of war.

Egypt needs \$100,000,000 a year for the next ten years to carry out a basic program of development. This it is unable to raise from its own resources. The grant-in-aid from the United States for 1954 is about one-fifth of what Egypt requires for one year. Yet we are prepared to give Egypt as much as \$100,000,000 in military assistance immediately, \$100,000,000 which will buy neither Egypt's loyalty nor our security. And we are preparing to multiply that figure many times over throughout the Middle East.

5. To defend the 2,000,000 square miles of territory of the eight countries of the Arab League, there are eight standing armies of approximately 200,000 men. Not one of these is a modern army with the exception of the Jordan Legion of 20,000 men, recruited, trained, armed, and financed by the British. All are comparatively new, the outgrowth of local gendarmeries whose principal function has been to put down internal revolt. None have had combat experience except in the Palestine war, which they initiated and lost. None have the skills that are essential to the maintenance of a modern base. There is no industry to supply a modern base. The armies naturally reflect the woe of the people, their poverty, ill health, illiteracy, resentments. Loyalty is to the small local feudal unit rather than to a national army or government. The Arab soldier has no objective for which he will endure sustained fighting. Every army except Lebanon's since 1948 has been indoctrinated solely with hatred of Israel for the purpose of destroying it.

Egypt's Prime Minister is the authority for the statement that nothing exists but man-power. He says: "It needs more than just troops and arms, it needs an infrastructure—airfields, roads, lines of communication. There is a defense vacuum in this area."

6. The cost of filling this "defense vacuum" would be billions. In Turkey, where both government and people welcomed American assistance, and which had stability of government and a basic military structure, it cost the United States more than a billion dollars in direct military assistance, supplemented by half a billion dollars' worth of economic assistance, both still continuing. Multiply these sums by the eight Arab states which presumably would be the

beneficiaries of our military plans to get some concept of the dizzying cost of our new adventure.

7. WOULD this heavy concentration on military development assure stability in the area and the loyalty of the native peoples? Colonel Nasser repudiates the idea. He says: "*Bases mean occupation, occupation means hatred, and hatred means non-cooperation.*" Willing though he is to accept American military aid, he has refused to accept an American military mission to supervise that aid—lest it jeopardize the life of his government. He says: "*You may send military aid. But I would not accept a military mission from the United States in my country, for my people would not tolerate it.*"

Nor does the acceptance of arms carry with it the implicit promise of joining a Middle East alliance, including the United States, Britain, and Turkey. To join such an alliance, Egypt's Prime Minister says, would be to give "the Communists a weapon to use to destroy the defense of the area, because the Communists will be able to convince the people that such a partnership is for the interest of the West alone. . . . That the West is exploiting us. We will be attacked by atomic weapons."

8. NO sound regional defense can be carried out under a plan which truncates the region. By eliminating Israel from the regional defense arrangements, the Anglo-Egyptian Suez Pact and the American arms agreements do precisely this. And in so doing, the vulnerability of the area is increased. For Israel is the land link between both halves of the Arab world. Left unprotected, Israel invites aggression as the weakest point in the Middle East complex. Why should not the would-be aggressor choose Israel as a first target, and in a triple blow destroy Israel, Suez, and Iraq, instead of choosing Iraq as a first target and moving westward? In the airplane and atomic age, the time differential would be almost non-existent. If Israel were lost, the Western world would lose a population committed to the democratic purpose, a communications center, a modern army, and a modern industry.

That Israel has been eliminated from current regional defense concepts is clear. Colonel Salah Salem is the authority for the statement that it was definite-

ly part of the understanding between Britain and Egypt that the Suez base cannot be activated in the event of an attack upon Israel by a principal power.

Similarly the unilateral arming of the Arabs by the United States, to the exclusion of Israel, is an outright bribe, intended to assure the Arabs that United States friendship for them is genuine and thus to spur them to join a regional defense pact.

Arming Israel would not resolve the situation, even though the discrimination against it should be ended. Obviously, a sound defense of the area requires that all the states should be joined in a defense arrangement. Without peace, no regional defense pact can include the Arabs and Israel. Regional defense requires the end of the Palestine war.

9. The vaunted unity of the Arab states up until now has been demonstrated only in a common hatred of Israel, a common thirst for revenge, and a call for a second round. Recently Egypt told the foreign press that it had no "aggressive" designs against Israel. But what Nasser and other Arab leaders say for home consumption is quite different, and is a better gauge of intention. Only last June Egypt's Prime Minister was quoted as saying: "We believe that we can reverse the position in Palestine to its natural state and return the land to its people and its owners."

At the beginning of 1954 Iraq's Foreign Minister, Fadhil Jamali, then Prime Minister, told the Iraqi Parliament that "whoever called for peace with Israel would be guilty of high treason and should be hanged." A month later Dr. Jamali, his country's representative in the current session of the U. N. General Assembly, said: "The destruction of Israel will be achieved by strengthening of the Arab states." Three times in the course of the past year Saudi Arabia's new king proclaimed publicly: "Israel is a cancer in the heart of the Arab world, which must be united to eradicate it."

No Arab country has shown any disposition to end the Palestine war. Violence on the Egypt-Israel border and on the Jordan-Israel border has multiplied in recent months. The Arab boycott of Israel is rigidly maintained. Although the Anglo-Egyptian agreement on Suez calls for upholding the international convention governing the free passage of ships through the Suez Canal, there is no

commitment that this applies to ships bound for Israel. And indeed Egypt demonstrated its refusal to be so committed by seizing and holding the Israeli ship Bat Galem on September 28. When on October 6, 1954, in the U. N., Israel renewed its offer to negotiate non-aggression pacts with its Arab neighbors, the offer was repudiated by Egypt. The United States insists the arms will not be used against Israel. How can we be sure, since we do not control the Arabs?

Unstable governments frequently invent scapegoats to keep themselves in power. If the Arab governments are unable to resolve their internal problems, a second round against Israel could well be a diversionary lightning rod. In the absence of peace this is always possible.

10. IN some circles there is a strong belief that Britain, waiting until Israel has been sufficiently softened by its fears of a second round by the Arabs and by its distress over its exclusion from regional defense plans by the United States, may seek in Israel the substitute for the base it lost in Suez. Britain's treaty with Iraq expires in 1957. Britain will probably relinquish its two bases there, with the understanding they may be reoccupied in the event of external aggression. If this should happen, Britain would be deprived of its principal bases in the Middle East. Its Suez personnel is being moved to Cyprus, where Cypriot agitation for union with Greece is creating new headaches. Thus Britain would be left along a two-million-square-mile stretch with only a small base in Libya and three bases in Jordan.

The Jordan bases until now have been comparatively minor in the British pattern, although a link in the chain from Libya to Iraq. Without access to the sea, except through the small and undeveloped port of Aqaba, the Jordan bases have limited value. Under a fifteen-year treaty signed in 1948 Britain is obligated, in the event of war, to bring to Jordan "the necessary force of all arms." The British hold on Jordan is a precarious one despite heavy subsidies to the Legion. Nationalist propaganda demands its ouster. Saudi Arabia, eager to split Jordan from Iraq and Britain, has offered Jordan the equivalent of the British subsidy if it will oust the British.

Britain has long coveted a base in

Israel, which forms a natural alternative land route to the Suez Canal and British bases in Africa. Israel possesses at Haifa the best deep-water port in the area. Israel connects the Mediterranean overland with the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean and thus Europe with Asia.

The Negev provides excellent terrain for a base. Moreover, Israel has a basic infrastructure, including airfields, ports, roads, railroads, machinery, transport storage facilities, and a refinery. All of these need further development. Much of this development is in progress, its pace depending almost entirely on the funds at the disposal of the Israeli government. Israel has maintenance and repair facilities capable of meeting the needs not only of the armed forces of Israel but of much larger forces.

Most important of all, Israel is the only country in the area possessing modern armed forces, including an army, navy, air force, and reserves, with armed forces and civilian population both oriented to the democratic cause.

Under such an arrangement Israel presumably would be safe from a second round from the Arabs, its place in global defense would be assured, and funds would be available to accelerate the modernization of the country. But as against this would be the increase in its vulnerability as a target for outside aggression as the base of a principal power, and its further alienation from the region of which it is and seeks to be an integral part. To accept in peace time the role of an "occupied" country, which its neighbors have cast off, would help to exaggerate rather than minimize differences and fears between Israel and the Arab states. This quite apart from the understandable reluctance of Israel to accept a satellite role.

WESTERN security depends on regional security—which cannot be obtained without peace between the Arab states and Israel. The truth is that vanity alone has prevented the Arabs from settling the Palestine war. The truth is that we have never made a serious attempt to get that settlement on a *quid pro quo* basis. If we are going to "bribe" the Arab governments, at least we should bribe them in a way which makes their own future secure—not with arms but with sufficient funds for development in exchange for peace.

HOLDING THE LINE

Moscow Still Talks Peace . . by J. A. del Vayo

United Nations

THE Paris meeting, which marked so extraordinary a victory for West Germany and put the final touch to the reversal of the World War II alliances, naturally had repercussions in the United Nations. From the Soviet side came Mr. Vishinsky's statement to the Political Committee on October 25, in which he recalled that Germany was "historically a hotbed of militarism and war" and pointed out that while inside the U. N. the Western powers were protesting their readiness to disarm, outside they were arming the one country in the world which has always wielded its military weapons with limitless irresponsibility.

But sharp as the statement was, it marked no change in the conciliatory attitude which the Russians have maintained for a fortnight now on the disarmament question. In the end they joined in the unanimous approval of a resolution calling for a new attempt to reconcile the differing views on disarmament and the control of nuclear weapons. This in itself was a significant event, for it was the first time since 1946 that the Soviet Union and the West had cosponsored a major resolution. But its importance went far beyond the purview of the Political Committee. It gave the answer to a question uppermost in the mind of every delegate: Would the rearmament of West Germany and its elevation to full partnership in the Western alliance lead the Kremlin to revise a policy which had made possible the end of the Korean and Indo-China wars and had renewed hope of an East-West settlement? The answer, obviously, was no. By voting as it did the Soviet Union indicated that it was following a long-range policy which would not be altered by even such serious developments as the London and Paris accords.

It should be said in passing that much credit for having brought East and West closer together on the issue should go to Paul Martin, chief Canadian delegate,

who first introduced the U. N. resolution.

Nevertheless, it would be dangerously wrong to assume that Russia will accept West German rearmament as a *fait accompli* and rest satisfied with its status in East Germany. Walter Lippmann wrote recently in the *New York Herald Tribune*: "The whole action of Moscow in East Germany and at the conferences and in the exchange of notes has fitted the assumption that the Soviet Union cannot and will not let go of East Germany. . . . Mr. Molotov wants to confer but not to negotiate." But I don't think Mr. Lippmann is ready to conclude from his own argument that so long as Russia sits comfortably in East Germany, the rearmament of Bonn is a matter of indifference to it. Nor would he insist, I think, that Soviet protests in this regard are no more than propaganda gestures. Yet I am afraid those who see in the London and Paris accords a genuine contribution to peace may derive from his words a degree of reassurance the facts hardly warrant.

A careful reading of the two thousand-word note handed by Mr. Molotov on October 23 to the British, French, and United States ambassadors in Moscow reveals the real Russian position. The note declared that the unification of Germany "was the most important and urgent task" for reducing world tensions. "The London decisions," it added, "open the way to the reestablishment of German militarism. Now the hands of the West German militarists and revenge seekers will be untied to conduct their aggressive policy in Europe. West Germany will thus become a dangerous lever of new aggression." The London agreement represents a double threat, the note emphasizes, because by including Bonn in NATO it "gives the German militarists an opportunity to exercise influence towards the further increasing of the aggressive character of the North Atlantic grouping."

Of course it can be argued that the Russian note does not mean what it says

but rather what Western experts on Russia and the Soviet mentality say it means. But as Mr. Vishinsky remarked in the course of the Political Committee debate, if a government's explanation of its own position is of less importance than the explanation of it offered by other governments—or delegations—then the doors are shut to normal diplomatic intercourse.

There is no indication that the Russians are likely to discard their present policy of conciliation. In many ways the agreements reached at London and Paris are worse than E. D. C. would have been, as Carolus hints in his article elsewhere in this issue. Only the mystery which so often shrouds the actions of the French parliament can explain how the fervent opponents of E. D. C. in the National Assembly were so ready to approve the return of the German army under conditions giving it even greater freedom of movement.

The award to West Germany of sovereignty, an army, and NATO membership was not the only thing done at London and Paris which will help make the Federated Republic the future arbiter of Europe. Integration of the West German economy into the European and world economies may prove even more serious. The Franco-German accord on the Saar can be judged only within the framework of the broad cooperation between the two countries for which the foundation has now been laid. The possibilities opened to Bonn are greater than anything Dr. Adenauer could have dreamed of a few months ago. By agreeing to expand further their already important trade relations, Bonn and Paris have done much to return to the Germans their lost military, industrial, and financial hegemony. No doubt the French economy will also profit from the arrangement, but at what cost to French security? Will it really profit the French in the long run to have turned the "traditional enemy" into a welcome *compagnon de route*?

United States investments in West Germany are already large, and they will grow as the result of the visit of Chancellor Adenauer, who discussed with President Eisenhower the whole question of the American contribution to German rearmament. This contribution becomes all the more important in the light of the

new policy of Franco-German economic cooperation. West Germany's economy holds endless promise of growth. One day France and the rest of Western Europe will again feel its impact.

Fortunately developments in Europe failed to alter the favorable course taken by the disarmament discussions in the

Political Committee. But the grave implications of German rearmament will not make negotiations with the Russians any easier. Only if the U. N. succeeds in taking away from the Germans the arms promised them by London and Paris can we expect any real progress toward permanent peace.

SOVIET VIGNETTES

Artists and Teachers . . by John Berger

London

I SPENT three weeks in Moscow and a week in Leningrad on my recent visit to Russia. That is not a very long time. It seemed to me that I was free to go wherever I wanted to. I was able to talk with a few important people and many unimportant people in either French or English. I talked with others through an interpreter. I cannot, however, tell you much that is dramatic or new. My most vivid memories are of individuals interested in the same subjects as myself—painting, sculpture, architecture, education. A few of them I want to try to describe to you.

Rudniev, the chief of the Soviet architects who designed the new Moscow University, is a man well over sixty, with a gray beard, a big forehead, and wild eyes. When you meet him you are immediately struck with the quickness of his movements. When you study him you realize that these consist mostly of an occasional jab of his stick on the floor to emphasize what he is saying, of swift, amused glances around the circle he is addressing, of a comical stiff twisting of his back. Nevertheless, you feel that anywhere—even in a Western newspaper office—he would seem as alert as a sheep dog among sheep.

I went with him and several British architects to look over his university. We met him by the huge entrance portico. "Can't see anything here," he said; "come and look at it properly." So we

started walking away down the main approach, which has extensive gardens on both sides. "We're still too near," he said when we stopped, and he led us even farther back. "This will do. Now, how far away do you think we are from the entrance?" "Three hundred meters?" "Six hundred meters?" "Eight hundred meters," he exclaimed with triumph. "It's a bigger building than you can grasp. Of course there are a lot of things wrong with it. The entrance portico, for instance. We've had several shots at that, but it's still not right. Too conventional and classic. And then that large decoration above—we're going to pull that down and try something else. Deco-

ration must not look stuck on—like a sort of medal for the building."

One of us asked him if any provision had been made for expansion. He paused, looked around the crowd that had collected to listen to him, and then, smiling, pointed at a very short Red Army soldier and said: "You see this comrade here. If his wife says to him, 'The trouble with you is you're too small,' what can he say? All he can say is, 'Well, I'm the size I was made. You must take it or leave it.'"

Somebody else asked him if there was direct communication between the two large dormitory wings. "Not very direct," he replied. "One wing is for men students, the other for women students. You can get from one to the other, but if it were easy, I would soon have to build a third wing."

Inside the building we passed a group of students gossiping. The university had opened for the first time a week before. When they saw Rudniev they waved and clapped. He gave his pleased comedian's bow.

On the roof, about forty stories up, are huge statues of youths—students and such. One of these I particularly admired and I asked Rudniev who the sculptor was. "I designed it myself," he said very modestly; for once he was not being a comedian. "But what I really like doing is painting. I try to paint on Sundays—but I don't get much done. You know what grandchildren are."

OLGA I saw quite a lot of. She was a school teacher—an odd, sharp little woman who, although about forty and



This drawing, and the two on the following page, taken from the Soviet magazine Little Fire, are characteristic of the illustrative black-and-white art used in contemporary popular publications in the Soviet Union.

JOHN BERGER, British painter and art critic of the New Statesman and Nation, recently visited the Soviet Union.

with two children, looked rather like a fledgling before it gets its feathers. Perhaps the reason had something to do with her sparse fair hair, her very bright eyes, and the way she opened and shut her mouth quickly. It shut very tight if you inadvertently hurt her feelings. And if you did not make amends, it opened and you were told shrilly exactly what she thought of Western intellectuals. She was not terribly earnest about politics, but she had all the famous Russian temperament: she felt happy—then why didn't you? She was sad, then why did you prattle on instead of being sympathetic?

I became really fond of her after I learned certain things: that you could always please her—so that her big eyes seemed to say, "Yes, you're almost one of us"—by lending her English detective stories; that since she taught English in her school you must *not* correct her mistakes; that however equal women are in the Soviet Union, she bitterly resented any lack of attention in opening doors, taking her coat, passing dishes, and so on; that she liked compliments but of the old-fashioned, not in the least forward sort—as soon as you got one across, though, she might embark on a detailed, clinical description of the new process of painless childbirth without drugs.

I do not want to make her seem schoolmarmy or a pompous bluestocking. She was not; in fact, if the phrase had not such sentimental associations, I would describe her as a gallant little woman. What interested me about her, apart from the fact that I liked her, was that when provoked she was more anti-

Western than anybody else I met. But the provocation always had to be personal, not ideological. She used her anti-Western attitude to bolster her confidence or to smooth away some of her personal misgivings. That is not a very profound psychological observation, but one so frequently comes across examples of just that process behind people's anti-Soviet feelings in the West that it was interesting to find the same thing the other way round in Moscow. Still, if she happens to read this—and she might, for there are American and English magazines in many of the Moscow libraries—I send her my warm fraternal greetings.

K—— was a painter—seventy years old with a son of about forty who was also a painter. Before the revolution he was a count, I first met him in his Moscow studio. Studios are the same the world over—the same smell of turps and dust, the same awkward easel that is always so difficult to adjust to the size of the picture you want to show, the same confusion of old sketches, brushes, and canvasses, the same bare-board-floor working space, usually littered with cigarette ends. K—— was a fat man, rather slovenly in dress, just the sort of man you expect to have egg stains on his waistcoat. He wore thick glasses, and behind them you glimpsed small, kind eyes. If you saw a photograph of him, you would probably say he was a French café patron.

He was not particularly pleased to see me until he discovered that I also was a painter. Then he no longer bothered to put the canvasses into frames as he showed them to me. For a good many years he had numbered his pictures and was now up in the fifteen hundreds. Of these he had sold about eight hundred. Many of the rest were in his country studio; I told him that quite a few British painters had not even one studio, let alone two. His subjects were still lifes, portraits, and landscapes. No one could call his work socialist-realist. He was rather like the Fauves, with a good bit of Cézanne thrown in. Not a great genius, but even now a lively, sturdy, worth-while painter. Often he works with his son. They paint, for example, the same still life of fish and sea shells, and the results are nearly identical—except that the father's is always more youthful.



We talked for hours. Whenever he felt very strongly what he was saying, he seized the lapels of my jacket and tugged at them to emphasize each point. His hands were those of a baker—as if he kneaded the loaves he painted. His breath smelled of garlic and stale wine. On another occasion I met him at a rather fashionable party. At first he appeared ill at ease, but as he began to drink he became more expansive, laughed a lot, and as he talked began to slap his listener's arms or shoulders, like a farmer slapping cattle to judge their condition.

Among other things, we discussed Cézanne, and Veronese. When I told him that the year before I had seen some Veronese frescoes in Italy which he thought had been destroyed during the war, he became very excited and dug out a bottle of wine from under some old paint rags in a cupboard to celebrate my news. Then we talked about Soviet painting. "Of course," he said, "we have too many academic painters here, just as there are too many academic painters everywhere. But they're not perverse. They're good men, with good intentions—but very little talent. Now, though, we have a lot of students and young painters with more imagination—and thinking about Cézanne, too." He laughed at my thoughtful expression and added somewhat paternally, "I suppose you became a critic because you thought so much. But you don't need to, you know. *La vraie peinture* always triumphs in the end." And so, needless to say, we drank to *la vraie peinture*, to Cézanne, to



Van Gogh, to British painting, to Soviet painting. And suddenly, at his suggestion, to art criticism, while his small eyes twinkled.

THE headmaster of the main Moscow art school received me in his study. Study is exactly the right word, for the room was reminiscent of a nineteenth-century vicarage—none of your Swedish furniture but polished mahogany, leather chairs, heavy brass inkstands, painstaking but by no means dull students' drawings framed on the wall, and with it all the sort of untidiness that is the result of a room being much used, with arguments, references, examples constantly considered. The headmaster himself was a severe-looking man and only opened up when he discovered that I did know something about teaching. Then one saw that his severity was the result of a serious sense of responsibility, somewhat similar to the severity of the drawings on the wall.

Two other members of the staff came in: a youngish man with an intelligent face who, as I was to discover later,

taught drawing very well though he had some nervous affliction which made his hands shake so badly that one wondered how he could hold a pencil; and an efficient-looking, voluntary-organization-secretary-type woman who handled sheaves of water colors with the routine deftness of a cashier with bank notes. Every so often as she flicked through them she took one out to show me. I said something about water color being a difficult medium and not altogether suitable for students aged fourteen to seventeen. Instantly I realized my mistake: the water-color class was her special preserve.

Later we went over the school. A nude model looks exactly the same either side of the Iron Curtain. And so do the students sitting astride their "donkeys" and squinting at the model to gauge her proportions—only in Moscow they are not so "arty" in dress.

When we got back to the study, the water-color woman, even crisper than before, produced another three folios of work. And this time I had to look through them really thoroughly, study-

ing every sheet. Hundreds of them. It was a test of patience. Finally I gave in. "Well, perhaps water color is a useful discipline." Only then did she relax. The headmaster, having watched all this with considerable amusement, smiled knowingly as she knelt down on the floor to put her folios in order again.

"What do you think of this?" he asked, showing me a drawing of a man sleeping in a railway waiting-room. It was a really extraordinary drawing, and it is in front of me now as I write. I would forgive an experienced critic's mistaking it for a Delacroix. Actually, it was by a boy of fourteen.

The boy was sent for. He looked like a small edition of Huckleberry Finn—an effect emphasized by his worn, middle-nineteenth-century-type clothes. When I told him how good I thought his work was, he smiled, self-possessed but indifferent—not out of vanity but because he thought it eccentric to make such a fuss about mere drawings. They did not begin to touch his sense of adventure. One day we shall probably hear more of him. His name is Gernady Gladunov.

WITCH HUNT AT HUNTER

Triumph of the Primitives . . by Broadus Mitchell

RECENTLY three professors were dismissed from the faculty of New York City's Hunter College under the state's Feinberg law, which bars Communists from teaching in tax-supported schools and colleges. The core of the case against the three men was that they admitted to having been Communists in 1940-41. Two of the three offered evidence that they had left the party before the end of 1941.

Testimony taken before a trial committee of the Board of Higher Education of New York City fills more than a thousand pages. Preliminary examina-

tions, exhibits, attorneys' briefs, and the hundred-page findings and recommendations of the committee add to this bulk. All the particulars are given—names, dates, quotations, authors, articles, orders, resolutions, statutes, events. But the ostensibly scrupulous legal protections are mocked by the peril of the accused from public prejudice and official dogmatism. Confusion, fear, and a narrow notion of the place of education in American society speak in fifty thousand lines of questions, answers, and final pronouncements.

One puts aside this mass of anger and suspicion, recriminations and replies, and asks what conclusions are to be drawn from the whole affair. I submit the following as the morals of the tale:

1. Inquisition into the opinions and associations of teachers in New York's

municipal colleges has reached the stage of mere processing within the framework of law, ordinance, and directive. There is no questioning of the premises of declared policy. There is no "rule of reason" to temper the automatic application of prior pronouncement. A traffic violator who exhales into a "drunkometer" is not more bound by the indicator on the dial. This is disturbing when one reflects that the trial is not by a police magistrate but by citizens chosen to preside over municipal colleges. For wise decision in an area so delicate and disputable the judges must themselves be free. Where else is discretion so allowable, not to say enjoined? Of course, guides to administrative conduct are proper and inevitable, but in public higher education they should furnish the starting-point, not the finish line, of re-

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sponsible inquiry and determination. In the present instance no latitude was claimed or exercised.

2. The belief that trial committees and full board were willing to abide by clamping rules is weakened only by the discreditable conviction that the respondents would have been let off, in one way or another, if they had yielded to the persistent probing of their examiners for the names of others connected with their supposed nefarious doings. Perhaps, if they had turned informer, they would have been pumped dry and then been discarded, but such determined searching, if satisfied, might have shown a low gratitude. In any event, the conduct of the particular defendant was constantly subordinated to the leads he might give to associates eligible for accusation. Yips under the trial table were from hounds eager to sniff any glove or shoe held to their practiced nostrils. This animal expectancy of more hunts to follow enlivened the otherwise dull hearings. It should be added that the three teachers acted on the belief that the investigation must be confined to their own thoughts and deeds, good or bad.

3. The integrity of public control of higher education has been brought into question. These cases, like all involving freedom of teaching, test the fitness of the governing authority—legislature, board, or trustees. It is a fact that in the recent and current alarm over communism in the colleges, actual or fancied, most of the few challenges have come from private institutions. Are the publicly supported ones so vulnerable to political pressure that they are unprepared to preserve intellectual independence? The desegregation decision of the Supreme Court honorably denies it, though in a different sphere of educational policy. The capacity of public supervisors to be protective as well as punitive is of critical portent when we view the prospects of private as compared with tax-maintained colleges and universities. Many of the former had to be helped by government during the last war, and continue to look to federal research subsidies for supplemental income. Their financial resources are weakened as denominational ties are relaxed. Grants from foundations are occasional, specialized, and uncertain. The economic and in many respects educational pull of

gravity is toward the public institutions. They charge less or no tuition, offer generally superior physical facilities, command faculty talent proportional to better salaries and retirement systems.

Is the spirit of learning to be in the keeping of institutions, otherwise beset, which have not given hostages to political fortune? One of the accepted safeguards for freedom in education is that a faculty member should not be judged, in his academic conduct, until after his colleagues have passed upon it. In the present cases no such pertinent preliminary opinion was expressed. The trial committee spoke repeatedly of employees of the board, plainly meaning teachers as well as technical personnel. Is a municipal college or state university to be governed like a sewer department or turnpike authority? It is generally agreed that certain decisions in a health department are beyond the competence of official supervisory authority. The same is not vouchsafed to public education, where lay opinion readily intrudes.

The Hunter College cases here reviewed revealed that the board members were ignorant of the methods and content of instruction. One does not lightly characterize the shortcomings of esteemed citizens who accept unpaid, onerous responsibilities, but the present writer has been concerned with the subject matter of these hearings throughout a longish professional life. The questions put to witnesses were boorish, lacking in historical understanding, relying on the roughest rule of thumb. To say more would put the critic beyond the committee's confidence, as he is, thankfully, beyond their clutches. Much of the reluctance to testify was due to the fact that interrogators and indicted did not think in the same terms or speak the same language. Reading the accusing questions in the security of one's easy chair, it is hard to know where to begin with intelligent answers. The situation of those assailed was incomparably worse. At the same time, they did not always make the best witnesses for themselves, and one stood in bad light from the start because he had confessed concealing membership in the Communist Party from a legislative committee years before.

4. In this trial, as in most others of the sort, the prosecutor made no effort

to show that the once-held beliefs or party loyalties of the defendants had entered into their teaching to mislead their students. This glaring omission was feebly excused with the observation that communism in the classroom is so cunning as to be impossible of detection; it is a non-filterable virus, defying scrutiny. Thus the accusers have it both ways: it is not opinions and privileged associations with which they interfere, and neither are they obliged to prove perverted performance. In these cases service to institution, pupils, and colleagues was long and exemplary. The animus of the trial committee reminds one of Aesop's wolf which accused the lamb of muddying his drinking water; to the answer that the lamb was downstream, the hungry wolf replied, "I'll eat you anyhow." The "anyhow" of the trial task force included the allegation, as bold as it was hazardous, that the respondents had proved their scholarly unfitness by adhering at times in the past to stigmatized doctrines and by conforming to party injunctions. Thus they—not the board in the present proceedings—had violated academic freedom, shackled their minds, caressed the donkey in midsummer revels. The truth is that teachers, like other mortals, have intellectual and moral commitments, and perhaps arrive at them more cautiously than some others do. If we are to pillory teachers for their attachment to beliefs, philosophical, political, religious—equating these with "closed minds" and unworthy acceptance of authority—the waiting-line behind the stocks must be long and number some very respectable characters.

The Board of Higher Education—since, mind you, it makes no charge of demonstrable academic malfeasance—claims to buy its faculty, skin and bones and hymn book too, for twenty-four hours of the day. This brings under correction whatever is disapproved. Fancy roamed in these cases, as it does generally. Swiftly the suspected association becomes a conspiracy, documented and denounced. Unpopular minority groups in American history have often been so described. Would you believe that the Second Bank of the United States fell into this hateful category? And, before that, the Society of the Cincinnati was a target, complete with secrecy, ritual, badge, foreign affiliation, and funds of mysterious donation; this

was not a patriotic, fraternal, and charitable order but an international military plot to subvert democracy.

As soon as an individual is found to have belonged to such a cabal his villainy is personal and comprehensive. He may have neglected his home work in a study group, but he subscribes to, is answerable for, every syllable in the party pronouncements and the writings of acknowledged leaders. He approved them so long as he did not resign and repent. In the Hunter trial the prosecuting counsel was unwearied in submitting for the record bits and pieces of Communist classics which without doubt the accused cherished in his heart. This preposterous business made the hearings resemble the court in "Alice in Wonder-

land" except that bench and bar could not be dismissed as cardboard.

5. The upshot of such a spasm in academic management, unless the dismissed teachers appeal successfully to the Commissioner of Education and, perhaps, to the courts, is to deprive the institution of useful faculty members. So far as can be gathered from the exhaustive record, these men, during twenty-five years or more, served their thousands of students well. One makes no apology for contrasting their factual utility with their alleged scholastic impurity. The college now sacrifices the benefits of their expensive training, rich experience, and acknowledged accomplishments. It is hard to find out what has happened to men similarly ejected

in recent years. Probably only a few have found lodgment in other academic niches, for obvious reasons, and where this has occurred it has been after a worrisome hiatus; the new post, moreover, is apt to be temporary and otherwise less desirable than the old. To set adrift specialized scholars in their fifties is to inflict a personal hardship not always weighed in the fervor of prosecution. The actual dollars-and-cents cost of the investigation has been considerable—salaries of lawyers, stenographers, etc.

Supposing still that this is a tempest in a teapot, the damage is wider and deeper than has been mentioned. Academic freedom, here punished, must include the freedom, often and often, to be mistaken.

MARS OVER GERMANY

The Barracks Are Waiting . . by Carolus

Bonn, West Germany

THE oldest inhabitants cannot remember so bad a summer in Europe. The crops, which had promised to be good, rotted in the fields, and the seeds sown by the Western statesmen did not fare much better. People began to be superstitious about it. Flying saucers were sighted. Both France and Germany expected the descent of Martians. The abnormal weather was blamed on the atom bomb.

To the Adenauer clique things looked darkest, of course, when E. D. C. died. Once it appeared that there were to be no new German divisions, the Krupps and Kesselrings declared that all possibility of a Franco-German understanding was at an end. The scapegoat? The French Premier, naturally. "Mendès-France must go," said Adenauer, as if he were a French opposition deputy. In an interview with the London *Times* he even threatened to fling the Bonn republic into the arms of the Russians.

But after the stormy summer came the sunny autumn. Not the Martians but the

Archangel Michael, in the person of John Foster Dulles, descended on London, Bonn, and Paris. E. D. C. is dead, long live E. D. C.! proclaimed the London conference. Amen! said the statesmen at Paris. The German farmers are smiling again: the state will reimburse them for the spoiled harvest. The German industrialists and generals are smiling too: the twelve divisions and prosperity are around the corner. The Bonn government is already distributing arms contracts, and German industrial stocks are skyrocketing. Only the German masses are fearful.

Between the London and Paris conferences the defeated proponents of E. D. C. and the successful architects of the London agreement heatedly debated such questions as how can we prevent the formation of a German general staff and a German national army? how can we keep a remilitarized Bonn from becoming the master of Western Europe? are four British divisions, stationed in Europe for fifty years, really the answer? Even government supporters in West Germany are sincerely concerned over the effect on German democracy and wonder how the future German army

can be kept out of politics and the traditional Prussian military arrogance and brutality held in check. Prussia, Mirabeau once said, was the only country in the world in which the army owned the state. Must it happen again?

All this is empty rhetoric, as devoid of substance as the "controls" agreed upon at Paris. Whether Germany is re-armed under E. D. C. or under NATO will not make the slightest difference. Any German army will bear the stamp of its generals and officers. Some twenty thousand officers will be needed immediately for the contemplated twelve divisions. Who will they be? The only trained officers in Germany are those who served in Hitler's army. If after serving the Nazis they were still decent and honorable men they returned gladly to civilian life and will certainly not want to go back into the army. The only ones who will answer the call will be the Prussians, the adventurers, the sadists. Dr. Adenauer himself apparently sees the danger. *Der Spiegel*, a conservative Hamburg weekly, reports that in the course of a private conversation in London with Spaak of Belgium and Bech of Luxemburg he said:

CAROLUS is the pseudonym of The Nation's West German correspondent.

I am convinced that the German national army which Mendès-France is forcing upon us represents a grave danger for Germany and Europe. I don't know what will become of Germany when I am no longer here if we don't succeed in creating European union. . . . Do not count on France, M. Bech, when the European states begin the nationalist game again. The French nationalists, despite their bitter experiences, are just as ready as the Germans to repeat their old maneuvers. They prefer Germany with a national army to a united Europe, for then they can play politics with the Russians. The German nationalists also are ready to go along with the Russians. Make the most of the time that I still live; once I am gone it will be too late.

The old statesman said only what is obvious to all unbiased observers—that this German army will prepare the way for a European adventure whose outcome is likely to be a much worse surprise to Americans than was the death of E. D. C.

Dr. Adenauer seeks to insure himself against catastrophe by mumbling "Europe." He does not seem to realize that his "Europe," even if it includes all the countries of NATO, is still only a rump Europe; and he refuses to draw the ultimate conclusion from his own fears—namely, that a German army will always be a German army, obedient neither to E. D. C. nor to a London agreement nor to a Paris agreement. Like the sorcerer's apprentice, we are starting something that we shall not be able to stop. Soon the twelve divisions will become twenty-four, and to even things up Moscow and its satellites will set up an additional twenty-four Polish-Czech divisions. Then the twenty-four German divisions will have to be increased to forty-eight. Moreover, this German army will be politi-

cally autonomous. The respected *Frankfurter Rundschau* said on October 2:

Armament control and a Bonn promise not to use force to back up territorial demands may be considered sufficient in London. But who can guarantee that these safety devices will be able to withstand the mounting pressure of a Germany that is constantly growing stronger? Who can guarantee that a German national army, even though only twelve divisions strong, will not become an autonomous power factor which one fine day will repeat Tauroggen or go in for Seeki politics? [It was at Tauroggen that a Prussian general betrayed France, then an ally, by going over to the Russians; General von Seeki, founder of the Reichswehr, made a pact with the Red Army in 1923.]

In London, Adenauer warned about what might happen to Germany, Europe, and the world after he is gone, but he has more pressing troubles at home. His coalition government needs patching almost from week to week. The conservative Free Democrats, the second strongest party in the coalition, is becoming increasingly restive and the impetuous Dr. Dehler, its leader, more outspokenly critical. Dehler and the industrialists will of course support rearmament and the agreements of London and Paris. The boom is on, and the smoke of busy arms factories will soon be rising above the Ruhr. But the Free Democrats are reluctant to destroy the last bridge to Eastern Europe and its markets. They want both an army and a "friendly" Russia. In one recent speech Dr. Dehler called not only for negotiations with Moscow but for German reunification "even if Russia does not permit free elections." This concession raised such a storm that he had to retract it. Yet he was only giving voice to the thinking of the industrialist

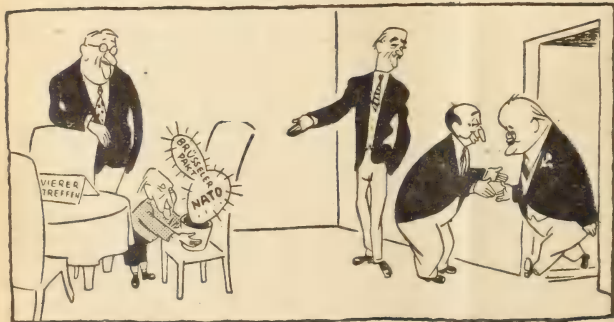
and upper-middle-class groups which his party represents.

So much for one of Adenauer's strongest supporting parties. What about the opposition? On September 6, 1953, the Social Democrats received 8,000,000 votes in a federal election. Since then they have shown a gain of 10 per cent in elections in the industrial Rhineland and in agrarian Schleswig-Holstein. The party rejected London and Paris as sharply and for the same reasons that it rejected E. D. C. Its stand can be summarized as follows: West German rearmament means the end of German democracy, the perpetuation of the division of Germany, and heightened East-West tension. War will turn Germany into a second, greater Korea. Therefore Social Democrats want negotiations with the Russians looking toward German unification and peace. Only if these fail because of Russian intransigence will it be appropriate to talk about West Germany's military contribution to a defense against Russian aggression.

This was the position approved by the October convention of the Federation of German Trade Unions, which by a vote of 391 to 4 rejected the London agreement and remilitarization. The formerly independent Catholic trade unions voted with the majority; the four "no" votes were cast by two members of Adenauer's Cabinet and two Christian Democratic deputies. The Federation, which comprises six million West German workers, is the most powerful mass organization in West Germany and an incorruptible foe of communism. Its resolution on the London agreement read in part:

The convention affirms regretfully that the London agreement would prepare the way for the incorporation of the German Republic into a power bloc. This would prevent the relaxation of international tension and the reunification of Germany. For the German Republic armament means the development of a military state, which in turn means an end to the workers' struggle for political, social, and economic democracy. This convention rejects any German contribution to defense until every effort has been made to institute negotiations aimed at bringing about international understanding and Germany's unification.

"There is still time," says the *Neue Vorwärts*, official organ of the Social Democratic Party. But on the day that the first German recruits enter their barracks at Bonn the die will have been cast.



"See how fast it has grown!"

From Neue Vorwärts

BOOKS

The Paradoxes of Dr. Toynbee

A STUDY OF HISTORY. Volumes VII-X. By Arnold J. Toynbee. Oxford University Press, under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. \$35.

By Frederick L. Schuman

ANY recent visitor to London privileged to penetrate the innermost sanctum of Chatham House on St. James's Square would have been ushered, through labyrinthine files of press cuttings on the top story, into a large book-lined study. At desks facing each other and overlooking the park he would have found a man and wife busily at work but eager to extend a warm welcome. The wife (Veronica M. Boulter) is pleasantly plump and palpably efficient. The husband is slim and slight, gray and gay—an exuberant yet saintly scholar.

On May 23, 1912, aged twenty-three, Arnold Toynbee sat eating chocolate on the citadel of Misra in Laconia, overlooking the Vale of Sparta. Here, he tells us, he became aware, as he viewed the ruins below, of "a horrifying sense of sin manifest in the conduct of human affairs" and wondered whether "man's most damning vice was his brutality or his irrationality." And here came his first intuition of a synoptic view of history, which he set down in outline nine years later while crossing Thrace on the Orient express. In 1927-29 he began gathering notes. The first three volumes were published in 1934, the next three in 1939. War work again interrupted the enterprise. But with the aid of the Royal Institute, the Council of Foreign Relations, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Institute for Advanced Study, the labor was resumed under the stimulus of numerous lecture

engagements on both sides of the Atlantic. The remaining four volumes are now in print. The magnum opus is thus complete, save for a promised eleventh volume of maps, geographical gazetteer by E. D. Myers, and consolidated index—to be later followed with a joint venture by man and wife in "reconsiderations," or *retractationes*, in St. Augustine's language.

We are here in the presence of one of the "Great Books" of our century or of any century. The final volumes, opening with a Latin poem and closing with a moving prayer, contain 2,688 pages, comprising 1,988 of text and fascinating footnotes; 29 of "Acknowledgements and Thanks"; 481 of "Annexes" which consist of 39 learned monographs, 14 tables, and 180 pages of index by Mrs. Toynbee. If any question remained from earlier instalments as to who is the world's outstanding living historian, the doubt is here resolved. In scope of vision, sharpness of analysis, charm of style, and depth of erudition, the "Study" is superlative. Its perusal is sheer intellectual excitement. Its completion opens a wholly new chapter in man's endless quest to comprehend the meaning of human experience. As a scholar and writer I am bound to say that I cannot fathom how the work was done. Granting that it is a "life work," granting conjugal collaboration, the aid of a staff, and the criticisms of many colleagues, particularly Martin Wight and William McNeill (with whom the author carries on footnote colloquies), the result is still an incredible masterpiece of virtuosity.

The Toynbecan morphology of the mortal adventure needs no recapitulation. Many are familiar with the superb "Surveys of International Affairs," edited and partly written by Toynbee each year since 1925. Four other works have been American best-sellers: D. C. Somervell's abridgment of Volumes I-VI (1947), "Civilization on Trial" (1948), "War and Civilization" (A. V. Fowler's excerpts, 1950), and "The World and the West" (1953). The first

six volumes of the "Study" dealt with the Geneses, Growths, Breakdowns, and Disintegrations of Civilizations. The final four consider, *serialim*, Universal States, Universal Churches, Heroic Ages, Contacts Between Civilizations in Space and Time, Law and Freedom in History, The Prospects of the Western Civilization, and The Inspirations of Historians. Every part is a feast, offering viands rare and rich—even if such dishes as "Epiphany" and "Necromancy" are overdone. Yet the banquet is not indigestible, thanks to the exquisite literary sauces and wines with which each course is served.

IF HE is critically discriminating, the intellectual gourmet will often be shocked and challenged, as the author intends him to be. The "Study" is not "objective" narrative—Toynbee has great fun ridiculing historians who believe in this myth—but a swift stream of judgments, political, military, moral, and religious, graciously expounded and perfectly calculated to promote controversy. Each reader can find his own *bête-noire*. For example, I have difficulty in believing that modern autocracy is attributable to the influence of Byzantium, via Sicily, on the Emperor Frederick II. And I am disturbed, even while indorsing Toynbee's indictment of all tribalistic nationalism, that he should accuse Zionists of betraying their faith by adopting "a pagan cult of 'blood and soil'" and of "evicting" the Palestinian Arabs in a "sin" as "heinous" as that of the Nazis. There is here no mention of what Toynbee well knows—that the "eviction" was invited by Arab governments engaged in a naked war of aggression which they hoped, at the time, to win. Other evaluations which some will quarrel with are innumerable. It is none the less exhilarating to find the foremost historian of our age boldly making judgments and seeking no refuge in a specious detachment.

But the context and purport of the judgments are the nub of the matter. Here we find a scintillating, self-consistent, and, I believe, empirically validated hypothesis of the life cycles of civilizations enmeshed in a series of provocative contradictions. To begin with, Toynbee, *mirabile dictu*, is not a historian at all in the eyes of those who

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conceive of history as the record of unique events. He is a social scientist concerned with uniformities and periodicities ("how has this come out of that?") and aiming at a comparative anthropology of literate cultures. He brilliantly achieves the goal, or at least comes closer to it than anyone else. One can still regret that much of the most illuminating literature of anthropology, sociology, and economics is *terra incognita* in these pages.

ANOTHER anomaly is classicism, to which Toynbee owes much of his subtlety and artistry. He rejoices that by A.D. 1911 he had been privileged to study Latin for fifteen years and Greek for twelve. He scatters passages of both through his chapters, some of them his own compositions. Almost never does he condescend to translate, though he has no compunctions about translating German and sometimes French. His acknowledged model of the life cycles is the Graeco-Roman (Hellenic) civilization. Yet he quotes Spengler approvingly on the artificiality of the Renaissance and condemns the Humanist effort to revive the "ghost of Hellenism"—with only a footnote apology, lest he be guilty of "odious ingratitude to Hellenism itself," to the effect that his classical education was ideal for a historian since it gave him perspective by enabling him "to look at the society into which he happened to have been born with the alien eyes of an outsider whose spiritual home was Hellas."

Anomaly tertius: a philosopher of history owes debts to, and is presumably interested in, other philosophers of history. Yet Toynbee is reticent. Spengler, whose thesis is strikingly parallel—plus pyrotechnics on art, architecture, music, and science—is given only grudging tribute as "a pontifical-minded man of genius," afflicted with "dogmatism" and with the "fallacy" of "confusing societies with organisms." As for Spengler's "necessity," this, opines Toynbee, was an "airy conceit," crystallized into "the ponderous dogma under which a man of genius has perversely buried the brilliant findings of his intuitive insight," thus achieving "self-stultification." H. G. Wells is barely mentioned and then unfavorably, since the Toynbeean exegesis denies that man can shape his fate without the help of God. As for

others, Toynbee gives us a priceless intellectual autobiography and bright vignettes of Gibbon, Polybius, Herodotus, Ibn Khaldun, and others, but not even a mention of Vico, Buckle, Danilevsky, Brooks Adams, Pareto, Berdyaev, Sorokin, Durant, or H. J. Muller.

Any "science" of history, moreover, should make prediction possible, at least in general terms. Here Spengler shines in retrospect and Toynbee shrinks in distaste from the task. He cannot decide whether the Western civilization is already in a state of breakdown, though in previous volumes he adduced much evidence that it was. He insists repeatedly that the "fall" of Rome in 476 A.D. was rendered inevitable by the Athenian-Spartan war of 431 B.C. and that this "pattern applies to all civilizations. I cannot find any 'proof' for this thesis. He likewise insists that we would *know* that our civilization is doomed if we had achieved a universal state, but since we have not, the prognosis is doubtful. This thesis, too, seems questionable.

If universal states decay, this result is surely due either to "old age," in Spengler's sense, or to the follies of leaders rather than to the misdeeds of remote ancestors. Toynbee contends—I believe rightly—that parochial nationalism is obsolete and that some form of voluntary world government must supersede it. But his speculations as to whether America or Russia can unify the world society are vitiated by his failure to consider adequately the disqualifications of both for the task, on which theme I have written elsewhere at length.*

As for the possibility of World War III, which he rightly fears will end all civilization, he fails to see, despite his many trenchant analyses of power politics, that policy-makers of great powers never unleash general war unless they can persuade themselves that they have a decisive margin of superiority and a plausible strategic plan for victory. Neither of these preconditions of Armageddon now exists or is likely to materialize in the calculable future.

What is most puzzling, albeit inspiring, is the coruscating spectacle of Toynbee turned theologian. History is now "God revealing Himself in action" and a search for God "seen face to

face." It follows that human affairs become intelligible only in terms of divine will. Since religion is "man's most important pursuit," Gibbon and Frazer were mistaken in regarding it as a source of social conflict and decline. Furthermore, all civilizations are not philosophically on a par, as Toynbee previously argued. Those of the "second generation"—that is, the Syriac, Indic, Hellenic, and Sinic—which gave rise to the "higher religions" were the most significant. Universal churches thus become the real units of study, while Christianity emerges as the purest embodiment of God's grace. Since the freedom of human souls is "the law of God," the problem of determinism disappears, for "Law and Freedom in History prove to be identical, in the sense that Man's freedom proves to be the law of a God who is identical with Love."

All of this, with its equating of religion and sacerdotal bureaucracies, its use of "law" in several senses, and its claim to read God's purpose, is perplexing enough. When Toynbee goes on to argue that a sick civilization can save itself by a "return to God," confusion is worse confounded, the more so as he has demonstrated convincingly in other passages that suffering is the prerequisite of salvation and that the higher religions were all fruits of, and not panaceas for, the breakdowns of the civilizations in which they emerged. Here Spengler is more persuasive. If man is mortal, then the works of men are mortal. "These things too shall pass away," said the ancient wise men. Toynbee grants that any "immortality in this world would prove a martyrdom." He nevertheless implies, in the spirit of the Egyptian pyramid-builders, that religion can immortalize the institutions as well as the souls of Western mankind.

YET Toynbee does come to grips with the riddle of the ages. If he does not reconcile God to the ways of man, he almost reconciles man to the ways of God. But the historian, like Job, knows full well that mundane success is not the reward of virtue and that worldly woe is not the wages of sin. Virtue has value only as its own reward. Wisdom and virtue together, as Plato hoped, may serve to save a sick society. But neither alone can turn the trick. God still helps those who help themselves.

*"The Commonwealth of Man," pp. 173-253.

A civilization which only God can save is already beyond salvation. Toynebee is a new Jeremiah, thundering against the vices of his fellows. But he is also, despite his denials, a new St. Augustine, bidding us flee an earthly City of Destruction for a heavenly City of God.

So much said, Toynebee still deserves a crown of glory from liberals for being on the side of the angels in our troubled time. Marxists will denounce him. The witch-hunting neo-barbarians would do likewise if they were capable of understanding him. Although his major market is a somewhat demented America, he quotes Owen Lattimore and Paul Robeson with warm approval, pays his bitter respects to the McCarran Act, and displays full understanding of McCarthyism. More than this, he utters a powerful warning against religious wars and ideological crusades as "the greatest menace to the welfare and existence of the human race." And he sees, as few Americans are yet able to see in their

self-righteous horror of heresy, that "the world's first need . . . is a *détente* between the United States and the Soviet Union," comparable to the Roman-Parthian peace of two millennia ago, involving "coexistence" on the basis of "a pacific partition of the *Oikoumené* for an indefinite time to come."

On these fateful current issues, as on all else to which he turns his mind and heart, he illumines what is dark, clarifies what is obscure, and vindicates the obvious for a generation addicted to regarding its hallucinations as realities. His voice is among the most eloquent of our years. It is a voice of sanity and salvation, inspired by deep concern for truth, beauty, and love. It is therefore a voice from on high, summoning men to keep faith, to cherish one another, and to prove worthy of their strange destiny—which no one has done more to record and explain than Arnold J. Toynebee.

Go East, Young Woman

THE WILDER SHORES OF LOVE.

By Lesley Blanch. Simon and Schuster. \$5.

By Bennett Epstein

TWO noble Englishwomen of the nineteenth century defied every Victorian convention to find complete fulfillment of their womanhood in the East. A third, a French convent-bred girl born several decades earlier, attained more freedom to realize herself as a woman and an individual in the Turkish seraglio into which she had been abducted than is enjoyed by most Western women who have fought for and gained political and economic rights today. Another woman, the Russian Isabelle Eberhardt, also escaped to the East to find an outlet for her romantic nature. But unlike the others she never found happiness. Her short life extended into this century, when her yearning for self-expression was complicated by women's fight for suffrage and careers instead of for fulfillment as women.

That is the author's theme. In relating

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November 6, 1954

the tumultuous experiences of her four heroines she resists pretty successfully what must have been a constant temptation to indulge in purple passages. Throughout these four wildly romantic adventure stories she keeps her head and appraises her characters and their fiery exploits with intelligence and wit.

Isabelle Arundel was born to the English nobility and reared in strict accord with all the customs of early Victorian society. When she first caught sight of the already fabulous Richard Burton, while on a prim young-ladylike walk with her sister, she realized instantly that something wild and undisciplined flashing from his eyes was the complete answer to impulses buried deep in her own nature. They met on a few subsequent occasions and four years later entered into an engagement, casual on his part and a holy dedication on hers. It was ten years before she consummated her ambition to join her life to his.

The following thirty-one years were devoted wholly to furthering Richard Burton's interests and fighting tigerishly to combat the unpopularity which his undisciplined spirit created wherever he went. There were long sojourns in the

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jungles of Brazil and even wilder places, but it was during the years while he was consul in Damascus that Isabelle's romantic craving found its fullest satisfaction.

Although his monumental translation of the "Arabian Nights" offended the Victorian prudery still lurking in her wild nature and the devout Catholicism to which she was always trying vainly to convert him, her abject devotion permitted no word or gesture of protest. After his death, however, whether from a misguided desire to keep his reputation pure for posterity or as a masterstroke to make him wholly hers in eternity as she had never been quite able to do in life, she destroyed all his un-

published journals. Into the sacrificial fire went also the manuscript of his translation of the erotic "Persian Garden" which would have brought a fortune to her last poverty-stricken years.

Jane Digby, granddaughter of an earl and also reared in the narrow English tradition, was already an acknowledged beauty at seventeen when she was married to Lord Ellenborough. Her story is one of many love affairs and at least four marriages. Her lovers and husbands included an Austrian prince, two kings (father and son), a Greek count, and an Albanian general. Her last marriage, when she was almost fifty, to a Bedouin sheik was to prove the final answer to all her romantic longings. Until her death, some thirty years later, she was a fulfilled and triumphantly happy woman. Her life was passed for six months each year in the Oriental splendor of her Damascus palace and for the other six months in the black hair tents of the desert.

Aimée Dubucq de Rivery did not choose the East voluntarily as the others had done. While returning to her native Martinique, after eight years in a convent school in France, her ship was seized by Barbary pirates and she was brought captive to the Bey of Algeria. As a mark of deepest respect he presented the blonde beauty to his master, the Sultan of Turkey. Her seclusion until her death, many years later, behind the inviolate gates of the seraglio must have brought to her, too, a fulfillment, for she never attempted to escape or rebelled against her imprisonment. She became the favorite of the Sultan and the mother of his successor. She retained, under the exotic and erotic experiences which she had accepted, some latent traces of her ancestry and upbringing and throughout her life exerted her great influence over her son to bring many Western ideas into his domestic and foreign policies.

Isabelle Eberhardt's short life was packed with even wilder adventures. Her flight to the East was not an escape from the restraints of a conventional upbringing. She was the daughter of a Russian general but was reared in the irregular household which her mother had established in Geneva with the Armenian tutor she had taken for her lover. Isabelle was almost twenty before she sought the East as an answer to her

urges. There she cut off her hair, dressed as a man, adopted Islam as her religion, and lived a nomadic life in the deserts and cities of Algeria. She drank, smoked hashish, and had innumerable love affairs until her anomalous death, by actually drowning in the desert.

She shared with the other women a consuming drive toward an outlet that could be found only on the wilder shores of life. But according to the author's thesis, her particular urge for freedom

had become complicated and diverted by twentieth-century misconceptions of what women really want.

Interestingly enough, the author herself is a career woman. According to the jacket of the book she has been a painter, book illustrator, caricaturist, dramatic critic, editor of the London *Vogue*, traveler, and wife of a French diplomat. She speaks, therefore, with considerable authority in her evaluation of women's changing goals.

Collapse of the Grand Coalition

AMERICA, BRITAIN, AND RUSSIA. THEIR CO-OPERATION AND CONFLICT, 1941-1946. By William Hardy McNeill. Oxford University Press. \$15.

By William A. Williams

PROFESSOR McNEILL'S account of the rise, crumbling, and collapse of the Grand Coalition against the Axis powers and Japan is a thoughtful narrative of the war years which concludes with a statement of five generalized and long-run consequences of the conflict. The "supra-national administration" that developed included all the Allied powers. The "changed relation between Britain and America" reflected the predominant economic power of the United States in the Western world. As this displacement occurred, Washington came slowly to share the geopolitical and colonial attitudes of its former equals, particularly Britain, and thus thought more and more of combining the non-Soviet world in a political and economic unit.

Having acquired this preponderant influence, America, McNeill suggests, used it in an effort to give substance to what he calls the "great myth" promulgated by President Roosevelt. This vision of peace and plenty as the product of the labors of men of good-will originated in Wilson's earlier crusade, of course, but Roosevelt certainly inflated it—both with rhetoric and with something more tangible. Idealistic as myths

are in conception, however, they are a vapor which can be used to drive the high-compression engines of power politics down the road of atom warfare. And while Professor McNeill suggests that Roosevelt's ideal of peace and prosperity became "transformed and hardened," he is at his weakest in discussing this central event of the years 1945-46.

For this reason his handling of the Onset of the Cold War and his discussion of the "promotion of the social revolution" inherent in war-time planning are not as satisfying as the other sections of the book. Elsewhere Professor McNeill has been slapped on the wrist for giving the Russians too much the benefit of the doubt in his discussion of these two related developments. Since he tries to understand Soviet policy instead of condemning it *ipso facto*, this criticism is perhaps explicable. It is not justified. McNeill sees clearly enough the grave dangers to individuality that are inherent in the conscious allocation of resources for social ends, and he spares no relevant observations on this phase of life in the Soviet Union.

The weakness of his work lies along another line. After exploring many different alternatives McNeill comes back again and again to the hypothesis that Stalin wanted three things—security against Germany, restoration of Russia's old position in the Far East, and aid for the economic reconstruction of the U. S. S. R. (In discussing the last concern, McNeill slights important Soviet and American sources which would strengthen his argument.) Of these three objectives security against Ger-

WILLIAM APPLEMAN WILLIAMS, professor of history at the University of Oregon, is the author of "American Russian Relations, 1781-1947."

many, McNeill concludes, was most important. But in the absence of outside economic aid the problem of Germany became interwoven with Russian reconstruction.

This would seem to be of key importance, for Moscow has persisted in these minimum objectives from the December, 1941, talks with Eden through the October, 1944, deal with Churchill to the present. McNeill neglects to note, however, that this Soviet line ties in with his own concept of Roosevelt's myth and the promotion of the social revolution. This reviewer agrees with McNeill's insistence that the Roosevelt-sponsored myth is of paramount importance, and likewise shares his concern over the dangers of a "managed" economy. But is it not just possible that the myth can be realized by grappling with the dangers?

Of-course, we are today in the midst of a revival of the old American theory that all problems are political rather than economic, but this should not blind us to the fact that "it just ain't so"—as an Iowa farmer remarked at a mortgage auction in 1931. More important, it was not so for the Russians. Their concern with security and reconstruction was a thoroughly homogenized mixture of economics and politics. Thus the Americans, in their combined indifference to economic problems, their separation of economics and politics, and their overweening fear of planning, could not effectively shape Roosevelt's myth into reality. And while McNeill tends to discount the fact in his discussion of the years after Roosevelt's death, it seems obvious that many who then assumed control of policy either did not take seriously or did not understand the myth itself. The promotion of the social revolution tended, therefore, to become the promotion of the status quo ante bellum.

Professor McNeill has not written the definitive story of these years. That was not his aim. Nor was it possible at the time he did his work. But this reviewer wishes McNeill would take the time to write an interpretative summary of his book so that those who can spend \$3 but not \$15 could benefit from his insights and research. Such a book would not save the world, but it would make it more comprehensible.

Books in Brief

Our Washington

GEORGE WASHINGTON: A BIOGRAPHY. Volume VI: Patriot and President. By Douglas Southall Freeman. Scribner's. \$7.50.

Volume VI resumes the vast narrative of Washington's life with the Revolutionary War at an end and Washington himself home at last at Mount Vernon in time for Christmas of 1783. His exploration of a water route between the Ohio and the Potomac, the Constitutional Convention, the struggle to ratify the Constitution in Virginia, and Washington's first term in the Presidency are

the great themes of this volume, which closes with his sixty-first birthday on February 22, 1793, and his second inauguration ten days later. Dr. Freeman revised the last pages only an hour or so before his sudden death. One reads those pages with poignant regret that their author was not permitted to complete his ambitious enterprise. Incomplete, and with whatever errors and faults time may discover in it, it is without rival on every count among Washington biographies. Nevertheless, Dr. Freeman had still to confront the crucial test of a Washington biographer—those embittered, even tragic, later years,

(ADVERTISEMENT)

TERM "GOD" UNDERVALUED IN CURRENT CHURCH USAGE

If a railroad engine, powerful enough to pull thousands of tons, were used persistently—day after day—to drag a train of toy cars, everybody would say that the engine was being inefficiently employed. And yet, this is precisely the way the term "God" is habitually used by the honest and well meaning people who belong to the churches.

We have learned, in earlier installments, that the term "God" comes to us out of a great struggle, which was led by the Hebrew prophets, against the unjust economic and social practices identified with Baal and "other gods". It was this very struggle that lifted the terms "God" and "Jehovah" (or "Yahweh") upward from the level of heathenism. The prophets, who victoriously fought heathen gods, learned to think of Deity as a Personal Force, above Nature, but identified with Social Justice (not socialism or communism).

The idea of social justice was expelled so thoroughly from the ancient church that it has been treated as an intruder in the sphere of religion for more than fifteen hundred years. The term "God" has been restricted to the idea of individual righteousness and personal redemption—just like the powerful engine pulling only a toy train. In the prophet Isaiah's vision of God's purpose "He will bring forth justice to the nations [not simply to Israel]. He will not fail nor be discouraged until he have set justice in the earth" [not merely in Israel], (Isa. 42). Instead of this imperial world-ideal, most religious people, in all honesty and sincerity, have been satisfied with personal salvation and individual comfort from the Lord. (A little selfish, is it not?) Do you wish to use your influence in promoting knowledge of truth and fact which will help to bring the churches and the general public up to the intellectual level of our progressive theological seminaries and outstanding universities?—A circular will be sent to you upon receipt of a three-cent stamp to cover postage. Requests for the circular must be accompanied by the three-cent stamp to defray cost of mailing.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

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COMING

November 20

An analysis of the election results and what they portend written exclusively for *The Nation* by LOUIS BEAN.

An outstanding authority in the field, Bean is the author of three books—"Ballot Behavior," "How to Predict Elections" and "The Mid-term Battle"—which have become classics of political science. His latest work is a study for the Public Affairs Institute on "Influences in the 1954 Mid-Term Elections."

COMING

November 13

A series of authoritative, post-election round-ups from key areas: Richard Lewis (Chicago *Sun-Times*) writes on the campaign in Illinois; David van Praagh (Trenton *Times*) covers the New Jersey campaign; James Higgins (York *Gazette and Daily*) deals with events in Pennsylvania. Other reports will cover the important races in Massachusetts, California, and Oregon.

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when Washington seemed less the father of the whole country than the head of a mere party.

Dr. Freeman's great purpose was to demonstrate that the Washington of history is identical with the Washington of the American faith, and as far as he had gone he had succeeded brilliantly, beyond even his own anticipation. But what of the unwritten final volume? "He would vindicate Washington's course completely if he could, but indications are scattered through "Patriot and President," especially in Chapter 15, that he had not yet solved the problem to his own satisfaction. What that solution would have been must remain guesswork; but though "there were omens the road would be stony and cloud-covered, and there were voices prophesying strife," Dr. Freeman would have traversed it unflinchingly loyal to his subject and to the truth of history.

Colorful Portrait

MELBOURNE. By David Cecil. Bobbs-Merrill. \$5.

This book fully deserves the critical acclaim it has won on both sides of the Atlantic. Lord David Cecil's portrait of the splendid Georgian relic who was Victoria's first Prime Minister has all the contour and color of a Lawrence canvas. The high lights of the historical background are vividly painted; the subsidiary figures are sharply observed—Melbourne's cool, clever, ambitious mother; Caroline, his wife, whose charms dissolved into hysterical egotism and finally mental unbalance; Caroline Norton, the flamboyant friend of his later years; the young Queen to whom he gave paternal devotion; his political colleagues, Canning, Brougham, Durham, Lord John Russell.

Sympathetic as the portrayal is, it does not gloss over Melbourne's shortcomings. He was a man whose fund of youthful idealism was quickly smothered in cynicism. Conservative to the core, he reluctantly presided over the fortunes of Britain when it was in the throes of rapid political and economic change. He resisted change as long as possible giving way only when popular pressure became overwhelming and the alternative to reform seemed to be revolution.

The private Melbourne—a wit, a charming eccentric, a man of heart—is

far more attractive than the public one whose patrician remoteness kept him from any understanding of the problems of poverty. As Home Secretary he was harsh in his maintenance of law and order and was responsible for the deportation of the Dorchester laborers whose only crime was an attempt to organize a trade union. "One finds oneself," as Lord David well says, "brought up with a jarring shock against the contradictions of the period, the discrepancy between the civilized humanity of upper-class private life and the blood and iron harshness which was accepted as a necessary feature of the criminal law." No one better personified those contradictions than Melbourne.

A Successful Teacher

GEORGE PIERCE BAKER AND THE AMERICAN THEATER. By Wisner Payne Kinne. Harvard. \$6.

George Pierce Baker was a controversial figure. Some accused him of being too much interested in the commercial theater; some doubted that his successful students really learned much from him; and Harvard finally surrendered him to Yale, presumably because it did not regard his activities as academically respectable. The fact remains that no other course in the "creative arts" seems to have sent so many successful practitioners out into the world. Remove Eugene O'Neill, Philip Barry, Edward Sheldon, Sidney Howard, Winthrop Ames, Lee Simonson, Theresa Helburn, Elia Kazan, and all the rest from Broadway, and its last two decades would no longer be recognizable. This is the first full study of Baker's entire career, which began conventionally enough under the tutelage of Barrett Wendell and included multifarious theatrical activities besides those most known. In fact, he was into everything, and the whole story is here told with full documentation. It is a little too detailed and complete for the average reader perhaps but a real contribution to theatrical history.

The Sins of the Father

SON OF OSCAR WILDE. By Vyvyan Holland. Dutton. \$3.75.

The two sons of Oscar Wilde were nine and eleven years old when their father went to prison. Biographers have usually done no more than mention their

existence, and this book by the younger of the two explains why. Because of the almost insanely vindictive attitude of the British public they were sent away to the Continent and not told why they would never see their father again. After their mother died a few years later they were brought back to England, sent to separate schools, and given new names. An attempt was made to destroy "all evidence that might conceivably connect us with the family of Wilde" while at the same time it was "impressed upon us that we must never mention our father's name to anyone, particularly in connection with ourselves," Mr. Holland, as he is now called, tells us. He was eighteen before he learned from a book the nature of his father's offense, but he survived the whole experience rather better than his brother, who entered the army, developed into a lonely fanatic obsessed by a determination to achieve the "manly" virtues, and was killed in World War I. "The story . . . may show the bitter cruelty of those self-righteous human beings who forget that Christ said 'Suffer the little children to come to me,' and base their religion on the Old Testament pronouncement that 'the sins of the fathers shall be visited upon the children.'"

On Both Sides of the Barrier

SOUTH STREET. By William Gardner Smith. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$3.50.

The situation of the American Negro has been described in documentary fiction of enormous power. In recent years, however, the focus has shifted from the "Negro problem" as such to the individual men and women on both sides of the racial barrier—a barrier which does not exist for one group alone.

In "South Street" William Gardner Smith recreates a Negro community by reaching deeply into its human element. He offers an emotional and psychological portrait as well as a protest in a book which may disconcert readers accustomed to novels dealing with the Negro as under-dog. Smith carries his story into the very heart of Negro-white relationships, including those areas which all too often are injected into narratives to produce sensation. He confronts emotional problems with a profound awareness that human alternatives are seldom if ever clearly separated, that

the choice is far more difficult than the social pharmacists imply.

Fashioning his novel with a rich use of dramatic device, Smith demonstrates

that "problems" give added dimension to fiction only when the characters show the courage, weakness, and contradictions of life itself.

Selected New Books

Social Sciences

CHRISTIAN VALUES AND ECONOMIC LIFE. By John C. Bennett, Howard R. Bowen, William Adams Brown, Jr., and G. Bromley Oxnam. Harper. \$3.50. A lay-clerical team is responsible for this new volume in the excellent series on Ethics and Economic Life produced by a study committee of the Federal Council of Churches. Despite differences of emphasis, there appears to be a wide area of agreement between the theologians, Messrs. Bennett and Oxnam, and the economists, Messrs. Bowen and Brown.

FAIR COMPETITION: THE LAW AND ECONOMICS OF ANTITRUST POLICY. By Joel B. Dirlam and Alfred E. Kahn. Cornell. \$4.50. When David Lilienthal two years ago wrote an article for *Collier's* entitled *Our Anti-Trust Laws Are Crippling America*, he echoed the opening of a number of economists, as well as many business men, who claim that recent decisions of the courts and actions of the Department of Justice have perverted the Sherman and Clayton acts. Messrs. Dirlam and Kahn challenge this view very effectively by means of a careful analysis of anti-trust policies and decisions during the past fifteen years.

ECONOMIC DOCTRINE AND METHOD: AN HISTORICAL SKETCH. By Joseph Schumpeter. Translated by R. Aris. Oxford. \$3.50. The scope of this little book, published in 1912 and not previously available in English, is indicated by its chapter headings: The Development of Economics as a Science; The Discovery of the Circular Flow of Economic Life; The Physiocrats (Adam Smith); The Classical System and Its Offshoots; The Historical School and the Theory of Marginal Utility. An important work for professionals but heavy sledding for laymen.

PEOPLE OF PLENTY: ECONOMIC ABUNDANCE AND THE AMERICAN CHARACTER. By David M. Potter. Chicago. \$3.50. In this study Professor Potter seeks to combine the disciplines of the historian and the "behavioral scientist"—horrid phrase! His most original contribution is his final chapter, *Abundance and the Formation of Character*, in which he discusses the revolutionary impact of plenty on the upbringing of children, beginning with such fundamental matters as eating habits and toilet training.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE opening concert of the Concert Society of New York gave me my first opportunity to hear the Quartetto Italiano in Town Hall—which is to say my first opportunity to hear the full beauty of its playing. In the Y. M. H. A. auditorium three years ago the sound—marvelously pure and transparent, and marvelously blended—had been dry; in Town Hall this time it had warmth and luster. The tone, and the refinement of style and phrasing, produced a performance of Haydn's superb Op. 77 No. 1 that was a delight to the ear and mind, and—except for some excessive nuances of tempo in the slow movement—as convincing in its own way as the robust

performance by the Schneider Quartet.

At this concert the duo-pianists Dougherty and Ruzicka played Schubert's Sonata Op. 30 and "Lebensstürme" Op. 144; and I am not sure that even stronger-profiled playing would have made these pieces much more interesting.

The extraordinary qualities of the Quartetto Italiano appear to be those of a new generation of Italian string players of virtuoso caliber who have chosen to present themselves to the public in ensemble groups. In addition to the Quartetto Italiano we have had the Virtuosi di Roma, on Decca records and in a concert of the Concert Society last year;

BEGINNING NOVEMBER 13

Movie Criticism in The Nation

by
ROBERT HATCH

* In the issue of November 13, and every other week thereafter, Robert Hatch will review the latest films.

* Formerly a senior editor of the *New Republic* and its movie critic for three years, Hatch is now editor of *Center: a Magazine of the Performing Arts*, the new journal of the theater published by the New York City Center.

* You will enjoy Hatch's incisive knowledgeable reviews. *The Nation* is proud to add him to its staff of regular critics.

LECTURES

SCOTT NEARING courses: Tuesday, November 9, 6:30-8:00 P.M. "FIRE OUT OF HEAVEN": 8:30-10:00 P.M. "HISTORICAL TRENDS IN THE SOVIET UNION." Cornish Arms Hotel, 23rd Street & 8th Avenue, N. Y. C. \$1.10 at door; course ticket \$3.50. Auspices: Monthly Review Associates, 218 West 10th Street, N. Y. C. OR 5-6939.

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then the Società Corelli, on Victor records and in a concert of the Concert Society later this year; and now I Musici, on Angel records and in another later concert of the Concert Society—all playing with a refinement of execution, tone, and phrasing, a warmth, grace, and style that rise to exciting incandescence. Their speciality is old Italian music; and on Angel 35087 I Musici play four engaging works of Vivaldi: the *Concertos in A major and D minor* ("Madrigalesco") for strings, D minor for viola d'amore and strings, and D major for violin and strings. I haven't been able to check on whether the first and third works are the ones previously recorded by the Virtuosi di Roma; but as against the coarseness I reported in the recorded sound of the Virtuosi performances, I can report that the I Musici performances are beautifully reproduced.

Playing of remarkable beauty and refinement by the Orchestre National de la radiodiffusion française under Inghelbrecht is also to be heard in Debussy's *Nocturnes* and *Prelude to "L'Après-midi d'un faune"* on Angel 35103; and if such playing were all that was necessary, these would be the performances we have been waiting for. But "Nuages" is too fast, and at times too impassioned, for an evocation of "the immutable aspect of the sky and the slow solemn motion of the clouds"; the opening section of "Fêtes," on the other hand, is too slow for gaiety and excitement, and the even slower middle section is much too slow for the procession; and I think the first part of the "Faun" piece should be less impassioned than this performance makes it.

A second song recital by Elisabeth Schwarzkopf is on Angel 35023—this

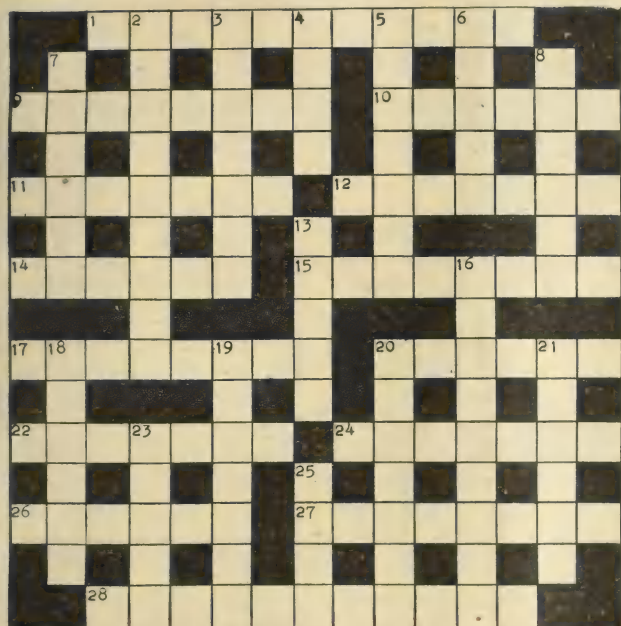
one of lovely and charming songs by Bach, Gluck, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Brahms, Wolf, and Strauss, including a few—Schubert's "Litanei," Schumann's "Aufträge" and "Der Nussbaum"—that are outstanding. The performances range from the exquisite sustained singing in "Litanei," in "Der Nussbaum," in Wolf's "Wiegenlied," to the excessively arch and staccato delivery of "Aufträge," the excessively dramatized delivery of Brahms's "Vergebliches Ständchen," the excessively fine-spun delivery of Schubert's "Unge-duld." Fine piano accompaniments by Gerald Moore; and German texts as well as English summaries.

London LLA-22 offers a Vienna State Opera performance of Strauss's "Der Rosenkavalier" with an almost perfect cast directed by Kleiber. The major imperfection is the sensuously unalluring and quavering soprano voice of Maria Reining, which makes her Matschallin unbelievable; a minor one is the quavering bass-baritone of Alfred Poell, which can be considered suitable to the part of von Faninal, but is saddening nevertheless to anyone who recalls Poell's magnificent voice of a few years back. Otherwise the singing, not only of major but of minor roles—not only by Sena Jurinac (Octavian), Hilde Gueden (Sophie), and Ludwig Weber (Ochs), but by Anton Dermota (A Singer), and Hilde Ross-Majdan (Annina)—is superb, as is the work of the chorus, the orchestra, and the conductor. The recorded sound is excellent; but there is a drop in volume on sides 1 and 5. And with a recording of the work without the customary cuts London provides a libretto with those cuts—the result being annoying confusion for the listener.

The pre-1914 Chaliapin recordings dubbed onto Scala 801 surprise me with a voice that hasn't the dark beauty and subtleties of coloring that were so affecting in the voice I heard in the twenties. And this provides an occasion to mention something pointed out to me by Mr. William H. Saltsam: that the Ponselle performances on Scala 803 were recorded originally by Columbia at speeds higher than 78 rpm; and that as recorded by Scala at 78 rpm they are as much as a full tone too low. This should alter the timbre of the voice; but it comes off the record the Ponselle voice that I remember.

Crossword Puzzle No. 592

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 No! No! It goes twice as loud here for Pierre and little Albert! (11)
- 9 This is left up to the malicious. (8)
- 10 Spread throughout the army for its own good. (6)
- 11 See 23 down.
- 12 Leave one degree, and not off the end. (7)
- 14 See 23 down.
- 15 Never owe this—you might get to be conceited. (8)
- 17 Deer more than half get last. (8)
- 20 Took a seat in front of the vessel, with rings around it. (6)
- 22 And make the vessel come around with fruit on board. (7)
- 24 See 23 down.
- 26 Fish—you might find it in a sort of favor. (6)
- 27 Incidentally, you might mention this. (8)
- 28 See 23 down.

DOWN

- 2 Sort of uprooted about you, in an effused way. (9)
- 3 Like an errant cop without much of an accent? (7)
- 4 See 23 down.
- 5 Associated Press overseas dispatch about ready? (7)
- 6 See 23 down.

- 7 Peek? (6)
- 8 See 23 down.
- 13 See 23 down.
- 16 Tough wits, and how they act when keen. (4, 5)
- 18 I don't stay and turn bad like a native. (6)
- 19 Not found in the incoming mail tray. (7)
- 20 Commonly exhausted, and all in, like a bulb. (7)
- 21 This might turn to rain, but conceivably could be welcome. (6)
- 23, 13, 8, 28, 6, 24, 14, 11 and 4. Evidently some lions are in front of the killing, and a stiff drink is due before next autumn. (5, 5, 6, 11, 3, 2, 7, 6, 6, 1, 4)
- 25 This involved π one-sided cross! (4)



SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 591

ACROSS:—1 and 22 ON SECOND THOUGHT; 9 TEST TUBE; 10 RAVINES; 12 YIELD; 13 ICEMAN; 14 CETA; 15, 8 and 11 NATURE ABHORRS A VACUUM; 17 HUMICS; 22 TUNED; 23 AMPERE; 24 HIGHT; 26 OENOM; 28 USERS; 29 CLOUDED; 30 EXECUTOR; 31 EGG-HEAD; 32 ASCENDED.
DOWN:—1 OUTLYING; 2 SUSPECTS; 3 CITED; 4 NUBBIN; 5 ABREAM; 6 COSINES; 7 ASPECTS; 16 ROUTED; 18 HEROD; 19 and 21 DESERTED VILLAGE; 20 CENSORED; 25 SEINAX; 27 SEPAL; 28 and 10 UNCLE REMUS.

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Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

WHERE TO RETIRE TODAY AND AFFORD IT

by Norman D. Ford

If there is anything I have found out in traveling up and down this country and throughout the rest of the world, it is this: It costs less to retire than you may think it does—provided you know how to discover those places where it costs less to live the kind of life you like.

As founder of the Globetrotters Club I made it my business to find low-cost beauty spots all over the world. Right here in the U. S., I found places where the cost of living is surprisingly low—and you can get a part-time or seasonal job if you must pad out your income. Here are just a few of them.

Do you know where to find

- the greatest retirement bargain in Florida?
- the most beautiful town in all California?
- the three top-notch retirement towns in the Southwest?
- the one place in America where university experts have found the most healthful climate in the world?
- that marvelous Maine island where it's 10-15 degrees warmer in winter than on the mainland, and living costs are so low they attract many who otherwise could not afford to retire?
- a health spa, with wonderful facilities for recreation surrounded by a national park?
- the ideal island for retirement in the South, with cool summers and warm winters?
- the most "cultural" small town in America, with a Little Theatre, art and music clubs, a cosmopolitan atmosphere?

These are only a handful of the hundreds of beauty spots, hideaways, and larger communities in the U. S., where you can retire now on little money and enjoy yourself completely.

And in the rest of the world, there are hundreds more besides. Just a few of them:

- *The Azores or the Canaries*—tropical flowers, sandy beaches, and the charm of Old Spain are combined here—with rents of about \$20 a month, groceries for a couple at \$10 a week and servants \$5 a month each.
- *The lotus-covered mountain lakes of Kashmir*, where a furnished houseboat with four turbaned servants rents for \$70 a month. Total costs for a couple run about



NORMAN D. FORD

Could you suggest a quiet, modest and inexpensive seacoast with a good beach and fishing where I could retire within 100 miles of New York City?

It is possible to buy a rural 5-room cottage on an acre of ground near the southern Gulf Coast of Florida for \$3000.

Where can I find a clean, friendly city with a climate that's mild and it's sunny the year around?

I have a highly strung, nervous type of constitution; I also suffer from pleurisy. I would like to retire in a medium-sized city with plenty of cultural opportunity. What can you suggest?

Is it true that you can live like a king in Majorca for less than \$35 a week for two? How do you reach Majorca?

Do you know of any city in Mexico where prices have not risen, and I can find other retired Americans?

The facts to answer these typical questions and hundreds more are given in Norman D. Ford's wonderful books, *Norman Ford's Florida, Where to Retire on a Small Income* and *Bargain Paradieses of the World*.

\$175 a month—in the most beautiful spot on earth.

- *The South Seas?* Tahiti has found out about the Yankee dollar. But there's brilliant Sigatoka Beach at Suva or reef-girt Norfolk or Lord Howe Island, the Bargain Paradieses of the South Seas today.

So I say again—you can retire now while still young enough to enjoy it—if you know where it costs less to live the kind of life you like.

3 BOOKS

that give the facts on where you can retire today on the money you've got.

Where Will You Go in Florida?

FLORIDA needn't be expensive—not if you know just where to go for whatever you seek in Florida. And if there's any man who can give you the facts you want, it's Norman Ford, founder of the world-famous Globetrotters Club. (Yes, Florida is his home whenever he isn't traveling.)

His big book *Norman Ford's Florida*, tells you first of all, read by road, mile by mile, everything you'd find in Florida, whether you're on vacation, or looking over job, business, real estate, or retirement prospects.

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If you're going to Florida for a job with a future or a business of your own, he tells with hundreds of business men and state officials, etc., let him pinpoint the towns you want to know about. If you've ever wanted to run a tourist court or own an orange grove, he tells you today's inside story of these popular investments.

Yes, no matter what you seek in Florida, this big book (with well over 100,000 words and plenty of maps) gives you the facts you want. Price—only \$2, only a fraction of the money you'd spend needlessly if you went to Florida blind. Use coupon to order.

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THIS is a book on how to double what your money can buy. For that is what, spending a few weeks or months, or even retiring, in the world's Bargain Paradieses amounts to.

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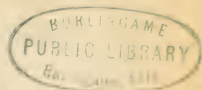
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THE *Nation*

November 13, 1954

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The Elections

Foothold For '56?

Pattern For Victory

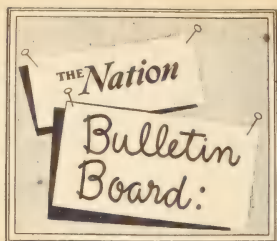
by Carey McWilliams

Issues That Counted

On-the-Spot Election Reports

From Eight Key States

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865



EARLIER this year one of our subscribers, Larry Alexander, wrote a letter to friends urging them to subscribe to *The Nation*. In it he talked about the dangers of war and said: "Since survival itself might depend upon the volume of the voices of protest raised against dangerous policies—and since *The Nation* is the liberal magazine which brings these issues clearly to large groups of influential Americans—it is vital that the magazine receive your support."

Survival, that's the key word in Larry's statement, the key word in his life. Back in 1949 Larry was happily married, had a four-months-old daughter, and was a hardware salesman living in Levittown, New York. Then one day he contracted polio, and since then he has been immobilized from the neck down. He lives in a special rocking bed and requires a chest respirator at regular intervals.

Reading, naturally, is a problem. But he has a special shelf rigged up to hold books and magazines, and manages to turn pages himself by means of a rubber-tipped rod which he holds in his mouth. That is how he reads *The Nation* each week, as well as other publications.

Last month Larry's book, "The Iron Cradle" (Crowell), was published. It tells the story of how he "adjusted"—that's an inadequate word—to his life. He still lives in Levittown with his wife and daughter and takes an active interest in community affairs. When the Levittown management refused to rent homes to Negro families, Larry joined with a group of residents who believed Levittown might well practice a bit of democracy. One of the Negro families involved lives in Levittown now and they and the Alexanders are close friends.

Larry is also interested in the work of the American Veterans Committee. I went out there the other week when Iz Weissman and Joe Russo of the Central Nassau Chapter of A. V. C. presented Larry with his 1955 membership. During the evening other friends kept dropping in till there were about eight of us, arguing every issue from Maine to California. Larry, of course, took an active part in the session.

The book, written in collaboration with Adam Barnett, a free-lance writer, touches on Larry's interest in politics. But knowing him as I do, I feel it does not go far enough. He has a tendency to deprecate

what he does; but the fact that after a period of total introspection he was able to develop a lively interest in the outside world is a remarkable achievement. His concern with peace, with McCarthyism, with a better world for all people, is a living concern.

Not long ago Larry and I were talking

about a scurrilous attack on *The Nation* by a little political scandal sheet. "I hope," he said, "you're not going to waste time answering them. You haven't much room and there are so many positive things to say." The editors agreed that he had placed the accent in the right place.

MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

Total Bail: \$95,000

Dear Sirs: On August 1, 1954, five citizens of the Rocky Mountain area were arrested and imprisoned on the charge of "conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence." The next day we, the undersigned, were arrested on the same charge.

Bail for each of us was originally set at \$100,000. The two of us are now out on \$50,000 bail each, pending our trial. But our codefendants—Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Bary, Mrs. Patricia Blau, Mr. Lewis Johnson, and Mr. Harold Zepelin—remain in jail because of the excessively high bail, ranging from \$10,000 to \$30,000. Total bail for these five defendants is \$95,000.

The Department of Justice has apparently chosen this case as a major vehicle for a new policy—to punish Smith Act victims prior to trial and to make it impossible for them to prepare a defense.

It is impossible, in today's McCarthyite climate of fear, to raise \$95,000 for bail for these five defendants. As a result they have already been over three months in jail before trial. We urge your readers to help by writing United States Attorney Donald E. Kelley, Post Office Building, Denver, Colorado, requesting a reduction of bail to a reasonable amount.

MR. AND MRS. JOSEPH W. SCHERRER
Denver, Colo.

Against Thoreau—and Leary

Dear Sirs: Mr. Leary's recent essay on "Walden" was an interesting dossier on the travels of that book, but that is all. I hope he will let us know when it reaches the Eskimos.

Perhaps Mr. Leary's paragraphs were so rapid because Thoreau was an apostle of natural nonsense. Indeed, at times the recluse of Walden appears to be satirical in his hymn to trees, birds, and bugs. Whether he is satirical or not, however, it is time that the trite adulation of his misleading ideas be ended.

The central problem of Thoreau's time, as it is today, was how the individual could be best adjusted to society. In a sense this question was concerned with an artificial situation with regard to nature. Nature abhors any organization that is not a part of it, that is not dominated by it, and human society is such an organi-

zation. Social organization is apart from nature and opposed to nature. In attempting to solve the riddle of the individual in society, Thoreau missed the point altogether in plopping himself down on the shores of a pond and recommending that we all do the same. He would have been at least on the right track if he had set himself down in the middle of Boston.

People keep insisting that Thoreau's individual in nature should be our goal. Well, if suicide is our aim, let's go. If not, we must give up "Walden," except as a piece of pleasant reading and concentrate on thinking how to protect the individual when society is becoming ever more organized, or unnatural. SAMUEL ORD
Blue Ridge Summit, Pa.

Mr. Leary Replies

Dear Sirs: I am happy that Mr. Ord found my dossier interesting. He, in turn, will be happy to know that "Walden" is available to Eskimos in the Armed Services edition distributed among our soldiers based in Alaska.

Thoreau himself, I think, would agree with much of Mr. Ord's comment, on his satire, on the relation of nature to man-made organization. But Thoreau also would be disappointed that Mr. Ord had not read his books more carefully. He did not consider his two-year experiment in living cheaply on the shore of Emerson's pond as a permanent way of life for himself, nor did he recommend it to other men. He was a writer and he went there to write a book, which he did, and to gather materials for another book. For his time and circumstances he handled his problem pretty well. What in the world would a man like Thoreau have done in Boston? What writer ever came out of Boston? Even commuting from Staten Island, Thoreau couldn't stand New York.

Finally, I think Thoreau would greet Mr. Ord as a companion spirit, a fellow-dissident who recognized his time was out of joint, and would suggest that Mr. Ord discover as good a solution for the twentieth century as he did for the nineteenth. My own suggestion to Mr. Ord is that he will find in reading Thoreau not a blueprint but some tolerably practical good counsel.

LEWIS LEARY
New York

Pattern for Victory . . . *by Carey McWilliams*

THE results of the November 2 election are now in, and contrary to the dolorous interpretation of right-wing commentators and columnists who see in them only evidence of confusion, a definite pattern emerges. It is neither as clear nor as bright as we would wish, but the design is unmistakable. A spirited Republican finale, sparked by well-paid hucksters, coupled with a faulty analysis of issues and bad timing on the part of the Democrats, aborted what would otherwise have been a decisive Democratic victory. The first calculations of Univac—the giant think-machine—were reasonable; this should have been a Democratic landslide. That it was not is largely due to Democratic timidity and mismanagement of a campaign that, in last week's issue, we characterized as a failure. Even so, the news is good, for what the voters did in this election is what American voters so often do: confound their critics by exhibiting good judgment and nice discrimination despite the ineptness and backwardness of their political leaders.

To see the pattern, however, the partisan objectives of the campaign, fixed more than a year ago, must be kept in mind. The Democratic leadership was not at all sure then that it would be to the party's advantage to capture control of both houses in an off-year election and be forced thereby to share responsibility with the President for the legislative record of the next two years. Actually the Democratic leadership was more concerned with the 1956 election than with capturing Congress this year, as many off-the-record statements by party leaders in the early months of 1954 made clear. Once the returns came in from Maine and Alaska, the focus of the campaign shifted from 1956 to 1954, but the readjustment of sights was too late to be wholly effective. In another sense, too, the Democrats were guilty of bad timing. Once again, as in 1952, they failed to mount a strong counter-offensive in the last weeks of the campaign to offset the last-minute smears of Messrs. Nixon and Dewey and the whirlwind tour of President Eisenhower.

But in terms of their initial objectives, there can be little doubt that the Democrats have scored heavily. They now control the state machines in every major center of population with the exception of California, Texas, and Massachusetts. With Williams in Michigan, Meyner in New Jersey, Lausche in Ohio, Harriman in New York, Leader in Pennsylvania, Freeman in Minnesota, and

Ribicoff in Connecticut, the Democrats hold most of the key positions at the state level. The huge vote for Senator Paul Douglas, as well as the Democratic sweep of local offices in Cook County, would seem to place Illinois in the same category. In terms of electoral votes the stage has been set for a Democratic victory in 1956.

Whether the Democrats capitalize on the positions they have won hinges, however, on their ability to profit by some of the mistakes made in this year's campaign. As we pointed out last week, voter apathy was characteristic of the campaign in its early phases, as shown by the remarkably low registration in many key states. As the campaign drew to a close, the apathy tended to dissipate—thanks largely to the last-minute Republican smears—but by then the registration deadline had come and gone. A heavier registration would have meant a larger Democratic vote. Voter apathy was in turn due to faulty analysis of the major issues on the part of the Democrats. From a partisan point of view, the three major issues for the Democrats were McCarthyism (civil liberties), foreign policy, and "pocket-book" questions related to the state of the economy. The Democrats ducked the first two and fumbled the third.

AN outstanding feature of the results is the fact that the candidates, Democratic and Republican, who opposed McCarthyism fared better than those identified with it. The defeat of Representatives Clardy and Kersten, the one in Michigan, the other in Wisconsin, and of Joe Meek in Illinois, as well as the remarkable strength shown by Clifford Case in New Jersey—the one Republican candidate McCarthy specifically disavowed—can only be interpreted as a major setback for the witch-hunters. Had the Democrats made McCarthyism an issue at the outset, popular interest in the election would have been livelier and, presumably, the registration would have been heavier. While timidity minimized the defeat for McCarthy, there can be no mistaking the significance of the returns on this score. Taftites and McCarthyites, with a few exceptions, did not fare well.

On foreign policy the Democrats made the mistake of underestimating the public's interest and of restricting their criticism of the Dulles-Eisenhower policy to peripheral issues and procedure matters. Fortunately the Republicans were not in a position to exploit fully this

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weakness, but the response to the last-minute TV broadcast of Mr. Dulles reporting to the Cabinet was an indication that even oblique support for peace and co-existence is today better politics than threats of nuclear "massive retaliation" and advocacy of a holy war against communism. A vital debate on foreign policy initiated in the Congress well in advance of the election would have overcome voter apathy. Moreover, the Democrats failure to debate the basic foreign-policy issues minimized popular interest in the domestic. It must also have offended the intelligence of many voters, for as Representative Thomas E. Martin successfully demonstrated in Iowa, it is a little silly to pretend that there is no connection between high prices for hogs and war in Korea.

In their handling of domestic economic issues the Democrats made a number of miscalculations. For one thing, their projections of unemployment and underemployment in the last phase of the campaign were extravagant; distress was spottier than anticipated. Then, too, the Democrats insisted on discussing domestic economic issues in 1930 political terms; in effect they were still fighting the Hoover depression. To the extent that their analysis was not faulty it was boring. Of much more moment is the fact that the Democrats' attack on domestic issues did not square with their stand on major foreign-policy issues. The logic of an expanding domestic economy demands a policy of peaceful coexistence, a policy favoring foreign trade and investment, particularly of East-West trade. In the field of foreign policy the Democrats tend to be as timid and officially "correct" as British labor was in the post-1945 period.

Where major issues are not dramatized by conflicting partisan positions, the minor or secondary issues naturally assume an importance they would not otherwise possess. For example, personalities count more heavily, as do religious and ethnic variables. On this score the Democrats picked some strange candidates. They might have won a Senate seat in California with a first-rate nominee. The remarkable showing of George Leader, Clifford Case, and Richard Neuberger, and of Representative Harrison Williams, Jr., who rolled up a 21,581-vote plurality over his Republican opponent in the Sixth New Jersey Congressional District, are vivid proofs of the importance of personable, intelligent candidates in this era of TV campaigning. Although the octogenarians among the Democrats did very well—they are more youthful politically than many younger Democrats, making one look forward with eager anticipation to Mr. Stevenson in old age—their number indicates that the Democrats need to start looking around for new, relevant talent of the Leader-Williams variety. Too many Democratic candidates are still running as ex-New Dealers with an eye on Roosevelt's tactics in the 1936 campaign.

As much as any other factor, what seems to have overcome apathy in the last days of the campaign was simply

the voters' growing disgust—disgust with phony candidates, phony issues, phony tactics. The smear attacks on Harriman in New York and Case in New Jersey clearly redounded to their advantage, while Mr. Ribicoff probably benefited from the undercurrent of anti-Semitism in the Connecticut campaign. In their reaction against McCarthyism and cheap political methods voters from Oregon to New York eloquently demonstrated that the politicians, as usual, underestimated their intelligence. What is remarkable about the results of the November 2 election is not that the Republicans, by the use of "clever," expensive huckster tactics, were able to minimize the Democratic victory; the real significance lies rather in the peoples' remarkable resistance to these tactics despite clumsy, timid leadership from the Democrats. It might be well for some of our eggheads who have been writing books about the "treason of the people" to study the results of this year's campaign, keeping in mind the role of the one-party press, the amounts spent by rival candidates and parties, and the mediocre leadership exhibited by both parties. As a project in democratic education the 1954 Congressional campaign was a failure but the results were not disappointing; the voters were simply several steps ahead of the politicians.

The Shape of Things

Mr. Davies's Realism

It sounded noble and magnanimous as you read it, but the statement by John Paton Davies, Jr., ousted last week from the State Department by Secretary Dulles, had overtones that lingered and left a different impression. You could understand his desire to end the long agony. His case had been reviewed nine times since the day he was first attacked by Congressional witch-hunters for his share in the State Department's China policy ten years back. Eventually it came before a special loyalty-security board appointed by Mr. Dulles last May. This board reversed the opinion of its predecessors and advised Mr. Davies's dismissal, not because it doubted his loyalty but because it found deficiencies in "judgment, discretion, and reliability." Mr. Dulles reviewed the findings, agreed, and fired his subordinate. So today Mr. Davies, after twenty-three years of earnest, devoted service is out of a job and deprived of a pension. When he decided to leave his vindication to history, one could sympathize. One could also believe he meant it when he said he hoped his departure would "add to the American people's confidence in their Foreign Service, which has been so unjustly undermined."

But one can disagree with Mr. Davies's judgment and, disagreeing, wonder whether the realism which had led him to support policies in the Far East which in turn led Mr. McCarthy and others to attack him and start the

train of events that ended his career, has not deserted him now when he needs it most. Mr. Davies has been abused and most unjustly penalized by his government, and through him the Foreign Service itself has been abused and unjustly penalized. To the Foreign Service and all its members his dismissal was a humiliation—and a threat. It announced to the world that a loyal, efficient diplomat could not afford to differ—or to have differed ten years ago—with the views held by the ragtag reactionaries who still dominate State Department personnel policy. Instead of bowing to the decision of Secretary Dulles, Mr. Davies should have spoken out in his own behalf and that of an unintimidated Foreign Service. His refusal to do so will not add to the American people's "confidence" but will badly damage it.

The Falsetto Voice

Normally the winning by an American of a Nobel prize would be considered a juicy item by the United States Information Agency, whose function it is to help build American prestige abroad. But when Dr. Linus Pauling, distinguished biochemist, won the award a few days ago, the U. S. I. A.'s Voice of America was forbidden to mention the fact. The scientist, whose name has cropped up in Congressional inquiries, is the latest victim of the U. S. I. A.'s secret blacklist, described in *The Nation* of October 30.

But chronic creeping McCarthyism is apparently not U. S. I. A.'s only ailment. It also would appear to be the victim of an acute attack of blabbermouth. In the summer of 1953, the U. S. I. A. acquired the Voice of America from the State Department and has been operating it ever since. Last August J. J. Poppele, the Voice's director, declared that during the first year of the new regime his organization was "doing more with fewer people for less money." As confirmation, he noted that the Voice recently brought into operation three new powerful transmitters in Munich, the Philippines, and Okinawa; but he failed to mention that all three had been planned, blue-printed, and financed under the Truman Administration. He boasted that the Voice had increased the number of its language programs from thirty-four to thirty-eight, but neglected to point out that on January 1, 1953, when President Eisenhower took office, the Voice was broadcasting in forty-six languages and was using at least one-third more broadcasting time. He announced the opening of a Paris Service Center for feeding recorded broadcasts to West European radio networks, but failed to add that the center was originally opened by President Truman's Mutual Security Agency in 1952, that it was closed entirely last July for lack of funds, and has only just been reopened—with a three-man staff!

One can only hope that the propaganda the Voice is sending abroad is more trustworthy than the bilge Mr. Poppele hands out to the taxpayers who pay his salary.

An Eight-State Analysis

THE ISSUES THAT COUNTED

[On-the-spot analyses of the election results in eight states are presented on this and the following pages. Each state was the locale of a "key" race or races; together they represent a fair geographic sampling—except for the South, where the results were largely foreordained—of the country as a whole.]

In next week's Nation Louis H. Bean, the political analyst who beat the pollsters by predicting Truman's victory in 1948, will interpret the elections from a national point of view. Mr. Bean is the author of "How to Predict Elections" (1948) and "The Midterm Battle" (1950).]

Pennsylvania

BY JAMES HIGGINS

York, Pennsylvania
IN ELECTING George M. Leader governor—the state's first Democratic governor in twenty years, the third since the Civil War—the voters of Pennsylvania demonstrated that a liberal, principled candidate, waging a campaign on a high level of decency and sense, can find response in the people. Leader's victory by a margin of close to 275,000 votes in a state where the Republicans had the advantage of tradition, wealth, registration, the large newspapers, the apparatus of state government, and the blessing of Eisenhower personally bestowed at his Gettysburg farm, was no ordinary one. There is little doubt that it was rivaled in national significance only by Neuberger's apparent victory in Oregon.

Its chief significance lies in the relationship that was established between the candidate and the majority of the voters. Throughout his campaign, which he began as soon as he was nominated and carried on vigorously right up to the last minute, Leader gave unmistakable evidence of his respect for the intelli-

gence and integrity of the individual American. His major campaign themes were the unemployment in the state, the sales tax, against which he had voted as a state senator from York County when the Republican-controlled General Assembly passed the measure last year, and the economic distress of the small farmer. Unquestionably, however, it was not so much the matter of his campaign as the manner of it which impressed Pennsylvanians.

In discussing unemployment, the sales tax, and reduced farm income he did not stress statistics. Again and again, from a sound truck in the streets of the state's cities, at formal and informal political meetings, on radio and television, he made it plain that his real concern was with the human suffering inflicted by unemployment, farm poverty, and a tax which fell with greatest weight on the average family. At the same time he conveyed his faith that Pennsylvania need not languish in economic doldrums, that something could be done about jobs and the squeeze on farmers. It is not exaggerating to suggest that he struck the Rooseveltian note in his natural ability to release hope, confidence, and courage.

There were, of course, other things that helped. The candidacy of Leader drew together the warring Democratic factions in Philadelphia—the liberals in Mayor Clark's and Richardson Dilworth's camp and the old-line city organization. Likewise in Pittsburgh the Mayor Dave Lawrence Democrats were in Leader's corner from the start, as well as those who in the primaries supported Allegheny County's Coroner McClelland against Leader. The unity Leader made possible is proved by his plurality of more than 110,000 in Philadelphia and his edge of almost 90,000 in Allegheny County.

The C. I. O., A. F. of L., and Mine Workers generally worked hard for the Democratic ticket. Leader's career as a successful poultry and hatchery man, his

intimate knowledge of farm problems, added to his attraction in the rural areas, where the usual Republican vote was substantially reduced and a lead of about 75,000 built up outside of the Democratic strongholds in Philadelphia and Allegheny. His emphasis on the Republican failure to carry out repeated promises for fair-employment-practices legislation, for which Leader introduced a bill in the state Senate in 1951, undoubtedly was a factor with Negro voters. Also helpful were the inept administration of Governor John Fine; the differences in the Republican Party between the Joe Grundy-Mason Owlett-Andrew Sordoni-Fine combine and the Pew (Sun Oil)-Mellon (Gulf Oil)-Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association-Senator Duff group; and the quality of Leader's Republican opponent, Lloyd Wood, a reactionary party hack who is Fine's Lieutenant Governor.

But all these, and other circumstances, were merely contributory. Leader's direct appeal to Pennsylvanians was personal. So strongly did his character come across that Republican efforts to smear him because he had led the opposition to the Pennsylvania "loyalty oath" bill in the state Senate backfired. And so did the Republican attempt to discredit him for his youth—he is thirty-six—and inexperience in government.

His uncompromising opposition to the loyalty-oath law—he called it a "malevolent instrument of discrimination against educational and religious minorities"—apparently stamped him in the minds of voters as a man of principle, which he is. His youth accentuated the impression he made of vigor, sincerity, assurance, and determination. He will need all these qualities, and all of his principle, to deal effectively with the financial mess the Republicans have made of the state government and with the economic, health, and welfare problems of Pennsylvania, which he has pledged himself to tackle.

He will be aided both by the new

JAMES HIGGINS is assistant editor of the York Gazette and Daily.



George M. Leader

Democratic majority in the state House of Representatives and by a state Senate which, while evenly divided, will be Democratically controlled by virtue of the new Democratic Lieutenant Governor, Roy Furman. These results, too, were unprecedented in Pennsylvania.

If one can declare that for the next four years at any rate the grip of a reactionary Republican political machine on state government has been broken, and that the influence of the Pew interests (Sun Oil), Mellon interests (mostly Gulf Oil), big power utilities, the Pennsylvania Railroad, and the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association stands to be replaced by the influence of the people of Pennsylvania, the lesson for liberal Democrats everywhere in the country is plain. Leader did not just survive the smears and the slanders. He beat them by sticking to his guns. He and the voters of Pennsylvania have pointed the national way for 1956.

Iowa

BY SAMSON HALLECK

Des Moines, Iowa
REPUBLICAN Tom Martin traveled farther and made more speeches than any other Senatorial candidate in Iowa's history to achieve his surprising victory over his veteran Democratic opponent, Senator Guy M. Gillette. Since June, 1953, he has made fifty-five round trips by air between Washington and scheduled political meetings in various Iowa communities. In addition he covered more than 50,000 miles by automobile.

SAMSON HALLECK is an Iowa newspaperman.

Everywhere he campaigned hard against war and for the President's flexible-price-support farm program. Emphasizing the undoubted relative prosperity of Iowa's corn and hog farmers, he told his rural audiences: "Every farmer knows how hog prices can be forced abruptly upward. Go out and kill 200,000 boys in a war and you will have \$50 hogs. Hog prices did get higher under the Democrats, but those were war prices. We all know what goes with the price tag that the Democrats are boasting about."

Senator Gillette had no real "pocket-book" issue in this state. Hog prices—around \$18.50—are considered fairly good. Unemployment is a problem in only a few places. The politicians were more excited than the farmers about the present low prices for eggs and dairy products.

Senator Gillette used to be the greatest Democratic vote-getter in the state's history. He magic is gone now. He lost his home county, and his pulling power proved surprisingly weak in several of the larger cities where the labor vote is important.

After the returns were in, Martin said, "The Eisenhower Administration met with even more approval than was expected in Iowa." The people of Iowa want peace, and they believe that President Eisenhower has given it to them. And apparently they are prosperous enough to be satisfied with the G. O. P.'s domestic program, including the flexible farm-price policy.

Oregon

BY RALPH FRIEDMAN

Eugene, Oregon

THE close victory of Richard L. Neuberger, a forty-one-year-old writer well known to readers of *The Nation*, over Guy Cordon, the incumbent, makes him the first Oregon Democrat to go to the United States Senate in forty years. It also appears that for the first time since 1940 Oregon has elected a Democrat to the House. Mrs. Edith Green, a forty-four-year-old ex-schoolteacher from the Third Congressional District, which is Multnomah County (Portland). Mrs. Green spoke out vigorously against the

RALPH FRIEDMAN is a free-lance writer.

Eisenhower foreign policy and McCarthyism to defeat Tom Lawson McKay, Portland broadcaster and protégé of Secretary of the Interior McKay.

The campaign for the Senate seat was the bitterest and dirtiest that Oregon ever witnessed. Vilification, Red-baiting, deceit, and slander were the order of the day with the Republicans. Taking cues from the serpent tongue of Nixon, who made one of his familiar "whirlwind" appearances, whipping up dust in every direction, the Republicans falsely accused Neuberger of cheating in a college examination more than twenty years ago, of being the tool of Eastern left-wingers, and of writing an article for the October 10 issue of the *Daily Worker*.

Attacks on Neuberger were coupled with a defense of Cordon's policy on natural resources. Cordon, who opposes a federal dam at Hell's Canyon and has been instrumental in putting through Eisenhower's giveaway program, was painted as the great defender of public power, forest lands, and grazing lands. Cordon was also supported by a large majority of the state's newspapers, but this was somewhat offset by the round-the-clock aid Neuberger received from Senator Wayne Morse.

Neuberger is well known as a champion of public power and conservation of natural resources and thus won a tier of four counties in northeastern Oregon, in the Hell's Canyon region, where power is a key issue. He also took the counties along the lower Columbia, as well as Multnomah County, and Coos County on the coast. In these areas labor has its greatest strength, and not since the campaigns of Franklin Roosevelt has labor so effectively mobilized its forces. In the rest of the state, particularly the great Willamette Valley farming counties, Cordon led.

Unemployment is a burning issue throughout the state. According to the state C. I. O. secretary, it is "40 per cent above last year, which in turn was 40 per cent above the previous year." Despite this, Neuberger refused to stress unemployment until the closing stages of the campaign. For tens of thousands of Oregonians, however, unemployment and high prices—"the pocket-book question"—were more important than power and conservation. Neuberger was also weak in his approach to the farm question, having relatively kind words



Richard L. Neuberger Berger

for Ezra Benson. And his stand on foreign policy was disquieting to many liberals. He promised to work for a foreign policy "in the mold of Vandenberg, Roosevelt, and Eisenhower"—a curious statement to those who thought they understood history.

The real surprise in this state was the vote received in the Fourth Congressional District by Charles O. Porter, the young Democratic attorney who urged admission of Peking to the U. N. Porter rolled up 40 per cent of the vote, and this in a district which is about as rock-ribbed Republican as New Hampshire.

New Jersey

BY DAVID VAN PRAAGH

Trenton, New Jersey

ALL that was certain on the morning of November 3 was that neither Representative Charles R. Howell, Democrat, nor former Representative Clifford P. Case, Republican, would win by more than a few thousand votes of a total of one and three-quarter million cast. Both parties shouted foul as the votes were tallied in counties that went against them by surprising margins. By the end of the week Case was winning by about three thousand votes, with some absentee ballots still to be counted and the Demo-

crats preparing to demand a recount in several counties. The official result will not be known before November 30.

No matter which man goes to Washington as New Jersey's junior Senator, it is hard to escape the conclusion that something happened among the state's voters in the last days before November 2. A New Jersey poll, for example, which had never before been wrong had Howell ahead by 16 per cent of the vote, as of two days before the election.

* Whatever the cause, the astonishing result was that Case overcame a Democratic lead of almost 100,000 at one point and fought Howell to a standstill. Despite bad weather the vote was larger than expected. There may have been a surge of sympathy for Case as a result of the smear against his sister. It is more likely, however, that many of the independents and Republican right-wingers who had been expected to stay home or vote against Case supported him in the end.

The truth of the matter is that Case was not the liberal in this campaign. His support of President Eisenhower approached hero-worship. He implied that the Democrats were among those behind the "sister story" when that honor belonged exclusively to members of his own party. He tried painfully to disassociate himself from the state Americans for Democratic Action, which had endorsed both candidates. And in the end, when none of these tactics seemed to work, he assured the conservatives in Bergen County and throughout the state that he was a Taft Republican after all. Bergen helped save him with a surprising 47,000 plurality.

If the boy wonder of the Republican Party comes out on the short end of the vote, it will be due, of course, to the more adamant right-wingers. Former Representative Fred A. Hartley, leader of the dissident Republicans, received about 1,500 write-in votes, and Henry Krajewski, former Secaucus pig farmer who ran on a pro-McCarthy ticket, polled about 25,000 votes. But his defeat will be something of a Pyrrhic victory for the reactionaries and will be especially ironic if it results in Democratic control of the Senate. For the badly discredited and scandal-ridden state Republican Party did better at the polls with a member of its so-called progressive wing than almost anyone expected.

Still it must be added that McCarthy sentiment in the state evidently hurt both candidates. Case ran 25,000 votes behind the combined total of Republican Congressional candidates; Howell saw 15,000 votes in heavily Catholic Hudson County go to Krajewski and his own expected plurality in that Democratic stronghold reduced. Both candidates were refreshingly frank in their denunciation of Joe McCarthy and his ways.

President Eisenhower, who bestowed more endorsements on his "1,000 per cent" backer than on any other Republican candidate but who never came into the state—perhaps because the G. O. P. high command had given it up—certainly did not lose any prestige by the Case upsurge; the Republicans also retained their eight-to-six edge in New Jersey House seats. The same cannot be said for New Jersey's young, confident Democratic Governor, Robert B. Meyner, who gained that position last year by 153,000 votes and subsequently broke the Hoffman scandals. Meyner has been discussed as a running-mate in 1956 for Adlai Stevenson, who also campaigned for Howell.

Perhaps the real irony of the New Jersey vote is found in the fate of Charley Howell, a homey, thoroughgoing liberal and New Dealer who campaigned on the theme of unemployment and the Eisenhower Administration's mistakes. It was Howell's lot not only to be the forgotten man of the New Jersey campaign as headline-making developments broke about his opponent, but to lose his moment of sweeping victory in the mounting election returns.

Illinois

BY RICHARD LEWIS

Chicago

THE reelection of Senator Paul H. Douglas in Illinois is in one sense a victory for democratic liberalism over the pro-McCarthy conservatism represented by his Republican opponent, Joseph T. Meek. In another sense it is a personal triumph for Douglas, though not as great a one, majority-wise, as his victory in 1948, a Presidential year.

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In this off-year election, characterized by close Congressional contests except in the South, the decisive Douglas margin commands attention. Twenty-four hours after the polls closed in Illinois, Douglas's majority was about 245,000 votes out of 3,340,000 cast from all but 57 of the state's 9,775 precincts. This was about 60 per cent of the 407,000-vote lead he piled up over Republican C. Wayland Brooks in 1948. But it still was one of the biggest majorities scored by any Democratic candidate in a Northern state.*

Douglas ran on his record—the Democratic organization billed him as "America's Number One Senator"—and on a tenacious effort to arouse indifferent state and federal officials to the challenge of unemployment. Just below the level of vocalization, however, seemed to lurk the real contest—between a renaissance New Dealism and the forces of reaction and isolation. Douglas received a 314,984 majority in Cook County (Chicago), but this was whittled down in predominantly Republican downstate areas. He carried the industrial regions of East St. Louis and Rock Island as well as the southern Illinois coal counties, where unemployment has been severe; he lost the Peoria and Rockford areas, where it is not.

Douglas had been stumping the state for months, preaching "gloom and doom" warnings that spotty unemployment in the farm-equipment, steel-fabricating, electronics, and coal industries was a symptom of recession. His was the lone voice that criticized delays in unemployment-compensation checks last winter, when a rush of claims backed up payments for weeks.

In contrast, Meek's campaign was negative. He was in general against what Douglas was for. As head of the Illinois Federation of Retail Associations, a State House lobby, Meek identified himself with "sound business interests." But they did not seem to identify themselves with him, judging by Douglas's widespread business support.

The choice of Taft Republicans, who dominate the Illinois G. O. P. organization, Meek campaigned in the primary election as a caustic foe of President Eisenhower's foreign policy, but when the general-election campaign gathered speed, he suddenly became a convert to the President's program, both foreign



Senator Douglas

and domestic. In this transformation Meek rid himself of Senator McCarthy, whose support he had sought in the primary campaign. But he could not shed McCarthy tactics, which Meek's organization sought to imitate. Nor did he succeed in selling himself to pro-Eisenhower independents.

McCarthy stooges on the G. O. P. right flank put on a pamphlet campaign designed to smear Douglas as a Socialist and Communist-front joiner, and Meek indorsed it.

The Democrats picked up three Congressional seats, boosting their number from nine to twelve of the state's twenty-five-member delegation. Veteran Republican Representatives F. E. Busbey (Third District) and Edgar A. Jonas (Twelfth) were upset in Chicago, and C. W. Bishop (Twenty-fifth) downstate.

For Governor William G. Stratton the election outcome was a resounding political setback. Stratton had intervened dramatically at the last minute in the Cook County sheriff's race to defeat the Democratic Joseph D. Lohman, head of the state Parole Board under Stevenson. But the Governor was decisively repulsed as Lohman swamped his Republican opponent to be elected the first sheriff in the history of Cook County with the qualification of an expert in criminology.

Adlai Stevenson, who had talked hard for Democratic candidates, viewed the Democratic upswing as a sign of a new time. "It is only the beginning," he said.

Massachusetts

BY GEORGE D. BLACKWOOD

Boston

THAT old cry in politics, "You can't beat a myth," was borne out in Massachusetts. The "myth" was Senator Leverett Saltonstall, and the man who tried to beat him was the Democrat Foster Furcolo. Saltonstall, highly respected the length and breadth of Massachusetts, had the fight of his political career from Furcolo, who became well known in western Massachusetts as a Congressman in 1948-52 but had to build his vote in eastern Massachusetts from the ground up. After winning his first statewide contest in 1952—for the office of state treasurer—the "forty-four-year-old Furcolo, son of an Italian father and Irish mother and the first Italian American leader to emerge in Massachusetts politics, decided to battle Saltonstall.

Saltonstall's 35,000-vote victory was based on three things: the popularity of John F. Kennedy, the coolness of some upper-income Irish toward Furcolo coupled with their high respect for Saltonstall, and the hidden issue of 1954—McCarthyism. Because Furcolo had alienated the Americans for Democratic Action and refused to come out clearly against McCarthy, many liberals followed the lead of Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and voted for neither man. Some voted for Saltonstall. (Rumors that raised doubts about Furcolo's liberalism were false in the light of his record in Congress.) On the other hand, it is said that the *Boston Post* indicated it would support Furcolo if he indorsed McCarthy, and he refused. The strong pro-McCarthy element, therefore, as well as intellectuals and liberals, were suspicious of Furcolo, and Saltonstall, who also kept silent, was the beneficiary.

The great victor of the election on the Democratic side was the junior Senator, John F. Kennedy, who has worked closely with Saltonstall much of the time. Senator Kennedy is now far and away the most prominent possibility in New England for a place on the national ticket in 1956. His decision not to indorse Furcolo caused people to suspect

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that he preferred the Republican as a colleague, and some votes were thus diverted to Saltonstall. The power of the Kennedy name was shown when a complete unknown named John F. Kennedy (no relation) first crushed the choice of the Democratic leaders for state treasurer in the primary and then swept into office by a large margin after hardly lifting a finger to campaign.

On the Republican side, the stature of Saltonstall is unimpaired, and that of his running-mate, Governor Christian A. Herter, is increased. An able administrator, Herter won by 65,000 votes. The Republican Party, unlike the Democratic, is united and is firmly controlled by Herter and a few others. However, it is not the majority party of Massachusetts. The independents hold the balance of power now even more than before, and in a straight party fight an unobjectionable Democrat can more often than not beat an unobjectionable Republican. Thus, while they elected a Senator and Governor, the Republicans lost three of five other state-wide offices and were almost toppled in a fourth. In addition, the Democrats gained one Congressional seat and almost took another. The state delegation is now exactly split—one Senator from each party, and seven Representatives from each.

The new Congressman, Torbert MacDonald, is a leader of the powerful Kennedy faction of the Democrats. Like Kennedy, he is young (thirty-seven) and able. One of the most striking features of the election is the emergence of young men as real leaders in both parties. The best example on the Republican side is the reelected Lieutenant Governor Sumner G. Whittier. The Democrats developed such men as MacDonald, Jackson Holtz, who came within 2,000 votes of upsetting a sitting Congressman, and—especially—Endicott (Chub) Peabody. Peabody, Harvard's last all-American, is a most unusual Democrat for Massachusetts, and he will be heard from in the future. Elected to the Governor's Council in a normally Republican area, Peabody changes, the usual Irish-Italian complexion of the Democratic Party in more ways than one. An outstanding liberal and leader of the American Veterans Committee, he brings youth and ability into politics.

On the basis of this election Massachusetts continues to rank as one of the

three or four most independent states in the Union. Both parties presented some able men, but religious affiliations, the influences of nationality, and traditional positions beclouded the issues.

It is typical of Massachusetts that—as of the day after the election—it appears that the state Senate will be Republican and the House Democratic. In many ways the dead center upon which American politics at present seems to pivot is illustrated here.

Ohio

BY RICHARD L. MAHER

Cleveland, Ohio

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, Joe McCarthy, and dogged determination combined to return to the G. O. P. Bob Taft's old Senate seat. George H. Bender, ebullient Cleveland Congressman who came to national attention as the bell-ringer for Taft at the 1952 Republican National Convention, beat Thomas A. Burke, the middle-of-the-road Democrat and former mayor of Cleveland who was appointed to Taft's place by Ohio's unpredictable Governor Frank J. Lausche.

Burke lost by fewer than 10,000 votes out of more than 2,600,000 cast. He can blame President Eisenhower for some of the votes against him. He can blame Senator McCarthy for others. He can also blame himself.

The President came to Cleveland on the Friday before the election. He appealed to Republicans and independents to go out and vote; he forgot to mention Bender by name but did call for a Republican House and Senate. Then Mr. Eisenhower on the following day dramatized his appeal by a personal telephone call to a Cleveland Republican. The effect apparently was good, for in many areas where there had been apathy about the Senatorial campaign the voters poured out and swatted Burke.

Joe McCarthy was not an issue in the campaign until Burke made him one—over the objections of some of his close aides, particularly those from conservative Cincinnati—and declared he would vote to censure McCarthy. That was all that was needed. The pro-McCarthyites in Ohio as elsewhere are an actionist

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group. The anti-McCarthy folks take Joe or leave him and don't get stirred up. The result was that Burke took a shellacking wherever there was pro-McCarthy sentiment. Cincinnati and Hamilton County, for example, are normally Republican but were showing little interest in the campaign. Burke's statement on McCarthy did the trick. The turnout was heavy, and when the votes were tallied Burke had lost to Bender by 37,700.

Another factor was the diligence of the candidates. Burke is an easygoing fellow who likes to coast, solving problems only if they get persistent. Bender is an eager-beaver type, always on the go, full of pep. Burke could have overcome the odds against him had he been a more dramatic figure and shown more than a casual interest in winning.

The other victory in Ohio that attracts national attention is that of Frank Lausche, the independent Governor who fights with labor unions, his party leaders, the big truckers, and the utilities. Lausche won easily, but not so easily as in 1952—in the face of the Eisenhower tide. Then he rolled up a 400,000 plurality; this year hardly more than half that. But he is the only man in Ohio ever to win five terms as Governor, the only Governor ever to serve four consecutive terms. It looks as if he might have a date with destiny in 1956.

California

BY ROBERT W. KENNY

Los Angeles

CALIFORNIA's new Democratic leadership was simply unable to capitalize upon its success in the spring primaries, although it had surmounted the cross-filing hurdle and presented a qualified candidate for nearly every office. The leadership's inherent weaknesses first became apparent at the state convention in August, and by November 2 California's Democrats had completely reverted to their old bad habits of individual careerism. The Republicans were thus left undisturbed in the offices which they have held since Earl Warren first became Governor in 1942.

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A real crusade might have aroused California's three-to-two Democratic majority sufficiently to bring about a different result. But a crusade needs militancy and unity, and both were lacking. Militancy was made impossible by the party decision that all candidates must be "smear proof." While that decision alone might not have been fatal, the principle was extended to supporters of candidates. All the old Democratic militants who had led the party to victory in F. D. R.'s days were screened out of the campaign.

Unity was impossible primarily because the A. F. of L. supported the Republican Goodwin Knight for Governor and the Democratic Sam Yorty for United States Senator. In order not to lose the A. F. of L.'s support, the Yorty forces refused to coalesce with the backers of Richard Graves, the Democratic candidate for Governor.

The only live issue injected into the campaign was Graves's principled opposition to William G. Bonelli, elected head of Southern California's liquor-control activities. But Bonelli had a



Governor Knight

strange bedfellow on this issue. The Los Angeles Times was also opposed to Bonelli. A lavish campaign fund was raised to elect Bonelli, a recent convert to the Democratic Party, and the Bonelli organization provided funds for many of the other Democratic candidates, who were thus weaned away from enthusiastic support of Graves. But Bonelli lost too.

The one Democratic victory in Southern California was the election of Richard Richards, former chairman of the Democratic Central County Committee, to the position of state Senator from Los Angeles County, succeeding Red-baiting Jack B. Tenney (Republican). Richards was one of the few candidates who practiced unity and coalition. For example, most of the others shunned the old-age-pension cause, but Richards acted as the pensioners' attorney and received the wholehearted support of that group. While the ballot proposition to increase California's old-age pension from \$80 to \$100 failed by a narrow margin, the pension support helped carry Richards to victory.

The one bright spot remaining in California's political future is the possibility that in 1956 Robert M. Hutchins can be persuaded to run for the United States Senate against the Republican Senator Kuchel, who was elected this time for only a two-year term. A campaign under Hutchins's leadership might restore some crusading will-power to the Democrats.

DAY OF THE DICTATOR

Latin America's Crisis . . by J. Alvarez del Vayo

AS *The Nation* has pointed out before, throughout Latin America there is profound and growing dissatisfaction with a social system which forces the masses of the people to live in the most degrading poverty while a small ruling clique enjoys almost feudal luxury. In the past the privileged minority has been able to thwart any political move toward economic democracy by destroying the political democracy which makes such moves possible. Thus representative governments have repeatedly been replaced by dictators who all too often have managed to stay in power only with the financial and political support of the United States. As a result, Washington scans with reassurance a Latin American continent which seems freer of overt revolutionary trends than at any other time in many decades. Yet beneath the

surface the picture is quite different. Sometimes revolutions are not seen until they explode with world-shaking fury. Such a one occurred in Asia, and such a one may be in the making in Latin America as it is in Africa.

Last week the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace sponsored a conference, in connection with Columbia University's bicentennial celebration, on "Responsible Freedom in the Americas." If the conference achieved nothing else than to open the eyes of a few observers to the dangers of the Latin American situation, it achieved a valuable purpose. The conference was outstanding not only in its agenda but in the clear and courageous manner in which most of the participants spoke their mind. It opened with a sharp attack on the United States by Fernando Diez de Medina, noted

Bolivian writer, who called this country to account for its intervention in Guatemala and for following a dollar diplomacy based on the exploitation of cheap Latin American labor for the benefit of the American private investor. Describing himself as a political independent who shared some of the principles of his country's President, Victor Paz Estenssoro, the speaker reminded his audience that the average Bolivian worker earned in a month what the United States worker earns in less than half a week. He pointed out that the Russians had no need to use Latin America as a base for anti-United States activities; the continent's 70,000,000 illiterates, all of them potential Communists in their poverty and despair, were ready to do the Russians' work for them without the asking.

The social aspect of the Latin American picture was also stressed by Ricardo Alfaro, professor of international law at the University of Panama, and once his country's foreign minister. No extremist, Dr. Alfaro nevertheless sharply rejected the idea that Latin America's socio-economic problems can be solved by installing dictators who are prepared to "protect the legitimate interests of foreign investors and foreign governments."

Dr. Eduardo Santos, former President of Colombia, and long known as ideologically, politically, and temperamentally opposed to communism, denounced the absurdity of blaming all socio-political problems on Communist agitation and intrigue. His talk was of immense value precisely because he chose a United States forum in which to deliver it.

The flag of anti-communism in Latin America [he said] has been transformed into a pirate's banner marking the passage of the most variegated cargos, including some that are an abomination. The worst enemies of freedom are hiding behind that flag. . . . The most loyal friends of democracy, the most consistent adversaries of communism, are themselves charged with being Communists the moment they resist or embarrass the dictators.

A great and constant friend of Republican Spain, Dr. Santos shares with many other distinguished Latin American liberals the conviction that the present trend toward dictatorship among the republics finds its fountainhead in Spanish fascism. He believes that the United States, in supporting Franco, is thereby also supporting every anti-democratic force now at work south of the Rio Grande.

The former Colombian President paid tribute to Claude G. Bowers, American diplomat and author of "My Mission to Spain," for having urged earlier in the conference that the United States assist Latin America with an enlarged Point IV program instead of with arms. Dr. Santos warned that arms would only strengthen the power of the dictators and that they represent a constant threat to peace.

I have fought against that for twenty years. . . . Against whom are we going to arm ourselves? What kind of military role are we expected to play in the great international conflicts that are tearing the world apart? This policy of arms is for me the greatest error that is being made in Latin America. And the United States has pushed us in that direction, diverting us from our historical destiny, and per-

haps endangering the future of the entire continent—uselessly, absurdly, inexplicably.

Dr. Santos received a standing ovation.

I HOPE to deal later with the speech by Utilio Ulate, publisher of the *Diario de Costa Rica*, on state "interventionism," and with other addresses on aid and trade which will acquire special significance when the inter-American economic conference takes place in Rio de Janeiro next month. One of the last speakers was Fernando Ortiz, distinguished Cuban anthropologist and author of "Tobacco and Sugar," a classic work on Cuba's social structure. "We have been talking about freedom and its lack in Latin America," Dr. Ortiz said. "But why no talk about freedom in the United States? Every attack against freedom here means another attack against freedom in my own country." Dr. Ortiz's point did not fall on deaf ears. James Benitz, chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico, offered the facilities of his university for another conference of the same group next year. Thus the discussion on freedom in the Americas will be assured of fruitful continuity.

PAKISTAN PUZZLE

The Issues at Stake . . . by Keith Collard

Karachi

MOHAMMED ALI, Prime Minister of Pakistan, went to Washington at the end of September on the invitation of President Eisenhower. He succeeded in enlarging the amount of military aid allocated to his country and in obtaining substantial economic aid. Having accomplished his purpose, he hurriedly canceled a proposed trip to Ottawa and flew home to face a major political crisis. Landing at Karachi on the evening of October 23, he told the members of the

government and the enthusiastic crowd that met him that he knew the people were impatient for a constitution and that one must be acted on without further delay. He then drove straight to the Governor General's house, where he stayed until two in the morning. On the next day the Governor General, Ghulam Mohammed, proclaimed a state of emergency, declared that the Constituent Assembly had lost the confidence of the people, and announced that a new Cabinet would be formed by Mohammed Ali. The Governor General and the Prime Minister explained that they were acting in the cause of national stability and solidarity.

The government has always insisted that it does not control the Constituent

Assembly, but this can be questioned. The Prime Minister is also the president of the Pakistan Moslem League, which has a clear majority in the Assembly, and therefore the Prime Minister and the party must bear full responsibility for any act or omission of the Assembly. It was the Prime Minister who a year ago sponsored and introduced the "Mohammed Ali formula" which was to resolve the constitutional deadlock. And it was he who, less than two months ago, announced that the constitution would be finished and proclaimed by December 20.

What, then, were the actions of the Assembly that had aroused this widespread dissatisfaction? Two bills had been passed on September 20 and 21,

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the last two days of the sitting: an act repealing the Public and Representative Offices Disqualification Act of 1949 (P. R. O. D. A.) and one amending the Government of India Act. The former was in reality a method of impeachment. It provided that the Governor General or a provincial governor might refer allegations of misconduct by ministers or legislators to a judicial tribunal. If the tribunal found the charges were proved, the Governor General might order the disqualification from public life of the guilty person for a period of up to ten years. Before P. R. O. D. A.'s repeal, disqualification had been imposed upon four persons, all ex-ministers of provinces, and another case was before a tribunal. It was rumored, however, that a large number of cases—the figure twenty-two was mentioned—were under consideration. The principal arguments for the repeal of P. R. O. D. A. were its abuse in the past and the opportunities it gave for a form of political blackmail.

The amendment of the Government of India Act, which is the basis of Pakistan's interim constitution, explicitly curtailed the power of the Governor General by requiring him to act only upon the advice of his ministers and by giving the power of dismissal of a minister to the Prime Minister. Since the new constitution was expected to be in force by the end of the year, this provision was presumably intended to limit the power of the Governor General from September to December. Ghulam Mohammed had dismissed a Prime Minister and his Cabinet in April, 1953, and it seems to have been suspected that he might do it again.

The two crucial bills had been introduced by M. H. Gazder, the deputy president of the Constituent Assembly. In respect of the amendment to the Government of India Act no member of the government spoke. The news agency's report of the bill's passage ran as follows: "[Mr. Gazder] said that there was no need to make any comments because the bill was necessary for the advancement of democracy and democratic traditions in the country. The bill as amended was then adopted by the House. The passage of the bill was received with applause." It so happened that on the same day a minister of the government introduced a bill to increase the emolu-

ments of the deputy president of the Constituent Assembly. This was passed after an amendment had been accepted making the increase retroactive to the date of Mr. Gazder's appointment, March 28, 1953.

The episode offers reasons enough for lack of confidence in the Assembly; but it was within Mohammed Ali's control. The real reasons for the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly lie deeper.

THE Assembly was never a representative body. Its members were in theory elected by the provincial legislatures, which had themselves been chosen by a limited electorate before Pakistan came into existence. In fact most of the members of the Constituent Assembly were virtually nominated by a small group of leaders of the Moslem League gathered around Mr. Jinnah. These men had been in positions of power for seven years, holding posts as governors, ministers, and ambassadors. There was no opposition to them worthy of the name. The real struggle for power lay within the Moslem League. It was a struggle between personalities, between provinces, and especially between East and West Pakistan.

In March, 1954, elections based on universal suffrage were held in East Bengal, and the Moslem League suffered its first and most disastrous defeat. Its opponents, called the United Front, were held together by a common dislike of the League. The United Front took office but was dismissed after two months, and a new governor was appointed by the central government. This new governor, Major General Iskander Mirza, ruled as agent of the central government without the assistance of the local legislature or cabinet.

Since East Bengal has more than half the population of Pakistan, the election did not promise well for the fortunes of the Moslem League. Something like panic set in, and each section of the League began to try to strengthen its influence at home by making extravagant claims in behalf of local interests. Thus the Bengal League fought the Punjabi League, while each group had its own internal warring factions.

At the moment there is no national alternative to the Moslem League, but the League has lost its cohesion. Rather than surrender to political anarchy and pos-

sible national dissolution the Governor General and the Prime Minister have installed a strong, predominantly non-political Cabinet. The Prime Minister himself had been active in political life in Bengal and had served in diplomatic posts in Burma, Canada, and the United States before he was recalled in 1953 to become Prime Minister. His Finance Minister is a former civil servant, and his Minister of Defense is the army commander-in-chief. Major General Iskander Mirza has also been brought into the Cabinet, as has the Pakistan High Commissioner in London, M. A. H. Ispahani. Of the eight initial members, three besides the Prime Minister were in the old ministry.

The Governor General has announced that new elections will be held as early as possible to enable the people, through their elected representatives, to decide the future course of the state. The proclamation does not explicitly dissolve the existing Constituent Assembly. Indeed, it is a matter for argument whether the Governor General, even with the support of the Cabinet, has the power of dissolution: the section of the Government of India Act authorizing such action has been deleted. However, his powers under the Indian Independence Act include the power to make constitutional alterations. As the present crisis has demonstrated, Pakistan is a state in which the executive rather than the legislature is supreme.

WHAT will be the next step? The new Constituent Assembly will presumably be chosen by direct election, and this will necessitate defining the franchise, allocating seats among provinces, and drawing constituency boundaries. It remains to be seen whether a stable majority capable of supporting and controlling a government will emerge. In any event the problems that caused the disruption of the old Assembly still exist. Should power be concentrated in the central government or transferred to the provinces? Should there be parity of representation between East and West? Should Urdu be the predominant language? Should the provinces of West Pakistan be merged? What should be the real content of the provisions establishing an Islamic state?

If agreement on a constitution is impossible, Pakistan will have to develop one through a series of precedents, as

the British have done. After all, the structure of the first Constituent Assembly was not the result of agreement among Pakistanis but of the Cabinet

Mission Plan and the Indian Independence Act. The structure of the second will be designed by the Governor General and the Cabinet. The Prime Min-

ister may have been right when he said: "Constitution-making is important. But more important by far is the security and stability of our country."

HOLLYWOOD'S MESSAGE

The Kiss and the Slug Fest . . by Frank Fenton

Hollywood

IN THE first chapter of Charles Grayson's new novel, "Venus Rising," the young picture star, Venus Mitchell, visits a physician and in a voice "scarcely louder than a whisper" tells him she is afraid she is frigid. She does not feel toward a man "like you are supposed to feel." Indeed, she has not made the list of the "Ten Actresses Who Send a Message." At this point I suspect some profound symbolism on Grayson's part, but it eludes me. Is Venus Mitchell perhaps a symbol of contemporary Hollywood, which does not feel toward mankind the way it is supposed to feel and certainly sends out no message?*

There is a proverb now popular in the business that goes something like this, "If you want to send messages, call Western Union." I suppose it was conceived during the Red investigation conducted by Congress. Before the investigation messages from Hollywood were always quite innocuous—like the Gilbert-Garbo kiss, the fight in "The Spoilers," the Walls of Jericho in "It Happened One Night," or the Watusi in "King Solomon's Mines" who made everybody wonder why Africa did not have a basketball team.

The Congressional investigation shattered the complacency of Hollywood. One writer after another rolled away in

*Henry Holt and Company, the publishers of "Venus Rising," say that it is a novel "of a beautiful actress who is incapable of love and tries to make a joke of it, and of a successful doctor who finds her irresistibly attractive."

FRANK FENTON, screen writer, has a long list of screen credits to his name, among the most recent being "Escape from Fort Bravo" and "Ride, Vaquero!" for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. He is also the author of a novel, "A Place in the Sun."

a tumbrel. The people of the country shuddered; who had ever dreamed that Hollywood supported, even enriched, such sinister folk? It is true that practically all the culprits were past masters of inanity and that nothing resembling a significant "message" could be found in their scripts, but this did not allay the prevailing fear.

Hollywood has always complimented itself on being the art medium that best conveys the American Way of Life, despite its lurid indulgence in mayhem, sex, and cheesecake. But it is now hard to say whether or not its classic examples of Americana are messages, for the meaning of "message" has become curiously confused and a thorn in every scensarist's vocabulary.

What, indeed, is a message? What is not a message? In Hollywood I have heard that messages of any kind are to be avoided as the plague. Thus the cagey writer will avoid any temptation to communicate ideas that do not meet the approval of such astute censors of the American mind as Senator McCarthy.

The Hollywood writer has seldom felt about his characters or about mankind "like you are supposed to feel." He has been a kind of Venus Mitchell, suspecting frigidity in himself and certainly not getting on the list of those who send messages. Who knew better than he that being out of rapport with humanity was one of the requisites of film writing? Who has been belabored more for this deficiency than he—by the intellectuals, the illuminati, the pedants, and the Higher Critics?

Recently the *New Republic* referred to a Western as a "profoundly meaningful example of a peculiarly American morality play," in which the Apaches represented "the ubiquitous challenge of

natural forces." Obviously this kind of analysis would give any writer pause, as it did me, possibly because I was the author of the picture being reviewed. It indicates the difficulties into which any author can get, particularly those writers of "oaters" who have seldom been nearer a horse than a pari-mutuel ticket.

The Hollywood writer can only conclude that a "message" is some form of criticism of the accepted American way of life, an attack, however veiled, on the status quo. Any such attack might easily link him with the Reds, Pinks, Malcontents, and Fifth Amendment addicts. However, the status quo is in dire flux. Who are the heroes and villains of these times? Phil the Fiddler, Tony the Tramp, the Banker with the Mortgage? Even the acquisition of riches has become dubious—could it not be a veiled and subversive criticism of private enterprise? Should a Mexican be a murderer; a Brazilian peddle narcotics; a Frenchman be a traducer; an Italian a mobster? Be careful! the writer mutters to himself. Be careful of the United Nations, the Catholics, the Protestants, the Democrats, the Republicans, the Optimists, the Legion, the Boy Scouts. Even a phrase pilfered from the Constitution or Holy Writ may be fraught with danger.

What, then, may he write? Well, there remain the long kiss and the big fight, and the "peculiarly American morality play." Perhaps at long last Hollywood has achieved a real rapport with the rest of the country. Fear and uncertainty have joined them in a melancholy liaison. Possibly this is the decade of tongue-tied men, of the psychiatrist's couch and the dunce's stool. The times might, indeed, seem desperate if we did not know they would pass—they invariably do.

BOOKS

Ellen Glasgow's Private History

THE WOMAN WITHIN. The Autobiography of Ellen Glasgow. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$5.

By Maxwell Geismar

ELLEN GLASGOW was a literary rebel in the first half of her career, a literary ancestor in the second half, but her work has never had the full recognition it deserves. One of our top three women writers, she has been eclipsed by the glow of Willa Cather's lovely fairy tales and by the cool glitter of Edith Wharton's social snobbery. Yet as a literary figure Miss Glasgow was superior to these ladies in many respects, and her best novels are of equal interest and importance with theirs. She wrote "Barren Ground" and "The Romantic Comedians" in her early fifties; "Vein of Iron" and "The Sheltered Life," the latter perhaps the highest novel of them all, when she was approaching sixty.

This is in itself a phenomenon in American literature, at least today when we have come to regard each new book by Faulkner or Hemingway or Dos Passos with increasing anxiety and failing hope. They are all through, I think, our great stars; but in her present autobiography, written in her sixties and published ten years after her death, Ellen Glasgow continues to be as mature and as vital as ever. Both the facts of her life and of what might be considered her private history are presented here with a remarkable candor.

From her earlier work one might imagine the restricted youth of this Virginia belle who became a Socialist, a suffragette, and an evolutionary thinker in the Richmond society of the 1900's, and whose first published book was attributed to Harold Frederic. What one could not understand until now was the extent of the pain and suffering which Ellen Glasgow was forced to endure within the discreet boundaries of that sheltered life; or the domestic conflict which she

makes little or no attempt to conceal. The mother was as beautiful, soft, loving as was the heroine of "Virginia"; and just as in the novel, she was betrayed by life, or more particularly by married life. No doubt the series of scathing portraits in which Ellen Glasgow disposed of contemporary Southern men—who had learned to talk and to preach before they had learned to think—stemmed from an early and open hatred of her father.

At least the "mask of evil" was the dominant image of her childhood; the note of physical pain, of morbid fear, of pity for suffering life is a constant refrain. She was a delicate child, almost condemned to stifle in the dark by the medicine of her time; beyond this sick room lay the ruins of the Reconstruction period, the genteel poverty of the former aristocracy, which she described in "Life and Gabriella." What is impressive is that as an artist Ellen Glasgow escaped from this death chamber—into which she then hurled all those legends of the Old South that had surrounded her youth—and moved toward the common life of her own time. Her early novels, from "The Voice of the People" to "The Miller of Old Church," set out to destroy the fatal illusions of the slave-owning Virginia planters.

Those illusions, those myths, legends, and superstitions, were the stock in trade of the Southern romances of the period, in which, as William Dean Howells declared, the Civil War was fought over again and won by the South. They are still considered a precious heritage by Southern novelists and critics of today who have never bothered to read Ellen Glasgow. "I was a radical when everyone else I knew was conservative," she says in the autobiography—and when the idea of a young Southern lady being a serious writer was considered by her friends as something of a scandal, or a secret vice. And yet life "continued its hostilities." Her mother died, her younger brother committed suicide, her sister Cary's husband died, and then Cary too became ill. In her middle years

Ellen Glasgow found herself "wounded and caged" and the victim of an increasing deafness which set her even more apart from people than she had always been.

It was at this moment, desperate but guided by the instinct for life which marks the primary writers, that she fell in love. The man was a New York banker, unhappily married, whom she calls Gerald B—. The relationship lasted for seven years until his death; but meanwhile, with a remarkable direction of her energies, with utmost honesty, and without qualms, Ellen Glasgow not only had enriched her life but saved her art. For almost all her earlier novels were "literary" in tone despite their radical social values, while the central human relationships had reflected the author's own "unconquerable isolation." Her reading of Gautama the Buddha, of Christ and St. Francis and Tolstoy, had been, as she says, "not to know, but to live." And for the period of her central love experience she was radiantly alive.

It is a touching episode in the autobiography, though she was plunged into despair again at the close; and her second love affair—with a typically ambitious and successful Virginia gentleman—provided an ironic sequel. Perhaps it was this "comedy of errors" which finally killed her spirit, as she says, but which also released the marvelous satiric muse that presides over the best books of her later years. For the spirit which was "destroyed"—and there is a note of self-pity which one must discount—only rose to flourish in the final period of Ellen Glasgow's work.

Even when she showed no mercy to an ailing heart and it gave out—that heart which had showed no mercy to her, as she told her doctor—she was still working on the final draft of "In This Our Life." Though I have stressed the inner history of a heroic woman, I should mention her entertaining account of the "forty immortals of the American Academy" whom she met in the 1900's. "The trouble was that I thought of them as old gentlemen, and they thought of themselves as old masters." Probably James Branch Cabell, to whom she pays generous tribute in "The Woman Within," is the single Southern writer to escape the barbs of a spirit which pursued the classical course from tragedy to irony—or the only possible course.

MAXWELL GEISMAR, a contributing editor of *The Nation*, is a critic and historian of the American novel.

Pearl Buck's Worlds

MY SEVERAL WORLDS. By Pearl S. Buck. John Day. \$5.

By Edgar Snow

IT IS a quarter of a century since Pearl Buck wrote a novel which, perhaps more than all earlier books combined, made the outside world China-conscious. In "The Good Earth" millions of Westerners first met the Chinese people as they really feel and think and behave. Before 1930 many Americans pictured the Chinese only as queer laundrymen, or clever merchants like Fu Manchu, or heathens sitting in outer darkness; few believed they could greatly influence our own fate. Since then historical events have taught us otherwise—and among those "events" Pearl Buck's books might well be included. Her more than two dozen novels, translations, and non-fiction books interpreting traditional and revolutionary Asia have fully justified the early award to her of the Nobel prize in literature.

The present volume begins with the author's infant memories of China in the days of the Boxers, and carries the personal story down to her present vigorous life—she is sixty-two—as a writer, mother, educator, Bucks County farmer, and organizer of the unique Welcome House, which finds adoptive parents for foundlings of Asian American birth. It is an absorbing narrative told with warmth and humor and insight, often as moving as her best novels, with the easy grace and integrity notable in her biographies of her missionary parents. Written in modesty and humility, the book faithfully mirrors the mind and heart and strength of a truly admirable and distinguished American. For although Pearl Buck lived and studied in China forty years before she settled in Pennsylvania, it is pleasant to believe that the essence of her character—her practical human sympathy, her respect for the dignity of toil and for cultures other than her own—are part of the best in the American heritage.

Her transplantation was not an easy one. "To change countries is an overwhelming and may be a crushing experience," she says. "I have accomplished

it since I left China, and my respect for all immigrants and my understanding of them have grown steadily. To move from an old-established society, and the Chinese were that and have remained so in spite of the upheavals of revolution and temporary government, into an effervescent and fluid new society, such as the American still is and must remain for many future decades or perhaps centuries, it is to do more than change countries—it is to change worlds and epochs."

What she misses most about China is essentially what all Americans long exposed to a great and ancient culture are bound to feel wanting on their return. "If ever I am homesick for China, now that I am home in my own country, it is when I discover here no philosophy. Our people have opinions and creeds and prejudices and ideas but as yet no philosophy." Perhaps the search for it is part of the dynamism of America, and meanwhile Miss Buck finds many similarities between ourselves and the Chinese. "We are continental peoples, for one thing; that is, we are accustomed to think in space and size and plenty. There is nothing niggardly about either of us—there seldom is about continental peoples, possessing long seacoasts and

high mountains. We are careless, easy-going, loving our jokes and songs."

And yet our fundamental differences grew faster with intimacy, we know, than our common sympathies—despite years of pleading by people like Pearl Buck, who steadily warned of the coming catastrophe for unrepentant Western imperialism. She believes our great mistake was to assume the burdens—and hence the earned punishment—of European imperialists, whose follies we did not commit. For we shall never be able to hold our place in the world "by force of arms and government" but only by "the working of the American spirit" in policies of neighborly help and "mutual benefit and friendship"—and the fullest respect for people's rights of self-determination.

Visiting Sinclair Lewis's comfortable house in Sauk Center, Pearl Buck could only wonder at the "accidental combination of elements" which caused him to "burst out of those walls, and out of the town and what it stood for, loving it so much that he hated it for not being all he wanted it to be and knew it could be. That was the way he loved his whole country, and that, too, I can understand." There is something of that quality also in Pearl Buck's own love for each of her "several worlds" and in her talent as a great and civilized lady.

Selected New Books

European Politics

A WOMAN IN BERLIN. Anonymous. Translated by James Stern. Harcourt, Brace. \$4. This German diary of the Russian occupation of Berlin, with an introduction by C. W. Ceram (pseudonym of the author of "Gods, Graves, and Scholars"), is an eloquent tale of defeat, hunger, rape, and adjustment to hard circumstances. The moral, if any, is that some Russians are beasts, some are saints, and rape is not always as bad as it sounds.

THE BORMANN LETTERS. Translated by R. H. Stevens. British Book Center. \$3.75. Martin Bormann, Hitler's secretary and "party chancellor" who disappeared in 1945, exchanged "love letters" with his wife between January, 1943, and April, 1945. The letters are here published, with pictures, a foreword by François Genoud, and an introduction by H. R. Trevor-Roper. They throw new light, albeit murky, on Nazi politics and on the Nazi Welt-

anschauung—for example, Frau Bormann, having borne her husband ten children, welcomed his affair with actress "M" in order that a good pagan female should also be blessed with racially sound progeny.

STRESEMANN AND THE REARMAMENT OF GERMANY. By Hans W. Gatzke. Johns Hopkins. \$3. Gustav Stresemann, hero of European reconciliation in the mid-1920's, left unpublished papers which fell into American hands in 1945 and were made available to scholars in 1953. Hans W. Gatzke, of Johns Hopkins University, has here digested the papers and brilliantly presented the results. With Russian aid Stresemann consistently connived in illegal German rearmament and contributed more than any other statesman of the Weimar Republic to the restoration of the Reich as a great power. Dr. Gatzke does not draw the moral for 1954, since it is obvious.

EDGAR SNOW is the author of "Red Star over China" and other books.

GERMAN MILITARY INTELLIGENCE. By Paul Leverkuehn. Translated by R. H. Stevens and Constantine FitzGibbon. Praeger. \$3.50. The author of this gossipy volume of cloak-and-dagger memoirs was an aide of Admiral Canaris and *Abwehr* director of Nazi espionage in Turkey and the Near East during most of World War II. His intrigues with Rashid Ali, pro-Nazi Premier of Iraq, and with the Mufti of Jerusalem are fascinating, as are his revelations of the administrative and technological problems of spying. These reminiscences of a clever automaton vividly reinforce the hypothesis that totalitarian *Realpolitik* is self-defeating, precisely because it is totally immoral, and that "intelligence" experts in Germany as in most countries were not very intelligent.

TYCOONS AND TYRANTS. By Louis P. Lochner. Regnery. \$5. During fourteen pre-war years Louis Lochner was chief of the Berlin bureau of the Associated Press. He is among the ablest journalists of our time. In this, his latest book, he undertakes to demonstrate, with much conscientious docu-

mentation, that the major German industrialists of the 1930's did not decisively subsidize Hitler, did not really "want war," and were more sinned against than sinning, since they were fools rather than scoundrels. Despite ample opportunities for observation, Mr. Lochner still does not understand the sociology of fascism. In a time of recartelization and impending rearmament, he bids us have faith in German big business.

THE SCOURGE OF THE SWASTIKA.

By Lord Russell of Liverpool. Philosophical Library. \$4.50. Sir Hartley Shawcross, speaking to the International Military Tribunal at Nürnberg, estimated that "on the lowest computation" the Nazi masters of the Third Reich murdered in cold blood "twelve million men, women, and children." Lord Russell, legal adviser to the commander-in-chief in respect to trials of war criminals in the British zone, here presents a "short history" of Nazi atrocities, with pictures. The result, as always, is a record of incredible bestiality on the highest level of efficiency.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

East Asia

SCIENCE AND CIVILISATION IN CHINA. Vol. I, Introductory Orientations. By Joseph Needham, with the Research Assistance of Wang Ling. Cambridge. \$10. Professor Needham's seven-volume work is designed to show the Chinese scientific contribution to humanity. The author scans early Chinese contacts with the Indian, Arabic, and European cultures and begins his analysis of the convergence and diffusion of scientific ideas and techniques. The eminent biologist's introduction opens up exciting new vistas into a poorly known area of Chinese culture and is "must" reading for all interested in the subject.

CHINA'S RESPONSE TO THE WEST. By Ssu-Yü Teng and John K. Fairbank, with E-tu Zen Sun, Chaoying Fang, and Others. Harvard. \$6.75. An annotated survey of selected Chinese documents from 1839 to 1923 reflecting the struggle of Chinese statesmen and scholars with the task of adjusting ancient institutions and conservative procedures to those aspects of a changing contemporary world which would no longer be denied ingress. This competent portrayal soberly mirrors the oppressive magnitude of the century-old Chinese problem—evolution or revolution?

THE UMBRELLA GARDEN. Adapted from the Chinese by Maria Yen, with Richard M. McCarthy. Macmillan. \$4. The student-exile "Maria Yen" sets forth her 1949-50 observations of the Communists' molding of thought in uniform pattern in a Peking university.

Her ingenuous case-history offers corroborative evidence of intellectual regimentation and the dulling of the aesthetic spirit in China but fails to plumb the full tragedy of the disillusionment of idealistic individualists confronted with harsh post-revolutionary realities.

REPORT ON INDO-CHINA. By Bernard Newman. Praeger. \$4. This combination of 1953 travelogue and accompanying politico-economic comment incorporates no experience from the rebel side in Indo-China, and the author's observations regarding the political problem of Vietnam were overrun and outdated by the recent Geneva agreement. However, the Vietnam victory only added urgency to the (briefer) commentaries on Laos and Cambodia, and the descriptive matter retains a natural interest.

THE COMMUNIST STRUGGLE IN MALAYA. By Gene Z. Hanrahan. Institute of Pacific Relations. \$2. A scholarly account of the development of the Communist movement in Malaya and of British counter-measures, with appended documents revealing Communist strategy. Given especially the Communist leaders' admission that the future of revolution in Malaya depends heavily on international developments, and the predominantly Chinese nationality of the Malayan movement, this careful record increases in value with the changes brought into the balance of power in Southeast Asia by the Indo-China truce.

O. EDMUND CLUBB

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Theater

Harold Clurman

FRAGILE FOX, by Norman Brooks, a belated war play—it was written several years ago—lacks a central theme. There is a cowardly captain protected by his colonel for political reasons, an embittered lieutenant who wants to kill the captain because his cowardice led to the slaughter of some of the lieutenant's men, an upright lieutenant who begins the play as a disciplined soldier and ends by shooting the captain. None of this is uninteresting, but neither is it sufficiently new or personal in its idiom to warrant special consideration.

The acting of the youngish cast is remarkable for a vigor and vocal forthrightness which have all but disappeared in our theater since the days of "Waiting for Lefty." Dane Clark, Don Taylor, James Gregory, Richard Carlyle, Crahan Denton, and nearly all the others are to be commended on a combination of characterization and energy.

The melodrama of the play would be more gripping if the scenic effects—gunfire and the like—were more convincing. Years ago stage hands knew how to create such effects even more "realistically" than the movies. Today, alas, these effects are put on tape or on records and sound so feeble and tinny that a large part of the thrill is lost. It is sad to sit in the Belasco Theater and miss the old Belasco wizardry.

PARTS of "Peter Pan," a musical without any music worth mentioning (Winter Garden), are better than the whole. Here the effects, mechanical as well as human, are admirably carried out. It is delightful to watch Peter and three of the children flying ecstatically through the air. And there can be nothing but long applause for Jerome Robbins's choreographic staging, full of brio, humor, and cute playfulness. In addition, Mary Martin, whose courage, proficiency, and charm as a performer deserve our gratitude as much as they compel our wonder, is supported by a carefully selected cast, among whom I choose Sondra Lee as Tiger Lily—Indian chief—as my favorite.

Yet while I left the theater with a

thorough appreciation of the talent displayed, I felt no genuine warmth or real affection for the whole event. "Peter Pan" is a grand show quickened by nothing but ability. It offers skill rather than sentiment. Hardly any of Barrie's sweetness remains. No one, not even the youngest member of the cast, believes in that good Scotsman's fairies. It all happens on Broadway.

HEART is what Kim Stanley possesses. Her flickering but warm glow lends pathos to the awkwardness of Horton Foote's "The Traveling Lady" (The Playhouse). Kim Stanley is the youngest addition to that line of American actresses whose emblematic figures are Laurette Taylor and Pauline Lord. They express the inarticulate but eloquent womanhood of those who have never learned to become ladies. They seem out of step with their environment. They have no "front," no bright armor, no sheen of social glamour. They appear slightly damaged, incalculably hurt, rich in basic human experience.

Kim Stanley has amazing naturalness; her speech is real communication instinct with the unpredictable music and the ebb and flow of a genuine connection, with whoever is her partner on the stage. She rarely stiffens with false theatrical projection. Her very presence seems to emanate meaning. She is still far from the mastery which made Laurette Taylor our unmatched example of that humane stagecraft in which artist and person merge in magic integration. Yet if our theater and her will sustain her, it may be possible for Kim Stanley to progress a long way toward that goal.

My reference to the awkwardness of Mr. Foote's script is criticism and not disparagement. Mr. Foote has talent—true kinship with his material, observation, sensibility, a good ear. But he does not yet know how to pattern his material to his form. There are incidents in the second act which are irrelevant to his story, so that what is essentially a simple tale of a simple soul is made to look like a melodrama which has misfired. The construction of the play, moreover, does

not allow the full implications of its characters to become clear. For this reason the audience never quite realizes that the characters represent diverse facets of the play's environment, crucial to the understanding of the play's total significance. As a result, one is not sure whether the play is an extended sketch or a too fragmentary depiction of a world only partly revealed; whether the author is saying too much or too little.

The fact that Mr. Foote has not yet solved his problem—even in his later play, "A Trip to Bountiful," produced last season—should not disqualify him from our regard. His themes are true themes—and profoundly native. They deal essentially with the difficulty of sinking roots in a soil made barren in the big cities by mechanization and in the country by the dry rot of a dead past. The old mother in "Bountiful" sought to recover the verdure of her childhood home by running away from the big town. The young mother of "The Traveling Lady" wants to find for her child any kind of home which has a chance to endure, but she has to wander all over the largest state in the Union to do so.

AS A scenario and vehicle Richard Nash's "The Rainmaker" (Cort Theater) is more efficient than "The Traveling Lady." Mr. Nash's play, a sentimental comedy verging on fantasy, is about a girl who considers herself plain and who finds difficulty in getting herself a husband. She achieves a husband at last through the aid of a lovable faker who besides posing as a rainmaker preaches the virtues of faith, life, and reaching for the moon.

The play seems to be somewhat "symbolic" of the author's yearning and effort to write acceptable poetic drama—which up to now he has failed to do. In the play the fraudulent but dream-ridden "rainmaker," after many perilous false starts, succeeds at the end in bringing on the rain, just as Nash, in flight from realism, has here wrought a play which is something of a success.

The trouble with "The Rainmaker" as a poetic or romantic comedy is that its writing has no song, though it has some pleasant humorous passages, and the specific materials the author employs do not seem organic to him. After all, "Peter Pan" was Barrie, and thus his play, for all its nonsense, is real, while "The

Rainmaker," for all its naturalistic plausibility, appears concocted. Poetry is born from a writer's particular sense of life, not from a desire to create beauty or enchantment.

The play's merit is that it provides an opportunity to see Geraldine Page in a

light vein. She has a voice that is like a thin ribbon of pained feeling which through her peculiar but entirely original rhythm weaves an odd but frequently fascinating design. The cast also includes Albert Salmi, a young character of noteworthy individuality.

Films

Robert Hatch

ALEC GUINNESS is the M. G. of British post-war film exports. Like the cat, he is small, cute, agile, and able to get a prodigious mileage out of a minimum of fuel. Also he is a "class" product and a cult. There is no telling how long the Guinness vogue will continue. The sales curve of chic is unpredictable.

On the stage Guinness is said to be a serious, interesting, and variable actor. On the screen he is an invariable hit personality and almost no actor at all. No one can act unless he is given something to act in, and in a whole string of pictures—"Oliver Twist" was an exception—Guinness has been provided with material written solely to show off his gift for wily meekness and roguish piety. To take only the three most popular, "The Lavender Hill Mob," "The Man in the White Suit," and "The Captain's Paradise" are all little jokes. They have no

sustained dramatic life of their own, and Guinness must flail about in them like a boy spinning nine tops at once. It is a great display of virtuosity, but it is also a great strain, for Guinness is an actor and not a clown. The business of a clown is to create a universal man who maintains his personality in whatever outlandish situation; but actors who permit a personality to dominate all their roles are caught in a rut.

So now we have Guinness in "The Detective," drawn from G. K. Chesterton's Father Brown stories. Again the prissy propriety mocked by the bright and knowing eye, again the agile mind and the tumbler's body that cut didoes around more stolid adversaries. Again the little fellow against the system. But Guinness is not Chaplin; he lacks the remote, narcissistic, impervious superiority of the clown. Like any actor, he is an interpreter of the given material, and all

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he is being given these days is more of the same.

"The Detective" is a surprisingly feeble story—Chesterton would scarcely have boasted of it, if indeed he recognized it. And through it runs an assertive thread of propaganda which the creator of *Father Brown* was too good a propagandist for his church ever to have used.

ACCORDING to the opening paragraph of the official program, "*Carmen Jones*" "heralds an exciting new phase in the rapid fruition of the multi-faceted potentialities of the anamorphic lens system and its corollary four-track stereophonic sound." The picture does seem a little mechanical, but it is by no means so bad that the blurb writers had to retreat into flying-saucer jive talk. In fact, Otto Preminger's screen adaptation of Oscar Hammerstein's modern version of Bizet's indestructible opera is what that opera has always been—a rousing entertainment. *Carmen* is Liliith; whenever she appears, men become restless and women flex their claws.

"*Carmen Jones*" is played by an all-Negro cast and set in a Southern parachute factory and in Chicago during World War II. No artistic end is served by this bizarre restyling of the opera; it is a work of shrewd commercial packaging, a salesman's substitute for a new idea. In this case, it has the good effect of bringing a handsome group of unfamiliar actors to the screen. But the cast has been whipped relentlessly into the Hollywood pattern: there is not a new gesture or a fresh inflection in the picture, and every character seems modeled on a famous star. Dorothy Dandridge handles the title role in the manner currently prescribed for scarlet women and is obviously a contender for the national sex championship. Good intentions would never protect a man from this overpowering enticement; a sense of humor might save him, but that is precisely what "Carmen's" sad hero lacks. Harry Belafonte, playing him here as a clean-cut G. I., looked like the best actor of the lot. His closing scenes, ending in the strangling of Miss Jones, are overplayed and a little popeyed, but that is probably the direction. Belafonte is handsome, graceful, and sometimes wonderfully expressive; he could develop into an arresting actor—if there is any

real place in America for Negro actors.

Pearl Bailey sings for herself in the movie; the singing voices of the other leads are dubbed. The substitution is brilliantly managed, but one nevertheless feels cheated.

THE Swedish "Illicit Interlude" is a flashback tale of first love, a theme that never dates, told in a mannered screen style that dates to the art cameras of UFA in the 1920's. Hard-lit close-ups that make a pock of every pore, tricky camera angles on the embraces, the long cut to cloud formations for emotional transitions, melancholy advice from a clown in full make-up, rain on the window in moments of depression, a ravaged theatrical face being wiped of grease paint—the story is too unassuming to survive so many hand-me-down devices. But the heroine, played by May Britt, is partial to sleeping in pajama tops and to early morning dips in the nude—habits which may give the picture a welcome notoriety.

You will recognize the story. A ballet dancer of thirty-eight—scenes from the Stockholm Opera Ballet—recalls a sum-

mer of twenty years ago with such vividness that the hot weeks of sun, salt water, and sex reappear before her eyes. The lover is gone—killed that summer in a bravado dive from the cliffs—a satyr uncle has been successfully eluded, and she has been slaving away at the ballet trade ever since. A new lover is now importuning her. Should she, can she, love again? She can and does, with a rueful acceptance of the fact that Eden can never be revisited. This is perfectly acceptable romance, and there is a large afternoon audience for it. But it should be played straight and sweet; "Illicit Interlude" is a little hammy.

A bright future is being predicted for May Britt—largely on the score that she comes from Sweden. Right now she looks director-ridden—neither her adolescent romping nor her mature misery convey much inner conviction. But she is a good-looking girl and a hard worker. She will probably turn up here—under a new name. May Britt does not have the real Oscar ring to it.

[ROBERT HATCH will from now on review current films for The Nation every other week.]

Music

B. H. Haggin

WHAT the Balanchine eye sees—whether it is American musical-show dancing or Scotch dances or modern dance—turns up in his ballets; and in the delightful new "Western Symphony," which the New York City Ballet presented in September, it is Western American square dancing. The steps are those of classical ballet; but they are done by groups whose striding about and falling into formations and ducking in and out of these formations are those of the square dancing, done to the succession of American folk tunes of Hershey Kay's engaging score (whose four movements may make it a symphony to his ears but don't to mine). The detailed invention is ample, genial, gay, funny—with some quiet little Balanchine jokes in the slow movement, as well as the more vigorous fun of the fast movements. As for performance, the slow movement employs Janet Reed's deadpan comic gift; the earlier fast move-

ments are danced engagingly by Diana Adams, Patricia Wilde, Herbert Bliss, and Todd Bolender or Eglevsky; and Tanaquil LeClerc and Jacques d'Amboise—the one in an amusing elegantly slangy American style, the other with his well-mannered brilliance—lead the company in an increasingly exciting finale.

In Balanchine's other new work, "Ivesiana"—so called because its musical basis is several pieces by Charles Ives—one thing to say is that like last year's "Opus 34" it offers evidence of Balanchine's having seen modern dance; and like "Opus 34" it demonstrates how much better he can do it than the modern dancers themselves. Which amounts to saying how much greater powers operate in his use of the modern idiom than in theirs, and brings us to the important fact about "Ivesiana"—that it is another remarkable manifestation of his creative power and originality, in the particular line of development which revealed it-

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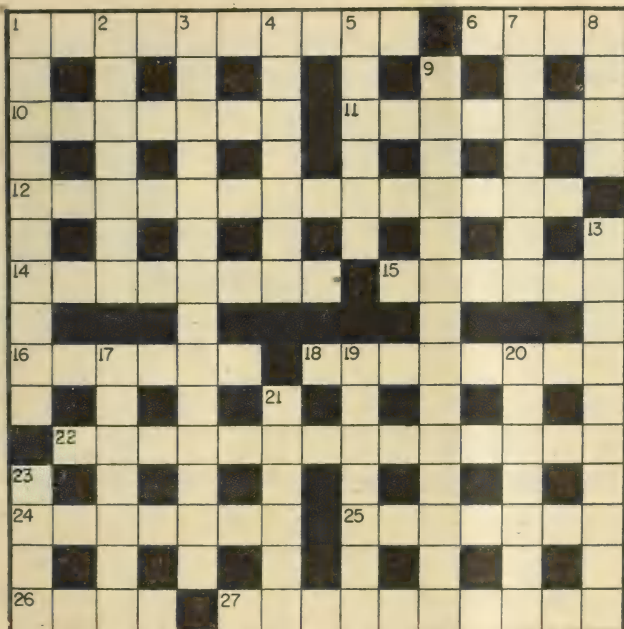
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self in "Opus 34," and in that line be-
cause of a musical basis similar to that
of "Opus 34." That is, except for the
jazz that breaks in for a few moments,
Ives's "Central Park in the Dark" is in
a modern idiom that makes no more co-
herent musical sense to me than the
Schönberg piece used in "Opus 34"; and
like that piece it provides Balanchine
with a suitable sound-track—this time
for the powerful metaphors of an epi-
sode of sexual brutality, the powerful
comments of the corps. Ives's "The Un-
answered Question" performs a similar
function for the most strikingly original
episode in the ballet—the latest in Bal-
anchine's series of extraordinary sup-
ported adagios: one in which, this time,
the man crawls after, reaches up for, and
never succeeds in making contact with
the girl who enters supported aloft and
erect by four other men who move and
swing her down and up and around and
eventually carry her out. And on the
other hand the distorted jazz of "In the
Inn" is directly and obviously related to
Balanchine's grotesque caricatures of
popular dances. LeClerc and Bolender
in this episode, Reed and Moncion in
"Central Park," Allegre Kent and Bo-
lender in "The Unanswered Question,"
Wilde, Adams, d'Amboise, and Bliss in
the other episodes that I don't remember
as clearly—all contribute to a superb
performance of this extraordinary work.

On the other hand in the revival of
the Rodgers-Hart-Balanchine "On Your
Toes" Balanchine demonstrates—in the
routines for the excellent Bobby Van,
and in the big ensemble numbers for
"Quiet Night" and "On Your Toes"—
that he can use the American musical-
show idiom as effectively as any Ameri-
can; and in the "On Your Toes" num-
ber he begins with this idiom, then has
one of the repetitions of the song danced
in his classical ballet idiom, and then
combines the two, with first only one
couple jitterbugging around a couple
doing a classical ballet adagio, and then
the entire company joining in one of his
brilliant final crescendos. All this in
addition to the famous "Slaughter on
Tenth Avenue" and the "Princess Zeno-
bia" burlesque of "Scheherazade." It was
"Princess Zenobia" that stayed in my
memory all these years; and perhaps I
only imagined the additional details that
I remembered making it even more
hilariously funny than it is now.

Crossword Puzzle No. 593

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 A friend like Hamlet? (10)
- 2 Grasped at the end? (4)
- 10 Cartier isn't very dependable. (7)
- 11 A bad example of legislation, despite its eleemosynary aims. (4, 3)
- 12 Concerning the poetry of our language? (It should be on the ball!) (7, 7)
- 14 Actors, and many of them, gamble this way. (4, 4)
- 15 Are those who give it this trying, or just going around in circles? (6)
- 16 Back up thus to take care of things here. (6)
- 18 Bob should be a near relative. (8)
- 22 It might make drawing easy. (6, 2, 6)
- 24 Take illegally a bad rate from the "show-girl." (7)
- 25 Trouble with a buzz in your ear? (7)
- 26 An act which might involve trust. (4)
- 27 Not much to carry up north! (6, 4)

DOWN

- 1 and 8. Very early wad? (3, 5, 2, 4)
- 2 A railroad to the unsanctified town of riddles. (7)
- 3 With such travel, you won't be told there's no space left. (14)
- 4 The way to get a nice tan, even though no longer young. (7)

- 5 Look at the first half of the ball game! It's moving along rather rapidly! (6)
- 7 Polish, used generally in Colonial period. (7)
- 8 See 1 down.
- 9 You might, if the clue stinks! (6, 4, 4)
- 13 Where a shady Princetonian character might go? (5, 5)
- 17 Jefferson said he did for his country, when he reflected God is just. (7)
- 19 Thrown away from the players. (3-4)
- 20 The sort of gold the president makes, which is more than any man. (7)
- 21 Is this opera full of western animals? Quite the reverse! (6)
- 23 With which to nail down a bad poet? (4)



SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 592

ACROSS:—1 NONOFFICIAL; 9 SPITEFUL; 10 PADRES; 12 ABANDON; 15 OVERWEIGHT; 17 HINDMOST; 20 SATURN; 22 COMPOTE; 26 BONITO; 27 ALLUSION.

DOWN:—2 OUTPOURED; 3 OFFBEAT; 5 CAPABLE; 7 UKRAINE; 16 WITH GUSTO; 18 IGOROT; 19 OUTPOST; 20 SHALLOT; 21 RATION; 23 IS; 28, 6, 24, 14, 11 and 4 PRIDE GOETH BEFORE DESTRUCTION AND AN HAUGHTY SPIRIT BEFORE A FALL; 25 YALU.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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Letters

Mr. Merson Complains

Dear Sirs: Thanks for calling your readers' attention [see Secret Blacklist, *The Nation*, October 30] to my article, A Business Man's Education in Government, in the October 7 issue of the *Reporter*. I hope they will all read it. Having always regarded *The Nation* as an important and reliable source of liberal views in this country, I wish you had not resorted to two basics of what you and others stridently condemn as McCarthyism—that is, the anonymity of your informant and the Big Lie technique concerning my relations with the Senator. In my State Department tour [as deputy director of the United States Information Agency] I accorded the full measure of respect owing a man duly elected United States Senator and serving by vote of his colleagues as chairman of the Senate's permanent subcommittee on investigations, already well started on an investigation of my agency when I arrived in Washington. Inasmuch as the American people in 1952 had placed its faith in the Eisenhower Administration, in no small part on the issue of communism, I had a positive duty to give McCarthy's charges a fair hearing. This I did and no more. In no single instance in my five months' tour did I do the bidding of McCarthy in the hiring and firing of employees or in any other respect. If you can, name one individual responsible for the direction of an executive branch agency during this period who more effectively and more courageously resisted without any White House support whatsoever the insatiable demands of McCarthy and his henchmen. May I close by advertent to the remarks of the wise old pagan philosopher Symmachus, "The universe is too great a mystery for there to be only one single approach to it," which I understand to mean there is more than one way to skin a cat. *Newtown Square, Pa.* MARTIN MERSON

The Author's Answer

Dear Sirs: We hope Mr. Merson isn't afflicted with amnesia. He now writes that his deference to Joe McCarthy was simply the respect owing a United States Senator and that he never did more than give McCarthy's charges a fair hearing.

But Mr. Merson had a different story to tell in the *Reporter*. There he was discussing the 1953 dismissal of one of the top United States Information Agency officials in Germany, Theodore Kagan, who had failed to display enough servility toward Messrs. Cohn and Schine during their visit to Germany. Mr. Merson was honest enough to confess in the *Reporter* that he was among those who ducked the Kagan issue. "It is to my everlasting shame . . ." Mr. Merson declared.

Well, which was it: just the deference due a Senator or his everlasting shame?

Secondly, I used a pseudonym for my *Nation* article primarily to shield my sources inside the U. S. I. A. Had I signed my name, it might have been easy to trace and peremptorily to discharge my informants.

Finally, none of this is relevant to the fundamental theme of my article—namely, that the U. S. I. A. is continuing clandestinely to pursue its old ways by maintaining a secret blacklist of authors, composers, and painters, including some of America's most distinguished writers and artists.

SCRUTINEER

Washington

Wallace Stevens

Dear Sirs: John Ciardi's review of Wallace Stevens's "Collected Poems" in your October 16 issue seems to me full of misapprehensions; I suspect that it was hastily written. Maybe not. In any case, I should like to correct Mr. Ciardi on several points, or more precisely to allow Mr. Stevens to correct him.

In "The Necessary Angel, Essays on Reality and the Imagination" (Knopf, 1951), Stevens explains at length his position as realist. I admit that this is a philosophical distinction and not merely what Mr. Ciardi says is "the world's view of itself." But I think Stevens takes very much into consideration what the world's view of itself is, Stevens is less a poet of the ivory tower—which, like Mr. Ciardi, he respects—than Mr. Ciardi may realize, and I don't know that we must admire him the less for that.

Also, I fear it will do little good to make an unfair comparison between Stevens and Frost, both major poets. Some poets are no doubt more widely known than others, and their relative importance changes. Stevens is surely no more of a "Great Unread" than Marianne Moore, or Spenser, or Marvell. I'm fairly certain that Mr. Ciardi is perfectly well aware of this, and can give me more examples than I can give him.

I'd like to counterpose to what Mr. Ciardi says is Stevens's point of view what Stevens says is his point of view. Ciardi refers to Stevens's "absolute, insistence that imagination is more 'real' than reality and his ascetic refusal to accept in his poems the reality of the 'real' world." Stevens says, on the "nature of poetry," that poetry is "an interdependence of the imagination and reality as equals." For Stevens too "the structure of poetry and the structure of reality are one."

STEVE FELDMAN

Cedarhurst, N. Y.

"Outlawing" Unions?

Dear Sirs: While there has been considerable public comment on the Communist Control Act of 1954 as it relates to the "outlawing" of the Communist Party, little has been said, at least in the press, about the sections which place labor unions under the control of the Subversive Activities Control Board.

The Butler bill, incorporated in the Communist Control Act, provides that the Attorney General may file a petition alleging that a union is a "Communist-infiltrated" organization. The Subversive Activities Control Board then holds hearings and upon a determination that the charges of the Attorney General are sustained, and subject to the action of the courts, issues an order which has the effect of destroying the union.

The criteria which the new law provides for the board's consideration in making such determination are so vague on the one hand and so broad and pervasive on the other that they violate every concept of constitutional protection.

One of the criteria is: "To what extent, if any, the personnel and resources of such organization are, or within three years have been, used to further or promote the objectives of any such Communist organization, government, or movement." Would every organization in the United States have to check to determine whether or not the lawful objectives it would normally pursue under its constitution are also those of some "Communist" organization?

The Butler bill has been condemned by every major section of organized labor. The Goldwater-Rhodes bill, as George Meany, president of the A. F. of L., has said, "adds up to licensing of unions. It eliminates and destroys unions." The C. I. O. has said, "Government regulations of trade unions as proposed in the Butler, Goldwater, and Velde bills . . . would not merely encroach upon the rights of workers to choose their own unions; they would give the government the power of life and death over all unions." And the United Mine Workers said: "[The bills] are a clever ruse by which a man can be accused of 'guilt by association' in one particular city and the whole wage structure and working conditions in a particular industry outlawed nation-wide." The C. I. O. Oil Workers Union made the pithy comment that if the Butler bill passed, "no union could survive unless approved by the political party in power."

It is a historical truism that outlawry of Communists and their party is always followed by outlawry or complete control of labor unions. The object of such legislation is to stifle dissent, Labor unions and the working people who constitute their membership are the greatest fountainhead of dissent against reactionary political and economic policies.

DAVID SCRIBNER

New York

The Shape of Things

Talks with Russia

One of the most important questions for Premier Mendès-France to take up during his stay in this country is the proper timing of talks with Moscow. If it does nothing more, Russia's formal proposal of an all-Europe meeting to discuss security and a German settlement pushes this item to the top of the agenda. For the point and purpose of the new Soviet move is to convince the West that the rearmament of Bonn will be a block, not an aid, to a general settlement.

Recognition that a settlement must be tried for has become high policy on both sides of the Great Divide. The recent speeches of top Russian leaders reveal a concerted, double-pronged propaganda drive against the London-Paris agreements and in favor of some new deal for Germany and Europe. At the same time Moscow's efforts to establish better relations with Turkey and Yugoslavia, its acquiescence in the Trieste decision, and its manifold overtures to Western nations for increased trade constitute a considerable fund of "deeds" designed to fortify its words.

That the West accepts all this as indicating something substantial and new in Soviet policy is also clear in statements made over the past week or so by Mr. Eisenhower, Sir Winston Churchill and Mr. Eden, Mr. Pearson, and even Dr. Adenauer, who not only advocated a non-aggression pact between a completed Western European alliance and the Soviet bloc but has welcomed the Russian proposal for a European conference. His single objection was to the suggested date, November 29, which he thought too early. All of these statements indicate that peace is in the wind, if not yet on solid ground. Only a sober desire to contribute to the reduction of tension can explain, for example, the President's amazing moderation in the matter of the shooting down of an American war plane over Hokkaido.

The Question of Timing

The biggest obstacle in the way of an early and honest test of Russian intentions is the insistence that it must await final all-around ratification of the German rearmament agreements. In fact, the formula generally used

goes farther still. Both the United States and Britain have talked as if no negotiations with Moscow could begin until German divisions are in existence. But Mendès-France is supposed to favor talks carried on parallel with the process of ratification—in other words, while the parliaments are still debating the subject. This is a very different idea, and one that offers a chink of hope to those who believe that ratification will be the signal for an intensified arms race.

Which is Western policy? The public has a right to know. In discussing the new Russian note with the President and Secretary of State, Mr. Mendès-France will have an excellent opportunity to clear up this basic ambiguity once and for all. He should then give the facts to his own anxious compatriots and the world.

Can the Senate Be Intimidated?

If Senator McCarthy had never been guilty of contemptuous behavior, his conduct during the current debate on the censure motion would amply support the charge. Those of his colleagues who are not on his side are either "unwitting handmaidens" of the Communist Party or "involuntary servants" of the Kremlin. What the Senator is now saying, of course, is that the Senate is "Communist-infiltrated" if not "Communist-dominated." The "march on Washington" was his idea. The loud cheers from the corridors that served as a fanfare for his smiling entrance into the Senate chamber came from a clique he had organized and assembled. Even Senator Dirksen has entered a mild protest over the tension which these demonstrations are building up in Washington. Why, then, doesn't the Senate identify the powerful behind-the-scenes forces that are supporting McCarthy in this effort to subvert its authority? Is the Vice-President party to a plot to interfere with orderly parliamentary procedures in the Senate? Senator Watkins's colleagues should ponder his grim comment: "I sometimes wonder if I am on trial here. I was sent out as an investigator, but it appears I am on trial." As usual, Senator McCarthy has succeeded in changing the issue. No longer is it a question of whether he should be censured; the real issue is now whether the Senate can be intimidated. Never before has its authority and prestige been so directly and dramatically challenged.

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Once Again: Mr. Justice Harlan

Justice John M. Harlan, who served on the Supreme Court from 1877 to 1911, has been doubly honored: his historic dissent in *Plessy vs. Ferguson* (1896) was adopted as the law of the land in the court's unanimous decision barring racial segregation in the public schools, and now his grandson has been appointed justice. Partial to the grandfather, *The Nation* was predisposed to look with favor on the grandson. All the same we did some checking among those who know what needs to be known about an appointee to the court but who are neither close friends nor partisans of Judge Harlan. For example, Leonard J. Emmerglick, who served for some ten years in the anti-trust division of the Department of Justice. Mr. Emmerglick represented the government in a successful anti-trust prosecution, which took four months to try, against certain companies represented by Judge Harlan, then a member of the firm of Root, Balantine, Harlan, Bushby, and Palmer. What Mr. Emmerglick told us, he said we might quote directly: "Judge Harlan is a lawyer who honors the highest traditions of the American bar. He has remarkable legal ability, with immense experience and skill as a trial lawyer, and is familiar with large affairs. He's a man of integrity and fine character." Chats with eight or ten members of the New York bar, of quite diverse interests and clientele, drew equally enthusiastic comments. One well-known civil-liberties lawyer said something about Judge Harlan that was, we thought, of special interest: "He's every inch a lawyer and not, thank God! a politician."

At the moment the court is overweighted with politicians; it should be strengthened by the appointment of a lawyer of Judge Harlan's attested ability and integrity. His conservative background and Wall Street connections do not disturb us. After reading the late Chief Justice Vinson's decision in the *Dennis* case, we came to the conclusion that the appointment of one or more Wall Street lawyers might be just what the court needed. Once again it will be a pleasure to note, in the court's reported decisions, the name of Mr. Justice Harlan.

The Saar: Victory or Defeat?

The agreement to settle the Saar issue on the basis of a "Europeanization" of the territory was acclaimed by the West as new proof both of Premier Mendès-France's extraordinary talent for solving difficult problems and of Chancellor Adenauer's superb statesmanship. The French Premier certainly devoted all his unusual energy to obtaining an agreement that would protect France's economic interests and also protect his country against the day when the good "Europeans" of Bonn are replaced by the old familiar Pan-Germans demanding the return of the Saar.

But the French victory, part of the price Germany had

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to pay for rearmament and membership in NATO, almost wrecked Adenauer. The halo that was descending upon the Chancellor as the result of his tremendous gains at London and Paris was suddenly transformed into a rain of reproaches from the most diverse sections of West German opinion. Opposition of the Social Democrats had been expected; not so the resistance of the Free Democrats and the All-German (refugee) Bloc, which have announced that they will vote for everything agreed upon in Paris except the Saar accord.

But the opposition of the Rightists, who in the long run are more interested in rearmament and sovereignty than in the Saar, cannot be counted upon, and the Chancellor is probably justified in expecting parliamentary approval of the London-Paris agreements by February at the latest. His only major reliable opponent continues to be the German Social Democrats, who for once are showing more spirit than their French colleagues. In France the Socialist Party Congress last week approved the London-Paris accords by a vote of 2,187 to 454, with 93 abstentions. The debate showed that the step was taken unwillingly. But taken it was, and if in France's next general election the Communists, the only large French group which still opposes German rearmament, gain at the expense of the Socialists, the latter will have only themselves and their general secretary, Guy Mollet, to blame.

The Diplomat

BY ERIC SEVAREID

SOMETIMES, to add to the meaning of the headlines, a reporter must be personal. Eleven years ago I was a war correspondent flying toward China over the infamous "hump." There came a terrifying moment when the passengers, mostly G. I.'s, stood near the door trying to summon the courage to bail out of the crippled plane. Precious moments passed. Then one of the three civilians aboard, the diplomat who clutched a dispatch case to his chest, gave us a wry smile and leaped out. His action broke the paralysis; we all followed; and all of us but one survived.

In the weeks that followed, we were never entirely sure we would get out of those jungle mountains; in such circumstances men learn truly to know one another: who is weak, who is afraid, who is impetuous, and who is strong and calm and prudent. As the time passed, the G. I.'s and I began to recognize the civilian with the carefully guarded dispatch case as one among us with a calm and natural courage, as one who would never panic, who never complained. He was the one we chose, for common sense and discretion, to deal with the touchy and dangerous Naga head hunters, our undecided hosts.

Mostly we feared Japanese patrols, and a day came when we heard there was a patrol not far away. The colonel in charge gave orders that we three civilians, in case of attack, were to take our guns and try to escape, while the soldiers remained to fight. It was the diplomat who said, "In the first place this would be dishonorable. In the second place, we'd never get out." Fortunately, there was no attack.

There was, however, a long and painful hike in rain and heat for all of us. There were moments when another step seemed quite impossible. In such moments it was generally the diplomat who would sing out with something like, "Onward and upward with the arts!" and we would laugh and gasp and keep on climbing. I began to faint with heat and thirst on one suffocating slope; the man who left his half pint of water with me—all he had—was, of course, the diplomat.

AFTER we emerged into India and the military reports were in, there was a move in the air force to decorate our diplomat for his outstanding personal conduct. I do not know if he ever received the decoration. But none of us in that strange party, I think, would have disputed the choice. For I thought then, as I think now, that if ever again I were in deep trouble, the man I would want to be with would be this particular man. I have known a great number of men around the world, under all manner of circumstance. I have known none who seemed more the whole man; none a more finished civilized product in all that a man should be—in modesty and thoughtfulness, in resourcefulness and steady strength of character.

The name of this man is John Paton Davies. He is the man Secretary of State Dulles, on the recommendation of a five-man board, has just broken on the wheel of official disgrace—the Foreign Service officer dismissed, three years short of retirement and pension, after giving twenty-three years of his life, and almost life itself, in the arduous service of his government. Eight times he was investigated; eight times he was cleared. One by one the politically inspired charges of communism or disloyalty or perjury were dropped; the ninth board came up with something new, called defects of character. Mr. Davies is not, concluded the board and Mr. Dulles, of sufficient judgment, discretion, and reliability.

Sufficient, one may ask, unto *what*? Their test can only have been of supernatural design. I saw their victim measured against the most severe tests that mortal man can design. Those, he passed. At the head of the class.

ERIC SEVAREID is a news analyst for the Columbia Broadcasting System. This is the text of a broadcast he made on November 8; it was entered into the Congressional Record on November 12 by Senator Lehman over the protests of Senator McCarthy.

Pooling the Atom . . by *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

United Nations

LAST week the Political Committee made considerable progress towards establishing, under Western initiative, an international agency to administer a research program for the peaceful development of atomic energy. The first major step in the program is to be the convening next summer of an international scientific conference.

The exact status to be accorded the proposed agency has been the subject of considerable debate. The Russians are demanding a body which would be responsible to the Security Council. The United States took a somewhat similar view in a memorandum circulated among U. N. delegations last March. Washington has since changed its mind, however, and the majority on the Political Committee now agree that the body shall have a status analogous to that of the specialized agencies, which enjoy considerable autonomy.

The debate contained as much of politics as of technology. A year ago the atomic-pool idea, the genesis of the plan now before the Political Committee, seemed to open the way for transforming destructive atomic stockpiles into sources of creative energy. Now ambitions have suddenly become more modest. The U. N. is put at the periphery rather than at the heart of the atomic-pool plan; instead of an international pool of atomic materials there will be bilateral agreements for sharing them.

STILL a step has been taken towards the development, under international auspices, of the peace-time use of the atom. How long a step it is hard to tell. It is not even certain how soon atomic energy can be economically harnessed to industrial use. The forthcoming scientific conference may yield valuable information on this point.

The whole project has a complex history. As early as the winter of 1945 the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain signed an agreement in Moscow aimed at creating an atomic-energy commission that would function under the aegis of the United Nations. A few months later—on January 24,

1946—such a commission was in fact constituted for the purpose of controlling the development of atomic energy in such a way as to secure its utilization "exclusively for peaceful aims." For nearly seven years not a single step toward the desired goal was recorded. But on December 8, last year, President Eisenhower made his dramatic proposal for an international "atomic pool" which would be used not only for the advancement of industry in highly developed countries but especially as an invaluable adjunct to the assistance programs for the underdeveloped countries.

Although the President failed to link his proposal with plans for atomic disarmament, his suggestion nevertheless aroused interest in all countries, including the Soviet Union. It has been charged that the Russians were hostile to the plan from the beginning because—so it has been said—they are not interested in improving the living standards, and thereby increasing the resistance to communism, of non-Communist countries. The Russians deny this, emphasizing early and interested comment on the proposal by Soviet scientists. But whatever Moscow's position in the past has been, there is no doubt about its interest today. In the course of the First Committee debate Mr. Vishinsky stressed that while the President's original suggestion made a special point of providing sources of electric power to underdeveloped areas, the plan now formally presented to the U. N. by Ambassador Lodge almost ignores this phase. The Soviet delegate expressed regret that the new version "narrowed" the scope and form of the international cooperative effort envisaged by the President.

Many speakers paid homage to the "constructive character" of Mr. Eisenhower's proposal and noted with satisfaction that, after having spent weeks debating disarmament, during which the destructive potential of the atom was stressed, they could now turn to its constructive aspects. But of course it is impossible to separate the two. The need for cooperating in peace-time uses of atomic energy grows in the measure that its use for war acquires increasingly hor-

rrible implications. Nor is the urgency lessened by the continuing test explosions in the Soviet Union—explosions which are smashing all the illusions of Western preponderance in nuclear weapons. Prime Minister Churchill, with his unequaled flair for dramatizing the turning points of history, told the House of Commons last summer that the approaching stalemate in atomic power between the United States and the U. S. S. R. was forcing upon the world a totally new approach to the problem of international relations. The changing situation, he added, has modified the outlook of every military expert with whom he has talked.

UNDER such conditions it is not surprising that this Assembly should have produced enough evidence to indicate that, given the will on both sides, agreement between East and West can be reached both on disarmament and on an "atomic pool." Eisenhower's original proposal, with its emphasis on aid to underdeveloped countries, could begin a new chapter in man's fight against misery and hunger. The possibilities were underscored by Dr. Maghnad Saha, honorary director of the Institute of Nuclear Physics at Calcutta University, when on a recent visit to the United States he referred to the obstacles in the path of India's industrialization. A country enormously rich in raw materials finds itself strangled by the lack of conventional power sources—water, coal, petroleum. "If cheap atomic power does come to us," said Dr. Saha, "it will mean a revolution in India."

The current debate has been encouraging in other ways. It is clear, for instance, that countries other than the "big three" are prepared to contribute more to the proposed atomic pool in the way of materials and know-how than had been generally assumed. Jules Moch of France referred to vast mineral resources, rich in uranium, which have been discovered in southern Madagascar; he announced that his country would soon rank fourth in plutonium production, bested only by the United States, the Soviet Union, and Britain.

DISPELLING THE MYSTERY

Meaning of the Vote . . by Louis H. Bean

THE results of the recent elections can be made to look mysterious, accidental, or just obvious, depending on the angle from which you examine them. The most excitement was aroused, of course, by the nip-and-tuck character of the races in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Ohio, Michigan, Iowa, Wyoming, and Oregon, with the inevitable sequel, the recounts. The mysteries loom large when you search for the effects of issues and campaign strategy, more specifically when you try to decide how much influence should be credited to issues, Eisenhower's appeals, McCarthyism, and the obvious substitute for McCarthyism introduced into the campaign by Republican last-minute strategy in the form of Nixonism. I am inclined to take the view that by and large the election results were foreseeable in fairly definite terms, that the Republicans saw the significance of an almost inevitable mid-term setback, and that in the difference between what the election looked like during the first half of October and the actual outcome lies the answer to some of the questions now being raised.

What were the prospects for the election during the first half of October? No different than they were a year earlier when I had occasion to test what had happened to the political trend during the first year of the Eisenhower Administration. In a poll in four barometric areas across the country it was found that Republican strength had dropped about five percentage points in questions relating to the Congress, but on an Eisenhower vs. Stevenson question it was found that Eisenhower's popularity had diminished noticeably in the South, very little if at all in the North. Had an election been held at this time, a year ago, the decline would have meant, according

Pro or Anti What?

What was the meaning of the November 2 returns in terms of the voters' reactions to party allegiances, issues, and personalities? *The Nation* gave some of the answers last week in extended editorial comment and in on-the-spot reports from eight key states. In the article which begins on this page, Louis H. Bean puts the election in historical perspective; in the article immediately following, Philip K. Hastings looks at the results through the showcase of the unique Pittsfield Project.

to my interpretation, a possible Democratic gain of about forty seats in the House, with the results in the Senate quite uncertain. Other tests and subsequent developments showed a remarkable stability in the national political balance right up to the first part of October.

I should record at this point that early in 1954 the dominant question about the 1954 elections had to do with the role and influence of Senator McCarthy. Examining his claim to a record-breaking victory in his own reelection in Wisconsin and to having greatly helped not only Eisenhower but a number of Senators in their victory, I found, rather, that much of Wisconsin had actually shifted away from McCarthy between 1946 and 1952, that he was in fact the low man on the Republican list in Wisconsin, and, what was even more surprising, that his campaigning in behalf of Republican Senatorial candidates in 1952 actually helped the Democratic candidates by about five percentage points. From this I concluded that it was the Democrats who should hire him to campaign *against* their candidates in the coming elections! It is said that the Republican strategists saw the point.

The next test of the political wind came from the Northwest, where cold winds usually originate. The April pri-

maries in Alaska showed a marked Democratic gain, and on the basis of historical analysis I concluded that it foreshadowed the reelection of Delegate Bartlett by three to one or better, that the Alaska legislature would be quite turned around in October with Democrats winning twenty of the twenty-four seats instead of the four won in 1952, and that the October election in Alaska would foreshadow a Democratic gain in the November national election of about forty seats.

Before the Alaska election in October corroborated the conclusions drawn from the April primaries, the Maine elections took place, with results that fitted into the general expectations. The twelve-point Democratic gain and the election of a Democratic Governor for the first time since 1934 also pointed to a national Democratic gain in November of about forty seats. The meaning of these events in the far Northwest and the far Northeast, corroborated by the periodic Gallup polls showing Republicans to be less strong than in 1952, was not lost on political strategists. It is said that shortly afterward the Republicans decided to play their strongest card in an attempt to retain control of Congress, the Communists-in-government card.

AT THAT juncture what else was reasonably certain about the outcome of the 1954 election? If one assumed a normal mid-term battle, conducted without resort to unusually low-level tactics, without the President stepping down from the White House into local contests, and without his appeal to voters to elect Republican Congressmen whether or not they would support his program, the following developments were in prospect. The Democrats were bound to pick up most of their gains in the House in the Northeast—the states east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio River and the Mason-Dixon Line. The rest would come partly from the farm areas east of the Rockies, partly from the Pacific

LOUIS H. BEAN is one of the very few political analysts who foresaw Harry Truman's victory in 1948. He is the author of "How to Predict Elections" and "The Midterm Battle."

states. This distribution was reasonably sure since most of the marginal seats won by the Republicans in 1952 were in the Northeast quadrant and here too were most of the areas with substantial unemployment. Local issues on the Pacific coast and some farm discontent promised to swing the other marginal seats to the Democrats.

Normally a mid-term election means a loss to the party in power of from twenty-five to thirty seats. In 1950, for example, the Democrats lost twenty-seven. The somewhat greater loss expected this year could be ascribed to unemployment and lower farm income, and the likelihood of still lower farm income when the full flexible-price-support program came into effect.

With regard to the Senate, the prospects were not much more certain in early October than they had appeared earlier in the year, but the historical-statistical approach pointed to a possible net Democratic gain of two seats; this would give the Democrats control of the Senate as well as the House but with about as narrow a margin as the Republicans had in 1952. On the assumption of a five-point Republican loss in position since 1952 and taking note of strong personalities, the Senate seats in danger were those of Kentucky and Michigan. But since it is quite a feat to spot the outcome of individual races, it was necessary to add that if not these two Senate seats then some combination of other Senate races might give the Democrats their margin of control.

One other fact about the 1954 mid-term elections was clear in advance. The voting record shows apathy in every mid-term election. In the 1920's, during the last previous Republican Administrations, Congressional voting in mid-term elections fell off on the average about 25 per cent from Congressional voting in Presidential years. During the Democratic Administrations of the 1930's and 1940's the average shrinkage was about 15 per cent, if we leave out the two exceptional years, 1942 and 1946.

Comparing these statistical clues before the shift in Republican strategy with the final results, we see that in the Senate the Democrats gained the expected narrow margin of control. They did win in Michigan and Kentucky, lost in Iowa and Colorado, and won in Ore-



Courtesy Washington Post

"Close man with a razor, isn't he?"

In the House the Democrats won 232 seats, a net gain of 18 over their total in 1952. They also gained eight governorships. As expected, most of the House seats gained were in the Northeast. The net gain was reduced in part by the failure to recapture Southern seats lost in 1952, in part by the loss of two seats to the Republicans in Texas and Florida. The total vote cast, with no final figure available as yet, is estimated at about 42,000,000, which represents a drop of 15,500,000, or about 26 per cent, from the 1952 vote, a substantially greater falling off than occurred in 1954, 1938, or 1950, the mid-term elections not affected by our being at war.

WE are now in a position to evaluate broadly the general features of this election. The Eisenhower appeal for a large turnout apparently failed, for relatively more voters stayed away this year than during the previous Democratic Administrations. The Senate results on the whole are about in line with what was

expected, and therefore no net credit can be assigned to Nixon's vigorous efforts in behalf of Republican Senatorial candidates. I say "net credit," for there is always the possibility that the Democratic victories would not have been by such extremely narrow margins as they were, say, in Montana and Wyoming had Nixon not campaigned so extensively in the far West. In Oregon his hard work for the Republican candidate shows up as a net Democratic gain of about twelve percentage points over 1952. Without having made the necessary detailed analysis I cannot say definitely, but the question does arise whether Nixon's particular style of campaigning was not as detrimental to Republican candidates in 1954 as McCarthy's tactics were in 1952.

If Nixon's effectiveness is questionable and if voters generally failed to respond to Eisenhower's appeal for a large Republican turnout, how explain the fact that the Democrats' net gain in House seats was only about half that indicated by early October signposts, while their

success in the gubernatorial races was so much greater? I offer this tentative explanation. Voters are most likely to know their Governors, less likely to know their Senators, and as a rule know very little about their Representatives. In recent polls in selected states from Massachusetts to California, from New Mexico to Minnesota, it was found that about 80 per cent of the voters questioned did not even know the names of their Congressmen and more than two-thirds did not know their Senators—except in the cases of Humphrey of Minnesota, Gillette of Iowa, and Anderson of New Mexico. Under these circumstances the President's appeal for a Republican Congress may have increased the proportion of the light vote cast for Republican Congressional candidates but not for Senatorial or gubernatorial candidates. Here voters may have preferred to exercise their own judgment.

SINCE national issues were allowed to play so little part in this mid-term election, there is little evidence as to their influence. Unemployment, it is generally agreed, helped Democrats in a number of the marginal districts in the industrial Northeast. The power issue obviously helped Democrats in the Northwest. But as to the third main issue, supposed to affect the farm vote, there is considerable

confusion. Secretary Benson and various outstanding metropolitan newspapers have concluded that farmers have not turned against the Administration's flexible-price-support program for basic commodities, and they cite the defeat of Senator Gillette of Iowa as proof. But the Administration did in fact suffer a substantial setback in Iowa and elsewhere. In 1952 the Iowa Congressional races averaged 67 per cent Republican. This year Iowa voted only 52 per cent for Senator Gillette's Republican opponent, Martin, while voting 58 per cent for Republican Congressional candidates—a decline in Congressional strength of about nine percentage points. The Congressional political balance in Iowa is again close to that of 1942, 1946, and 1950, but not quite so Republican as in these pre-Eisenhower years. Those who are beginning to speculate about the farmer vote in 1956 should perhaps be warned that the 1954 Iowa results have no prophetic meaning. Like other farm states Iowa shows great independence and selectivity. In 1948, for example, Iowa gave 44 per cent of its vote to Democratic Congressional candidates, 52 to Truman, and 58 to Gillette.

Minnesota, another example of farm sentiment, shows a more striking trend against the Republican Administration. In 1942 the Congressional vote was 40

per cent Democratic; in 1946, 41 per cent; in 1950, 47 per cent; this year, 52 per cent. This does not look like full farmer acceptance of the Eisenhower farm program.

* We shall probably hear more and more about 1956 prospects as interest in the 1954 election gives way to interest in the relations between a Republican President and a Democratic Congress. Republicans are undoubtedly right in their view that their 1954 losses might have been greater had Eisenhower not come to their rescue. With less than a normal mid-term setback they may be tempted to think that they stand just as good a chance of winning in 1956, with Eisenhower heading their ticket, as they did in 1952, and of winning as handsomely. There is of course no guaranty that economic conditions or a President's popularity will always remain at a high level. It should also be pointed out, perhaps, that Democrats may be tempted to lean hopefully on the old, misunderstood fact that the party that takes control of Congress in the mid-term election will take control of the White House in the next Presidential election. This rule, which usually works with the aid of an economic depression, did not work for the Republicans in 1948. The 1956 political chickens cannot be counted now, for they have not yet been hatched.

PITTSFIELD SHOWCASE

Close-up of the Voter . . . by Philip K. Hastings

ALTHOUGH there were but few indications of a Democratic trend in New England in 1954, it is clear that the political winds in this region have shifted a good deal since President Eisenhower's landslide victory in 1952. This important development is documented both by the election returns and by the findings of the intensive political study of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, being carried on by

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myself and Professor Burns of the Department of Political Science of Williams College.

The surprising election of the Democrat, Muskie, as Governor of Maine last September and Ribicoff's hair's-breadth victory over Republican John Lodge in Connecticut this month were the high points of the Democrats' scattered display of strength in traditionally Republican New England. In the whole six states the Democrats picked up but one additional seat in the House of Representatives—in Massachusetts' Eighth District—but some of the Congressional

races were considerably closer than two years ago. In New Hampshire's First District, for example, Republican Chester Merrow squeezed in by only 750 votes. As usual there was a Republican sweep in Vermont. The Johnson (R)-Brannon (D) gubernatorial contest, however, was decided by a plurality of only slightly more than 5,000—an unusually narrow margin.

In Massachusetts, considered by many a critical state this year, Governor Herter won reelection by approximately 75,000 votes, as compared to his 1952 margin of 14,000. Senator Saltonstall beat his

Democratic opponent, Foster Furcolo, by nearly 29,000 votes. In 1952 the Republican incumbent, Henry Cabot Lodge, lost by a decisive 65,000.

Certainly the spotty Democratic erosion of Republican strength throughout the New England area in 1954 was due in part to minor local issues. The interesting question is whether there has been a general shift in political attitudes since 1952. The study of Pittsfield, a city which may be regarded as typical of the heavily populated Northeast, gives us some insight into the factors which led the voters to make their November 2 decisions. Among the central findings are the following:

1. The political issues uppermost in the minds of the people in this section of the nation in 1954 were not the cost of living, corruption in government, Far Eastern tension, and labor strife as in 1952, but unemployment, internal communism, and foreign policy.

2. During the past two years President Eisenhower has lost a measurable amount of his impressive popular support. Those people who moved out of the Eisenhower column were largely political "independents" from the labor occupational group.

3. Although feeling about McCarthy apparently ran high, there was little evidence that it underlay voting behavior.

INFORMATION about the political attitudes of the people of Pittsfield was systematically gathered during the campaign months of both the 1952 and 1954 elections. A number of community-wide polls, case studies of the members of a small panel group, and a careful examination of locally important mediums of political communication were among the methods used. Although in some of the lesser races Pittsfield has occasionally swung into the Republican column, like most Northeastern cities it has voted Democratic in the Presidential contests of the past quarter-century. In 1952, however, following the trend in the whole nation, it gave President Eisenhower a majority. This was the first time since 1924 that a Republican Presidential candidate had been successful in this community of 53,000 people.

"As you see it, what are the most serious problems facing the United States today?" the voters were asked in both 1952 and 1954. As shown in the

following table, their views have changed in the past two years. Reflecting in part the end of the fighting in Korea, the question of tension in the Far East was mentioned 17 per cent less often this year than in 1952. Much less concern was also shown over taxation, the cost of living, labor problems, and corruption in government.

With the drop in importance of these issues greater emphasis was placed on unemployment, internal communism, and the government's foreign policy. The one major issue of crucial concern in both 1954 and 1952 was the threat of a third world war.

1952-54 Political Issues: Direction and Amount of Change

	Per Cent
Unemployment	+14
Communism in the United States	+14
United States foreign policy ..	+9
Labor strife	-9
Taxation	-13
Corruption in government	-15
Far Eastern tension	-17
The cost of living	-21

Most of the persons concerned primarily with the issues of unemployment and the cost of living thought that the Democratic Party was better able to handle these problems and would have voted for Stevenson had he been running against Eisenhower for the Presidency this fall. The people most worried about our foreign relations, tension in the Far East, government corruption, and communism in this country leaned toward the Republican Party. Had they been making a choice this fall between Eisenhower and Stevenson, they would have voted for Eisenhower two to one.

The current study of Pittsfield's voters revealed that one out of four 1952 Eisenhower voters either would have definitely voted for Stevenson or had moved to a point of indecision. Nine out of ten of the Stevenson partisans of two years ago, however, were still loyal to him. The noticeable drop in Eisenhower's political popularity since 1952, coupled with the continuing strength of most of New England's Republican candidates this year, tempers the oft-voiced observation that Eisenhower was the key to a Republican victory in the 1954 elections.

Who were the Eisenhower renegades? What were they thinking? Slightly more

than 50 per cent of the former Eisenhower supporters came from the ranks of labor, half of them falling within the category of skilled labor. Seven out of ten people in this group identified themselves as "independents" politically, more than half were members of the Roman Catholic church, and about 50 per cent fell into a high-middle-income bracket.

As the following table shows, the decisive issues for those persons who no longer supported President Eisenhower were notably different from those for the people who were still faithful. The former tended to stress essentially economic issues, while the latter showed greater concern over the problems that in Pittsfield were held to be the main issues of the 1952 Republican campaign—the Far Eastern conflict, government corruption and spending, and the threat of another major war. Those who had deserted Eisenhower and those still loyal to him differed mainly in the emphasis they placed on the cost of living and on this country's Far Eastern problems. The percentages in the table indicate the extent to which the voters in each group considered as "decisive" the issues listed in the first column.

	Voted for Eisenhower in 1952 but would not vote for him in 1954	Voted for Eisenhower in 1952 and would vote for him again in 1954
	Per cent	Per cent
The cost of living	69	51
Taxation	37	32
Wages	25	20
Corruption in government ...	43	47
Threat of a third world war	75	79
Far Eastern tension	38	58

Despite Senator McCarthy's boast that he would play an important role in this year's Congressional elections, he was not an issue integrally related to the voting decisions of the people of Pittsfield. Less than 5 per cent of the cross-section questioned said that the McCarthy issue was germane to the elections.

Does this mean that the voters were lukewarm about McCarthy? Would they have liked to have McCarthy on their party ticket as candidate for Senator from Massachusetts? Throughout the cross-section there was strong anti-Mc-

Carthy sentiment; 70 per cent would not want him as their Senatorial candidate. The reasons cited ranged from a blanket condemnation to specific criticism of his methods, his treatment of witnesses before his committee, and his personal ambition. See table below.

<i>Reasons Cited for Anti-McCarthy Sentiments</i>	
	<i>Per Cent</i>
His methods.....	28
Blanket condemnation.....	19
Quarrelsome, a trouble-maker.....	17
His personality traits.....	12
Egotistical, out for himself.....	6
Unfair to other people.....	6
Miscellaneous.....	12

Regarding McCarthy's methods, the persons interviewed in Pittsfield were

asked to answer the following question: "Some people feel that McCarthy's methods are a lot like those used by Hitler or Stalin. Do you strongly agree, agree somewhat, or strongly disagree?" Slightly more than half of the people interviewed selected one or the other of the first two alternatives, splitting almost evenly between them. Three out of ten strongly disagreed; the others expressed an inability to answer the question.

The people in this area connected the McCarthy issue with the political campaign in only one way. Nearly 70 per cent of those interviewed felt that he might be hurting the Republican Party this fall. The fact that so few people

ranked McCarthy among the top eight 1954 issues would suggest that their voting decisions hinged very little on their personal feelings about him.

The political crosswinds revealed by this 1952-54 study of a typical urban community, like the election results in New England, are clear signs that many of the normally Democratic voters who strayed from the fold in 1952 have returned. Uppermost in their minds were the economic issues. Thus the Republican candidates in this section of the country, while in general able to weather the decline in Eisenhower's political popularity, had to make a strong effort to combat the Democrats' bid for a return to power.

SINO-INDIAN ACCORD

A Step Toward Asian Peace . . by K. M. Pannikar

New Delhi

IT IS owing to the similarity of the historical processes by which they achieved their independence that India and China, in spite of the difference in ideology, have in many ways a common approach to Asian problems. Freedom from foreign control, the unification of the country, the establishment of a single, unchallenged authority over the entire territory of the state—these were the political objectives of both revolutions. Equally the basic problems they face are similar: to raise the living standards of the peasantry, to create a stable and diversified economic structure lifting them up from the "colonial economies" of the past, and to industrialize rapidly—in short, to create a new and modern society in place of the ineffective and outmoded social systems which they had inherited. While India chose the liberal democratic way, as a result of historical circumstances, China preferred the Communist system; but this difference in ideology does not change the basic fact

that both represent the spirit of Asian resurgence. Their resentment of the great powers' reluctance to allow Asian problems to be settled by Asians, their resistance to Western attempts to build up spheres of influence in Asia stem from this common background.

India and the People's Republic of China stepped on to the international stage practically at the same time. Few people then realized the significance of

the emergence in the comity of nations of these two giant peoples having between them a population of a thousand million. The inherited sense of superiority cherished by Europe and America prevented them from recognizing an important shift that had taken place in international life. But it was grasped immediately in both New Delhi and Peking. The problem that faced the leaders in both countries was whether it would be possible for them to work out a basis of cooperation for mutual benefit. India had deliberately elected to remain a member of the Commonwealth. China had as deliberately chosen, in Chairman Mao's words, "to lean to the Communist side" and had negotiated a treaty of friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union. Was peaceful coexistence based on friendly cooperation between two such states possible? From the beginning of India's relations with the Peking government, both countries accepted the principle of cooperation in the interests of peace, and it has now become their official policy.

It was no doubt a great advantage that they had had no conflicts or rivalries in the past to mar their political relations.

(Continued on page 444)



Prime Minister Nehru

K. M. PANNIKAR, India's ambassador to China, 1948-53, is the author of the just published "Asia and Western Domination."

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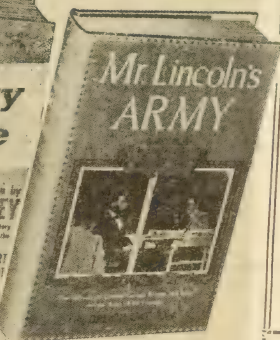
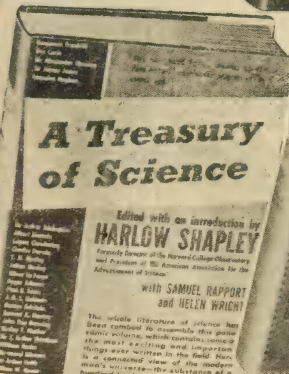
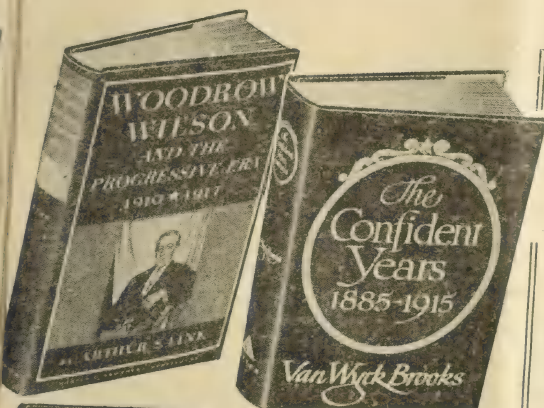
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(Continued from page 441)

China's claim to sovereignty over Tibet had been accepted by all the powers, including America, when the Chinese government was under the Kuomintang. Indian interests in Tibet were commercial and cultural, and such survivals of British expansionist policies as the maintenance of military escorts and telegraph offices in foreign territory were contrary to Indian ideas.

From the very beginning the Chinese government had made it clear that while it could not compromise on the question of authority over Tibet it would be happy to negotiate a settlement which safeguarded all legitimate Indian interests. Those negotiations were satisfactorily concluded in April of this year, eliminating thereby the only political issue between the two countries. The now well-known Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence were first included in the preamble of that agreement.

These "five principles" have since been reaffirmed in a joint communiqué of the two Prime Ministers in New Delhi and subsequently in public utterances in Rangoon and Peking. They are: mutual respect of each other's sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's affairs, cooperation for mutual profit, and peaceful coexistence.*

The criticism most often heard about this policy of coexistence is that it is a

snare invented by the Communists to lull the free world into a sense of security. In support of this view critics quote Lenin's famous statement that mighty conflicts between Communist and capitalist systems are inevitable and further buttress it with references to world revolution and so on. Whatever Lenin may have said, in a pre-atomic age, about inevitable conflicts, leaders of communism today cannot but realize that such conflicts could only have one result—the destruction of all civilization, Communist and non-Communist. Coexistence has therefore become as much a necessity for the Communists as for the capitalists.

AN understanding between India and China is the best assurance for peace in Asia. Why, then, is there so much suspicion and dislike of such a development in American political circles? That India will not be a party to any military alli-

*The joint communiqué was issued in June when China's Prime Minister, Chou En-lai, returning from the Geneva conference, stopped at New Delhi to see Prime Minister Nehru. Chou En-lai reaffirmed the "five principles" a few days later in Rangoon. Last month Nehru on a visit to China saw Chou En-lai in Peking and told the press: "I am convinced that the only thing the people of China want is peace. When Chou En-lai came to India recently, we issued a statement governing our relations. If that principle were followed generally, many of the world's problems would fade away."—EDITORS THE NATION.

ance is known to all; that Sino-Indian friendship is not directed against anyone has also been made amply clear. In the circumstances Asian public opinion rightly or wrongly interprets America's opposition to this policy as emanating from an apprehension that cooperation between India and China would strengthen Asian feeling both against America's policy of building up an Asian bloc and against its determination to isolate the People's Republic.

There is no doubt that India is firmly opposed to both these policies. The wisdom of persisting in a course of not recognizing China and opposing its full participation in international life is denied by India and by the other major Asian countries. Most Asian countries equally resent the attempts of Western powers to establish what they consider to be spheres of influence in Asia—a new version of the protectorate system of the pre-war period. The object of Sino-Indian cooperation is to enlarge the area of peace in Asia and, if possible, to keep the new countries in Southeast Asia from being caught up in the rivalries of the cold war. By their recent exchange of visits the Prime Ministers of India and China have made it amply clear that they will both work to achieve this object, which the people of the two countries consider the essential prerequisite for the early realization of their social and economic development.

DEFENSE PROBLEM: 1960

A Short Story . . . by Ralph Winnett

Washington, June 1, 1960
LAST week Dr. Herman Oberdorfer, editor of the *American Nuclear Bulletin*, became the hundredth inmate of the closely guarded Leavenworth Penitentiary Annex for Atomic Scientists. His testimony before the Senate internal-security subcommittee left no doubt that he was guilty of conspiring to pub-

lish an article on nuclear physics. Since the contents of the attempted article remain classified, the present writer must limit himself to a review of events preceding the Oberdorfer conspiracy.

March, 1957—The President at a news conference, hinted at the existence of a new weapon in the now-obsolete "H" series. "H," the President suggested, might no longer stand for Hydrogen but for Hemispher.

April, 1957—A question from a

United Press correspondent brought the first Presidential admission that the Eastern Hemisphere probably could not be blown up without the simultaneous destruction of the Western Hemisphere. "Latest developments in atomic warfare," the President said, authorizing direct quotation, "create new aspects in the over-all problem of defense."

June, 1957—The chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, in a TV interview, disclosed the basic theory of

RALPH WINNETT is a freelance writer on military subjects.

the new weapon. "It is now possible," the chairman said, "to achieve fusion of ordinary hydrogen atoms. Since ordinary hydrogen exists in large quantities in the ocean as well as in wood and other common substances, a single bomb would be capable of taking out a hemisphere, more or less."

Pressed by reporters for a more specific statement on the number of Hemispheres, the chairman said, "When you have a new thing like this you can't predict its effect to a decimal point. There's always a margin of error. But I want to emphasize that within mathematical limits we know exactly what it would do. At no point would it get out of control."

July, 1957—Premier Malenkov told the All-Union Congress of Soviets that the United States no longer had a monopoly of Hemisphere bombs.

August, 1957—The chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission announced that the American stockpile of Hemisphere bombs gave the United States a two-year lead over the Soviet Union. Simultaneously, *Pravda* hinted that Russia had developed a new weapon, described only as "the answer to the Hemisphere bomb."

September, 1957—The President in an informal television address sought to calm what he called a "nation-wide case of hemispheric jitters." Speaking extemporaneously from a rocking-chair in his childhood home, the President said: "There's one thing lots of folks seem to forget. Certainly the bomb is a terrible thing. Any bomb is terrible if you happen to be around when it goes off. But that's exactly what you've got a government for, a defense establishment, to protect the nation from this danger. There's no danger from the Hemisphere bomb unless it explodes."

February, 1958—Western scientists were astonished by the first original Soviet contribution to nuclear physics, the People's bomb. It had an estimated destructive radius of eight billion miles, roughly equal to the diameter of the solar system.

March, 1958—The chairman of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee announced the successful operation of a pilot plant for Project Daisy.

April, 1958—The Presidential press

secretary told reporters that the Chief Executive would answer questions about Project Daisy at the next White House news conference.

April, 1959—"It is now possible," the President told reporters, "to think not in terms of planets but of megaplanets."

Asked why the project was called "Daisy," the President referred to a book he had once read which described the Milky Way galaxy as "God's daisy chain." "It would be that kind of a chain reaction," the President said significantly.

May, 1959—A May Day article in *Pravda* caused mounting Congressional concern over Russia's possible power of counter-retaliation. "The American Pres-



ident," *Pravda* said, "once thought he could make the people's democracies tremble at his word that H no longer stood for Hydrogen. As is well known, the people's democracies did not tremble, but on the contrary caught up with and outstripped the scientific lackeys of Wall Street. However, not even the grandiose achievement of the People's bomb could curb the American ruling circles' lust for profits, for grabbing new markets, and for preparing a new war. Instead of answering on the basis of outlawing weapons of mass destruction, of securing the unity of peace-loving peoples, the Americans answered with the so-called Daisy bomb. Consequently Soviet science is now in a position to revise the American President's warmongering threat; in the mighty language of the people's democracy, U no longer stands for Uranium, U stands for Universe."

June, 1959—The chairman of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee told reporters that American physicists had known for some time of

the possibility of a U, or Universe, bomb. "Its operation is similar to that of the Daisy bomb," the chairman said, "except that in this case the Daisy bomb is used as a booster or primer."

Asked whether the Soviet bomb could destroy the universe, the chairman replied: "Yes, but I want to emphasize that there's no new principle involved. We could have had the bomb eighteen months ago. We decided to go slow so as to keep the national economy on an even keel for the long pull. A sound economy and a balanced budget are basic to our philosophy of national defense. As a matter of fact, we've got something better than the U-bomb."

The chairman declined to enlarge on his last remark.

July, 1959—Excerpt from transcript of White House press conference:

Nathaniel Brown of the Concord Daily Harmony: Mr. President, the chairman of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee said yesterday that this country has something better than the U-bomb. Would you care to comment on that, sir?

A: Well, he hadn't read the statement, and he wouldn't want to comment on any statement or comment by the legislative branch without reading them.

Q: I hope you won't consider this line of questioning too persistent, Mr. President, but would you be willing to draw any comparison between our present atomic potential and the Soviet U-bomb?

A: He hadn't been briefed on the subject, there were several aspects that came up in the past few days, but he thought he could say that we were well on the way with regard to something that would make the U-bomb obsolete.

Q: A bigger bomb, sir?

A: He would say so, yes.

September, 1959—Dr. Frederick White, a retired former employee of the Manhattan Project, expressed doubt concerning the practical military value of a bomb larger than one capable of destroying the universe, and became the first inmate of Leavenworth Annex. During Dr. White's trial it was brought out that his expression of doubt was not a punishable offense, but that he had failed to clear certain additional statements with the Atomic Energy Commission. The statements in question were not specified owing to security regulations.

April, 1960—Conviction of Atomic Scientist No. 100, Dr. Oberdorfer, under the new security program.

BOOKS

The Massive Tree of Freedom

AN ALMANAC OF LIBERTY. By William O. Douglas. Doubleday and Company. \$5.50.

By Walter Millis

JUSTICE DOUGLAS has hit upon an odd, rather homely, yet amazingly moving device for recalling us from the hysterias into which we seem at present to be sinking. Whether or not our civil liberties are in peril may be open to argument; but it can hardly be denied that there has been a deep, progressive erosion of the concepts which underlie them—the concepts of due process, the presumption of innocence, the protections against self-incrimination, the right of privacy, the right to a jury trial, to confrontation by one's accusers, to the writ of habeas corpus, to protection against discriminations, loyalty oaths, bills of attainder, censorship, and all the other immemorial engines of oppression and "control" from which our liberal-democratic society has in the past struggled to be free.

The rights won in those struggles remain upon the books; for the most part they have been modified, if at all, only by subtle construction (as in the case of the First Amendment, where the injunction that Congress shall make "no law" abridging the freedom of speech and the press has been construed, the author suggests, as meaning that it shall make only "some laws" of that character), and these rights are still available as weapons of power in such crises, say, as that over segregation in the schools. But in many other contexts, especially in the war against communism, the substance seems to have been draining out of them. As long as a government servant is being tried not for crime but only for defects of personality, often minor, people are likely to forget that the concepts of con-

frontation, cross-examination, fair trial, and so on have meaning.

Justice Douglas's "Almanac" restores meaning to them. It provides a pithy reminder of some aspect of their great history for each day of the year. It has 366 text pages, including one for February 29, each carrying a brief essay or homily or sometimes only a two-paragraph historical note upon one or another of the noble issues in which civil rights have been fought for or won, in which the slow advance toward decency, tolerance, and economic as well as political liberty has been furthered.

The first entry is for July 4, and it describes the adoption of the Declaration of Independence; near the very end one arrives, in the entry for June 15, at the Magna Charta, and the book closes, with the entry for July 3, on Rabindranath Tagore's prayer for a great society—

Where knowledge is free;

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;

Where words come out from the depth of truth . . .

Because the entries for the most part refer to an event which took place on the corresponding day, there is at first sight a fine discontinuity about them, as there should be in all good almanacs. Thus, the entry for October 17 is on the attempt of the British authorities in 1775 to remove cases to England for jury trial; the October 18 entry is on the attempt in the Clayton Act (1914) to restrain abuses of the injunctive process. The first effect of this arrangement is like that experienced by a man eating peanuts; he tends to gobble them up, one after another, not knowing quite why, but unable to stop and, perhaps, unaware of the amount of mental calories he is absorbing in the process.

A second effect comes with the realization that there is as well as chronology involved. The entry for November 17 is on Raleigh, convicted of treason on that day in 1603, after having called in vain to have his accuser brought

"before his face" and having been told that "many horse-stealers may escape" if they cannot be convicted without witnesses. The entry for November 18 is on the Dorothy Bailey case, in which in 1948 the Supreme Court upheld her dismissal from government employment as a "security risk" on evidence which was "secret information . . . given by people who were not under oath and whose identity was unknown" both to Miss Bailey and to her judges on the loyalty board. Unlike Raleigh, Miss Bailey was not beheaded. She was still, like him, "condemned for public employment by faceless and unknown accusers whose testimony was not under oath and who were not presented for cross-examination."

Again and again these implied lessons are driven home. One reads that on October 27, 1553, Servetus was burned at the stake because he had ideas dangerous to Calvin's concepts of what was necessary to social stability; his problem, the author adds, was similar to that of today. "Those who speak out against the neurosis that has seized us in the mid-twentieth century risk much. But if they stay silent they are unworthy of their inheritance. . . . If a few sick minds can transfer their psychosis to the whole community, anyone can readily become a victim of the calumny and lies which the modern hunt for heresy has produced."

THOUGH there is much, both directly and by implication, in this book about the "modern hunt for heresy," there is much more as well. Justice Douglas's humane and wide-ranging mind touches on many other aspects of the great and agonizing libertarian struggle for advance—in the enlargement of the franchise, in union organization, in improvement of laws for the care of children, of the insane, and of paupers, in the ending of slavery, in the battle with monopoly, even in the halting efforts toward more rational world organization. After absorbing enough of the peanuts, one realizes that, discontinuous as they are, they all come from the same massive tree of freedom.

One realizes that all these problems are ancient, that none is too clear, but that all are bound together in a valence which we may disrupt only at peril to our society. What happened to Raleigh

WALTER MILLIS is the author of "The Martial Spirit," "Why Europe Fights," and other books and editor of "The Forrestal Diaries." He is now on the staff of the Fund for the Republic.

in 1603 is not only connected with what was declared at Philadelphia in 1776 but also with what was done to Dorothy Bailey in 1948. This book, like any good almanac, ought to be propped up by the

shaving glass and read one page a day. The only trouble with that is that it is habit-forming, and it is hard not to read it right through to the end at the first encounter.

Id Over Superego

IN THE NAME OF SANITY. By Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.75.

By Robert Smith

I AM ashamed of not liking this book.

Mr. Mumford is an erudite man, a talented writer, and a courageous thinker, one of the few who still dare say out loud that we must find a way of living at peace with the Communist world. All the same, deeply as I admire him, I still fell sound asleep over his book, which is but a collection of papers given on various occasions over the last seven years.

Mr. Mumford's aim in this book, he says, is to suggest an attitude and a philosophy capable of meeting the problems of our times, problems which he appraises with frankness and understanding. But the attitude he suggests is not one suited to the plain people of the land, because they will never share it; and the philosophy he outlines is one they will never grasp. Perhaps he means to address himself entirely to artists and intellectuals, and very probably I cannot count myself either. But I have never been able to separate artists and intellectuals from people.

As a matter of fact I believe that the unconscious postulating of such a division is the main trouble with Mr. Mumford's reasoning. At several points in the book he says or implies that "we" have become automatons, thanks to the strictures of "pure" science and the machine and to the overthrowing of the "superego." In one of the most interesting papers, or chapters, he declares that "we" are suffering from Calibanism, which he defines, indirectly, as the triumph of the id, or animal self, over the

superego, or censor. Now when Mr. Mumford says "we" I know he does not mean himself, and I am sure he does not mean me. (My own id has fought a losing battle for years.) I have never met any automatons, and except for sundry obvious candidates for the couch, I have not known any creatures in which the id was in the ascendant.

I am always leery of this reasoning that tends to categorize all human beings outside the immediate family circle or that attempts to "analyze" whole nations as if they were individuals. Nor do I believe that there is any evidence whatever of the truth of one of Mr. Mumford's basic premises—that in the last generation people have grown calloused to human suffering and wholesale slaughter.

The slaughter of human beings has been one of the chief occupations of the race for centuries. Of late years it has been done wholesale rather than piecemeal, and abruptly, rather than gradually through starvation and disease. The abrupt blossoming of the world's brutalities in the gas ovens and slave camps of the dictatorships has been a sign of the awakening of individual consciences. People are not so callous as they were when large parts of the human race were accepted, by all thinking people, as animals; when hanging was the proper reward for theft; and torture, the wages of dissent. Now people must have physical tortures and slaughter put out of their sight and swiftly done with. In the present age slaughter itself has been presented as humanitarian—a sacrifice of some lives; as at Hiroshima, to save millions of others. We—and in this "we" I include both Mr. Mumford and myself—have been able to accept it, not as an immutable aspect of a way of life, but as a gruesome necessity on the road to a better world, which, being visited upon certain lesser peoples who "hold life cheaply," is at least less distressing than the singeing of our own dear selves.

Mr. Mumford recalls that, when he

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ROBERT SMITH is the author of several novels—"Hotel on the Lake," "The Human Image," and "One Winter in Boston." His weekly column in the *Pittsfield (Massachusetts) Berkshire Evening Eagle* is one of the most thoughtful columns in the American press today.

was young, people reacted with "incredulous horror" to the sinking of the Lusitania. I was young then too, and I remember that the horror was especially strong because there were *Americans* on the ship. And I recall loud expressions of indignation from men and women who were still able to attend the Barnum and Bailey circus that summer and laugh out loud to see men for sport throw hard baseballs at a colored man's head.

Mr. Mumford also ascribes to certain artists and writers the ability to "foresee" the Nazi horrors of the thirties and forties. But what needed to be foreseen, if one was merely aware that colored people were commonly vivisected in our Southland and Jews viciously hazed in some of our schools? Could it not be that the artists were the first of the intellectuals to begin to perceive what the plain people had long lived with?

My own observations, which I believe have been on a lower level than Mr. Mumford's, have been that people today are less inclined to violence, find it more difficult to escape personal responsibility for the horrors that have long flowered among them, do not relish the dropping of the Hell-bombs, chiefly voted for Eisenhower because he promised peace, and are fumbling their way toward an end of exploitation and slaughter. And that they are not yielding to the gibbering barbarian deep within themselves.

I do agree with Mr. Mumford that the world is at last learning the simple, yet difficult lessons laid before us in the New Testament. But I think of the world as a great many individuals who are, unhappily, very much like myself. As to this id and superego stuff, I simply do not dig it. Smells suspiciously like nonsense to me.

"Living law" of Greater Europe, is that of Secretary Dulles: European federation is desirable, necessary, and inevitable. That the vision faded a few months after the author went to press is his misfortune and a commentary on the political naivete of his analysis. Along with most Americans, he fails to comprehend that West Europeans feel no threat of Soviet aggression and therefore have no incentive to combine against it. There are other good reasons for European Union, some of which Dr. Northrup eloquently expounds. But they are politically insufficient for the task in hand.

A Great Editor

BOVARD OF THE POST-DISPATCH. By James W. Markham. Louisiana State University. \$4.

Although rather pedestrian in manner, this book is a valuable addition to the annals of journalism. Little known to the general public—he sedulously avoided all personal publicity—Bovard would figure in any newspaperman's short list of great American editors. A harsh disciplinarian who insisted on scrupulous accuracy and good, terse English, he trained an incomparable group of reporters, including such well-known men as Paul Anderson, Charley Ross, Marquis Childs, and Raymond Brandt.

Professor Markham describes Bovard as "an outstanding general of news campaigns." He was also, although he disliked the term, a born crusader who fervently believed that the exposure of corruption in government and business was among the major duties of a newspaper. But he was not one to go off half-cocked, and his great campaigns—Teapot Dome, the St. Louis and Kansas City registration frauds, the Union Electric Company bribery case, to mention only a few—were preceded by exhaustive investigations.

In the course of his long tenure of the managing editor's chair, Bovard grew increasingly autocratic in relation to the *Post-Dispatch*. He was given to rewriting reporters' copy in a way that sometimes substituted his own judgment for that of the man on the spot. Intellectually arrogant, he seldom admitted a mistake. But if he often exasperated his staff, they recognized his genius and were devoted to him.

Books in Brief

Culture En Masse

IS THE COMMON MAN TOO COMMON? By Joseph Wood Krutch and Others. Oklahoma. \$2.75.

In the opening essay of this symposium Joseph Wood Krutch sets the problem and alerts us to the dangers in our new Age of the Common Man. He and the eleven other participants in the discussion, including well-known educators, a motion-picture executive, and a statesman, examine the results to our culture of universal schooling and mass media which have quantitative rather than qualitative standards. Can we have an age of the common man without also having an age of the common denominator? Are we making the common or average man our goal instead of insisting only that the common man may be given every cultural opportunity to become an uncommon man?

The consensus of opinion in these brilliant essays appears to be that it is the responsibility of our thinkers and educators to combat a growing complacency which measures our degree of culture by the increasing number of Americans who go to college, read books, and listen to the radio. They must persist in emphasizing training in the liberal arts to awaken and develop intellectual and spiritual possibilities in the individual.

The English social historian, D. W. Brogan, strikes a depressing note by intimating that even if the schools and mass media could be prodded into providing the best, rather than the mediocre, the common taste may be incapable of development beyond a certain, rather low, point.

Philosopher as Commentator

EUROPEAN UNION AND UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY. By F. S. C. Northrup. Macmillan. \$4.75.

Everyone seriously concerned with the fate of contemporary mankind is indebted to Yale's Sterling Professor of Philosophy and Law for his brilliant earlier works, "The Meeting of East and West" (1946) and "The Taming of the Nations" (1952). But when a philosopher of cosmic perspectives essays an analysis of current politics, sans cosmic perspectives, the result is often unfortunate, as Plato once discovered. Dr. Northrup, inspired by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, spent the last four months of 1952 in Western Europe and the Mediterranean. He completed the report of his research last spring as "A Study in Sociological Jurisprudence." His conclusion, embellished with much learned discourse about "positive law" and the

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.,

WITHIN the limits of one hundred paintings the exhibition of Dutch art now on view at the Metropolitan Museum of Art affords the finest concentration of quality in this field ever assembled. Without including a single example from its own collections, which are among its richest, the Metropolitan has taken the cream from the global bottle, selecting the examples carefully to represent the whole course of Dutch painting during the seventeenth century and displaying them beautifully. Major works from the museums of Amsterdam, The Hague, Haarlem, Utrecht, and Rotterdam have been supplemented by spectacular isolated examples like Rembrandt's Man in Armor from Glasgow, the Hals group portrait from the Thyssen Collection in Lugano, and the Hercules Seghers landscape from the Uffizi. Private collections in England have been raided, and American museums and collectors have yielded their best. It should be a matter of pride to discover that not only Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and our other large museums own paintings that stand up with Amsterdam's, but that small museums like Manchester (N. H.) and Oberlin possess absolutely first-class works of Ruysdael, Hobbema, and Terbruggen.

Terbruggen is not yet a familiar name in other than specialist circles, but it is safe to predict that the large St. Sebastian by this master, a recent acquisition of Oberlin College, will have a public impact not unlike that of the great variant on this theme by the French painter Georges de la Tour in the exhibition of Berlin pictures shown around the United States shortly after the war. Terbruggen and Georges de la Tour descend ultimately from the Roman art of Caravaggio, and with differing national flavor each of them developed what I may call a passionately geometric art. Cubism and Léger seem close by, but bathed in a light as tender as Corot's, or, to put it more accurately, as magical as Vermeer's. I say more accurately, because Terbruggen belonged to the Utrecht school of Caravagists which seems to have inspired Vermeer's beginnings.

After closing in New York on December 19, this tribute to the genius of a great people will move to Toledo and then to Toronto.

ALL three floors of the Museum of Modern Art are filled with its permanent collection in celebration of its twenty-fifth anniversary. The exhibition is a tribute to the wisdom and discrimination of Alfred Barr and to those who helped him form this collection through the years. All phases of the modern movement are surveyed in finest, or at least fine, examples, and at the same time the relative importance of individuals is clarified through the amount of space allotted to each. The museum has never looked better, nor has its superb sense of how to display ever met a greater challenge. The sequence by mazes, the sense of direction around each interior space, the alternation of light and very dark backgrounds, the discreet framing, the superb lighting, the utter lack of competition between background and work of art—all these elements work in harmony to enthrall the eye and stimulate the mind. Some fifty recent acquisitions are indicated by small silver stars on the labels. Among these I was especially impressed by Nolde's Russian Peasants, Soutine's Portrait of Maria Lani, a big Picabia of 1913, a bigger Matta of 1952, a very recent Kenzo Okada, a Werner and a Hans Hartung, a Riopelle and De Kooning's Woman I. The German section needs, in my opinion, a Fritz Winter, and the Latin American areas need strengthening with more forceful examples. It can hardly be doubted that the Picasso group is the finest in the world and that the memory of Henri Matisse has no greater monument than the selection of his paintings which the visitor will find at the very beginning of this magnificent show.

It would be unkind to suggest that the Whitney Museum, in moving from downtown to next door to the Museum of Modern Art, invites comparison with its more affluent neighbor. Such comparison will, unfortunately, be made and not to the Whitney's advantage. On this

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After his execution, when his body was brought to Chicago, 30,000 people marched in the funeral procession. For some years after his death much was written about his articles, poems and songs. Then a curious silence descended. Though his songs continued to be sung—though his memory was kept alive in the immortal lyrics of Alfred Hayes "I Dreamed I Saw Joe Hill Last Night"—the real man began to fade into myth.

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occasion I will refer only to the manner of display and not to the choice of works and artists. The new galleries struck me as garish and as competing disastrously with what they contained. The arrangement of the partition walls needs restudying, for at present one is not sure whether continuous maze or static symmetry—either of which can be

effective—was desired. The frames jump out at each other, the large squares of lavender glass pull the eye up as the equally prominent squares of greenish flooring pull the eye down from the pictures, and the lighting lacks a quality of discretion. I regret having to be so sharp, but I try for honesty even when the outcome is not agreeable.

Theater

Harold Clurman

WHEN the eminent American actor, William Gillette (1855-1937), was asked what he proposed to do during the period of his retirement, he answered "Act!" On seeing Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne in "Quadrille" (Coronet Theater) I could not help thinking that they had retired to the stage.

To speak ill of the Lunts—Alfred and Lynn—has in the past ten years become tantamount to engaging in a subversive activity. To say that they are "superb" has become as automatic as it is to rise at the first strains of the national anthem. I shall speak no ill of them. I merely wish to point out that the superb couple have been gradually converting themselves into museum pieces. There is a musty odor about their most recent exhibit.

Alfred Lunt, though essentially a character actor rather than a tragedian, notwithstanding his unmistakable pathos, is the most gifted and accomplished player of the generation which followed that of John Barrymore. He has that mobility of temperament, that capacity of transformation into the image of what he senses or observes, that nervous humor—with its sudden sting of pain—exploding at the thought of almost any vivid experience which are the marks of the creative actor. Through his long service in the theater and through association with his wife, who though studiously artificial is a past master in the mechanics of acting, Lunt has made himself into a player without peer on our stage.

An exchange of dialogue between Lunt and Fontanne is a brilliant exercise in subtle rhythms of speech, alternation of tone colors, graceful movement, and a generally witty counterpoint—duel and

embrace—of personality. Some of the more ambitious plays of their early years with the Theater Guild seemed to have thrown them, so that with the passing of time, and our lack of any institution comparable to the Old Vic or the Shakespeare Theater of Stratford, not to mention the paucity of fine new plays, the Lunts have chosen to blemish their vast public with repeated displays of their virtuosity on the most facile level. Their manner now so greatly supersedes their matter that what we get from them is something like masks without faces. There were instances in "Quadrille" when I imagined the actors had disappeared and by some dread conjuration had been replaced by effigies of themselves. That is what happens when theater, instead of being made from the stuff of life, becomes a substitute for it.

Anyone as prolific as Noel Coward must occasionally turn out sleazy products like "Quadrille." The plot is hackneyed: an English marquis of 1870 runs away to France with a married woman from Boston; then they are pursued by the Marchioness and an American railroad tycoon, who is the eloping woman's husband; finally the latter two fall in love with each other and are seen in the epilogue bound for bliss on Gallic shores. The background is fake, and the writing, except for a few bright quips, is fairly labored. It is not saved when Coward, to give the railroad man a stature sufficient to merit the favors of the elegant Marchioness, attempts a lyric passage on the beauties of the American landscape in the vein of a Thomas Wolfe. It sounds like a travelogue.

What is sad about all this is not the weakness of their vehicle, but that at a time when the Lunts should be giving us

the most exquisite examples of their craft, they are content to parade their ancient splendor in so sterile an atmosphere.

On the subject of "Fanny," the musical play S. N. Behrman and Joshua Logan (Majestic Theater) have fashioned from the unforgettable "Marius"—"Fanny"—César-trilogy by Marcel Pagnol, I could easily argue two ways. On the one hand, it is not a successful job because whipped cream should not be thrown over a good piece of meat: the story of "Fanny" is not properly accommodated by the conventional allurements of a Broadway musical, even when they are supplied by the most expert confectioners. On the other hand, the basic situation of "Fanny" is so warm and touching, S. N. Behrman's dialogue so much more gratifying than what one commonly hears in musical shows, Ezio Pinza so engaging in voice and quality,

Walter Slezak so pleasingly tactful a comedian, and the whole enterprise so distinct a departure from the routine—that the final curtain is a death scene in which no one but the two elderly men of the story remain on the stage—that I am inclined to overlook the stylistic anomaly of the entire proceedings.

True, the sets have none of the savoir of Marseilles, although there is considerable chic in the handsome drop Jo Mielziner has designed for the birthday-party interlude with its flying green cows, pink pigs, blue birds, and yellow fish—Chagall and Klee in a talented adaptation. It is also true that the erotic marine ballet is in somewhat dubious taste besides being banal in itself, and that only two or three numbers are worthy of the voices that sing them. Still, "Fanny" is the only musical in years that has actually moved me for more than a moment.

Music

B. H. Haggin

THE former NBC Symphony Orchestra has taken the name Symphony of the Air and organized the Symphony Foundation of America (Room 154, Carnegie Hall), which is asking the public for contributions to an endowment fund that will preserve it as an instrument for contributions to our country's musical culture. The goal is ten million dollars, which the foundation points out would be achieved if each of the ten million people who enjoyed the orchestra's broadcasts would express his appreciation with a gift of one dollar. Not that it won't gratefully accept larger contributions; and anyone who gives ten dollars or more will receive a recording which the orchestra made recently without a conductor.

At its recent concert in Carnegie Hall too the orchestra appeared without a conductor, dedicating the concert to Toscanini, and playing "with only the inspirational memory of your guiding hands," supplemented by the nodding heads and signaling arms of the concertmaster and other first-desk string players. They were operating in the way string quartets do; and if there had been only strings their playing would have

had not only its ear-ravishing tone but unflinching precision. With woodwinds and brass in addition there were difficulties of gearing and balance; and so the blended sound of the brass in its opening proclamation in the second movement of Dvorak's "New World" Symphony was breath-taking, but the cross-rhythm in the scherzo gave the listener a few uneasy moments. Inevitably there were such unprecise, awkward, and even

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H. F. A. R.

CAREY McWILLIAMS

Editorial Director, The Nation

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perilous moments; but most of the time it was amazing, and even uncanny, to hear the precision and tonal beauty that were the continuing result of the years of playing together under Toscanini's disciplining hand; and thus the performances were a great orchestra's moving tribute to his powers and labors.

The record I mentioned offers astonishingly precise, beautiful-sounding, and effective performances of Berlioz's "Roman Carnival" Overture and Tchaikovsky's "Nutcracker" Suite; and in fact the solo flute and clarinet do *not* lag behind the orchestra in the "Nutcracker" Overture Miniature as they do in the Toscanini performance issued by Victor. In addition the orchestra's recording engineer achieved better-sounding reproduction of its "Nutcracker" performance than the Victor engineers did of Toscanini's. The orchestra's record also offers a "Meistersinger" Prelude which is less effective than Toscanini's on the Victor

record—i. e., slower, less buoyant, and less powerful—but much more clearly and beautifully reproduced than his.

The hurricane kept me from the New York City Opera's revival of "The Tales of Hoffmann"; but I attended a performance of the revived "Love for Three Oranges," and must report that as on previous occasions I was embarrassed by most of the humor in the play and most of the fancy production that amused the audience hugely. The exception was Richard Wentworth's burlesque performance of the Cook; and otherwise the pleasure of the occasion for me was again provided by Prokofiev's youthfully exuberant and inventive and brilliant score, the improved playing the orchestra did under Rudel's direction, the singing of William Wilderman, Lloyd Thomas Leech, Jean Handzlik, Lawrence Winters, and Norman Treigle.

The Little Orchestra Society opened its season with one of Thomas Scherman's better programs, which offered a beautiful Sonata for brass by Giovanni Gabrieli, a famous modern work, the Three Pieces from the Lyric Suite of Alban Berg (which conveyed as little musical sense to me as Berg's other instrumental music), Mahler's "Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen," and Act 1 Scene 2 from "Euryanthe," which has some of Weber's finest music. The one example of Mr. Scherman's deficiency as a program-maker—his inability to tell what is from what is not worth playing—was a Dux for winds by Enesco, which was unbelievably trite and banal, written badly for the instruments, and played raucously under Mr. Scherman's direction. The works by Gabrieli, Berg, and Weber were played well; but in Mahler's songs the orchestra was occasionally too loud for the singing of Elena Nikolaidi. It is four years since the recital about which I reported that in the same Mahler songs and aria from "Euryanthe" Nikolaidi had produced and manipulated her magnificent contralto tones with a fire and intensity that made the performances something to cherish among one's recollections of the wonders achieved by human powers. The tones no longer have their former magnificence; but the fire and intensity again made Nikolaidi's performances an exciting experience; and in the scene from "Euryanthe" there was lovely singing by Phyllis Curtin.

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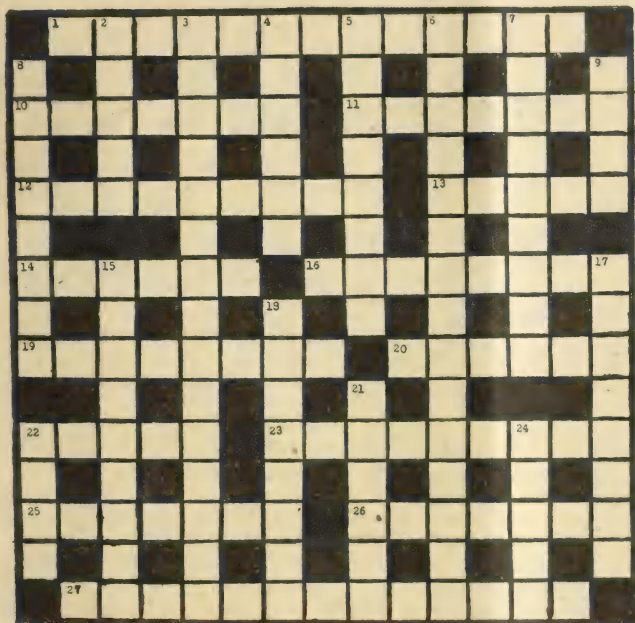
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Crossword Puzzle No. 594

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Snapshot chaser? (13)
- 10 Not the place for in-patients. (7)
- 11 The corset at the side? (Evidently the last is long.) (7)
- 12 Try and see it—it's not likely to move! (9)
- 13 Copes with athletic events. (5)
- 14 Salutation used with ■ ruler? Such things come back. (6)
- 16 Attempts at camera effects in people's homes. (8)
- 19 Not allowed? No, not there. (8)
- 20 Noted baritone, somewhat like ■ Manx dog? (6)
- 22 Did he prove there's some ham in every philosopher? (5)
- 23 Speculative or visionary. (9)
- 25 Where their work is strictly seasonal. (7)
- 26 Boilers, perhaps. (7)
- 27 What the unhappy hen might be doing by design. (11)

DOWN

- 2 Unpopular form of death. (5)
- 3 Educate people in their calling—but not out of their proper station! (5, 10)
- 4 Seldom straight in interloquution. (3, 3)

- 5 Agriculturists like to see this inventor! (8)
- 6 Does it grab instinctively? (9, 6)
- 7 4 down, perhaps, in politics. (9)
- 8 Luke? (3, 2, 3)
- 9 One vote, or more. (4)
- 15 The clue is chewed between parts of the chewer. (9)
- 17 If you come to grips, this might be fit example. (8)
- 18 Is it more ripe than another part of the flower? (8)
- 21 Spar or saint. (6)
- 22 Deep sea fish. (4)
- 24 One of the original medicine men. (5)



SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 593

ACROSS:—1 TRAGICALLY; 6 SPED; 10 ERRATIC; 11 POOR LAW; 12 REVERSE ENGLISH; 14 CAST LOTS; 15 AWHILE; 16 OSTEND; 18 TOBOGGAN; 22 LETTER OF CREDIT; 24 ROBERTA; 25 ADORING; 26 DEED; 27 LITTLE BEAR.
 DOWN:—1 and 8 THE CRACK OF DAWN; 2 ARRIVES; 3 INTERPLANETARY; 4 ANCIENT; 5 LOPING; 7 PLASKI; 9 FOLLOW YOUR NOSE; 11 BLIND TIGER; 17 TREMBLE; 19 OFF-CAST; 20 GODLIKE; 21 ERNANT; 23 BRAD.

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FILMS

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NO 27 E4

THE *Nation*

November 27, 1954

20¢

D. F. Fleming

Ways to Coexist

Charles P. Taft

Challenge to Congress

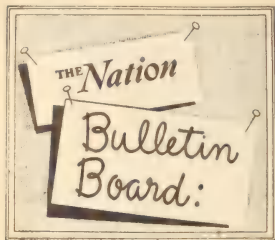
The Free-Trade Issue

The Consular Curtain *J. Campbell Bruce*

Dance of the Hobgoblins *F. L. Schuman*

Three Books on Foreign Policy

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865



WHILE G. A. T. T., read as a word, has a martial flavor, actually the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade is designed for strictly pacific purposes, as is pointed out in this issue by Charles P. Taft. It is interesting that the author, a distinguished Republican leader, does not go along with the traditional protectionist policies of his party. Mr. Taft testified as an expert at hearings in Washington which preceded the departure of the American delegation to the meeting of G. A. T. T. signatories in Geneva.

NEXT WEEK *The Nation* will publish a special High Fidelity issue. A group of articles will deal with the economics of the industry, the cultural impact of high fidelity, and other important aspects of the subject. They have been contributed by such experts as Peter Bartok, David Hall, and James Hinton, Jr.

COMING ISSUES will contain many other articles of special interest. In the December 4 issue Nathaniel Pfeffer, professor of international relations at Columbia University, author of the "Basis for Peace in the Far East" and other books, warns against delay in reaching a settlement in Asia and makes some constructive proposals. In the December 11 issue Allen Seager—echoes of the discussion aroused by his provocative article, *Our Dream of Comfort*, in the last Civil Liberties issue still linger—will have another brilliant article. It is an exploration into the character of the American business man as portrayed in some recent novels—not including Mr. Seager's own study of a businessman, "Amos Berry."

FORMER AMBASSADOR CLAUDE BOWERS writes us about the reception of his newly published book "My Mission to Spain." The Swedish papers, he says, "amazed me with three elaborate laudatory reviews, and on the first of these hangs an amusing tale. A Spanish football team in Stockholm to play a Swedish team got a telegram from General Mascardo of the Franco government ordering it not to go into the field because the Swedish paper had refused to apologize for the review." Undoubtedly the first time in the history of sports that a football game was held up by a book review.

EACH MONTH the Bulletin Board awards a copy of the current selection of our book club, *The Nation's Choice*, to readers who send in the best items for use in this column. This month there are three winners, and they will receive "Ideas and Opinions," the new book by Albert Einstein. (The book will be distributed to club members in December.)

Clark Bouwman, of the Department of Sociology at Illinois Wesleyan University, called the following from the *Bloomington Daily Pantagraph*:

"While the more than 200 Knife and Fork Club members still whispered about the delicious ginger-ale salad that was served, the author of the best-selling 'Berlin Diary' [William L. Shirer] told them there are indications the Nazi doctrine is still alive in Germany."

A *Los Angeles* subscriber submitted this transcript of a phone conversation with a

member of the Los Angeles Board of Education during, as he put it, "the height of the board's purge season."

Caller: "Is Mr. G—— in?"

Answer: "No, he's not in his office at the moment."

Caller: "Is he expected back soon?"

Answer: "Well he's in a special meeting right now—let's see, it's on 'Patriotism and American Ideals'—it shouldn't take long."

Matilda W. Welter of Bennington College, Vermont, picked up the following in the *New York Times*. Senator William E. Jenner was urging the establishment by private organizations of special red-hunting committees. "You know, as I do, that this task cannot be left to your government alone," he said. "The F. B. I. and the Department of Justice have to work with legal evidence."

MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

Supreme Court Record

Dear Sirs: Many thanks to *The Nation* and C. Herman Pritchett for his excellent article, *The Supreme Court and Our Civil Liberties*, in the October 9 issue.

Of exceptional interest was the table which presented the record of individual justices. My only regret is that the author did not indicate which of the justices were appointed by Roosevelt, which by Truman. For the worst of Roosevelt's justices was a better friend of civil liberties than Truman's best—Reed 18 per cent, Minton 15 per cent.

Truman's Supreme Court appointments, along with the Smith Act prosecutions and the loyalty program, make me gag when I see him called an "elder statesman" of liberalism. As Alan Barth pointed out in "Loyalty of Free Men," "all that McCarthy did was to carry to its cynical extreme the debasement of values begun by the [Truman] Administration for lofty purposes."

RALPH WETZEL

Albuquerque, N. M.

The Real Purpose

Dear Sirs: To the discerning it was clear from the first that the real purpose behind the anti-Communist crusade in America was not so much the crushing of the small Communist contingent as the enforcement of acquiescence in illiberal policies at home and abroad. The success of this crusade is beyond what its organizers had a right to expect in democratic America.

There are many evidences of this success. The spirit of the New Deal has been crushed; our economy, with its miraculous techniques and resources, is stagnating instead of expanding; and an army of

marauders has descended like locusts on our body politic. The story of this raid on the national wealth, as told in the "Give-away" issue [October 2] of *The Nation* makes Teapot Dome look like the theft of a mink coat.

Abroad, the United States, once looked up to and loved as the home of a free and brave people and the friend of the oppressed, is losing its good name. Our support of colonialism, our shoring up of corrupt feudal regimes, and our inflexible, sterile foreign policy have put our sincerity and even our sanity in question. Creative, challenging, fearless America, once the hope of the world, now stands paralyzed, the butt of foreign hatreds and gibes.

Unless the atmosphere of fear is lifted so that good men can freely criticize and suggest alternatives, we shall be in even greater danger. McCarthy may be on his way out, but McCarthyism, which antedates the Senator, survives. For a revitalized America and a world that wishes to continue to exist the "ism" must be got rid of too.

DAVID L. WEISSMAN

New York

Felix S. Cohen Prize

Dear Sirs: Felix S. Cohen's untimely death brought a great volume of tributes from persons who had known him or his work. Many of his friends have suggested the establishment of a suitable permanent memorial and have volunteered to contribute for the purpose. A committee has been organized to provide a focus for the establishment of such a memorial.

After considering a wide variety of suggestions, the committee, in recognition of
(Continued on page 472)

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

An Open Letter to Senator Watkins

Dear Senator: Considering the unscrupulous tactics of the opposition, you may be more embarrassed than pleased to receive an accolade from liberal sources. Yet if ten million Americans are asked to speak up for Senator McCarthy, you must expect that other millions will want to speak up for you, among them many individuals who do not agree with you politically. Basically the fight in which you are now engaged has nothing to do with politics; it is a struggle for morality, integrity, and courage in public life. Whatever the outcome, the American people will long remember you as one who held firmly to principle over party and who refused to retreat from the firing-line to the hospital even under the stress of genuine physical suffering.

You have added more stature to the American Senate than your opponents can ever take away.

EDITORS THE NATION

NOTE: Readers of The Nation who feel as we do about Senator Watkins are invited to send him a wire or a card, or to announce support for him to one of their own Senators.

The Soviets and Admiral Mahan

The sinking by Chinese Communist torpedo boats of a Chinese Nationalist warship off the Tachen Islands on November 14 may be regarded in retrospect as the opening gambit in a new test of Admiral Mahan's "command of the seas" doctrine. The Soviets do not accept this doctrine; they have a sea-power concept of their own. They believe that a great land power such as the U. S. S. R. can control the seas around Eurasia despite the powerful American navy if "a zone of naval superiority" can be established for varying distances offshore. Under these circumstances, they argue, even the most powerful "high-seas fleet" can no longer count on control of the seas. Writing in the Soviet magazine *Military Thought* some years ago, Admiral V. Alafuzov pointed out that "naval battles are decided nowadays not only by major craft but also by air power, submarines, small torpedo craft, and—

close inshore—by seacoast artillery. And also, the closer the engagement to friendly bases, the greater the variety of naval ships and other resources that can be brought to bear." Formosa, with its supporting islands, would provide a perfect setting for the test of this theory. While there is no proof that such a test is under way, the Soviet theory warrants a good deal more attention here than it has thus far received.

Naguib to Nasser to Chance

In terms of power the ousting of General Naguib from the presidency of Egypt on November 14 made no difference; he had been shoved aside long before by the junta of military officers, headed by Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser, that runs the country. But his dismissal, under charge of complicity in the October 26 attempt by Moslem Brotherhood terrorists to assassinate Colonel Nasser, was important on other grounds. It served as a dramatic announcement that the Revolutionary Command Council headed by Nasser could now afford to rid itself of the popular general who symbolized the national uprising which had deposed King Farouk, and also of the troublesome fanatics who have violently opposed every measure of change instituted by the present regime.

The absence of any serious public reaction either to the ousting of Naguib or to the sweeping round-up of suspect members of the Moslem Brotherhood testifies to Nasser's present political dominance. Reports from Western journalists in Cairo indicate that both events, as the *New York Times* correspondent put it, "are regarded by impartial observers as stabilizing actions." So they may be. Acting as both Premier and pro tem Chief of State, Colonel Nasser signed on November 20 the long-delayed Suez Agreement with Britain; and he is now supposed to be pushing a series of reforms designed, with the help of \$40,000,000 granted by the United States, to improve Egypt's miserable standard of life and modernize its archaic economy.

Yet one-man rule is seldom a very dependable basis for democratic change. Long before the ousting of Naguib, Nasser and his officer henchmen had carried out a purge of three leading universities; arrests and beatings of Jews on charges of pro-Zionism had multiplied; and the regime's basic attitude toward the West was revealed in a series of vicious attacks on France. Back in Septem-

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ber the semi-official daily *Al Gombowia* announced "a new plot against the Arabs being woven in France with Mendès-France, a Jew by descent and a Zionist by creed, as the prime mover"; and on the following day its editor repeated the slander, referring to the French Premier as "this little Zionist imperialist Jew." That the earnest attempt of Mendès-France to extend autonomy to Tunisia, in agreement with Tunisian Nationalist leaders, is being daily sabotaged by propaganda and orders broadcast from Cairo is evidence enough of Nasser's hostility. And the recent revolt in Algeria is directed from the same headquarters.

In addition Nasser and his Revolutionary Command are responsible for the continuing border warfare with Israel, as they are for the economic blockade which resulted in the seizure of the freighter *Bat Galim* in the Suez Canal on September 28 and the arrest of its crew—an act of aggression now before the Security Council. So the realities of military dictatorship are not as assuring as Colonel Nasser's admirers would have us think. Above all they are not evidences of "stability," or of friendship for the "free world"; and above all they should demonstrate the dangerous folly of putting modern weapons into the hands of men who will use them for only two purposes—to maintain themselves in power and to attack Israel.

Raising False Issues

That Senator McCarthy is engaged in a desperate struggle for political survival hardly excuses the attempt of his partisans to make it appear that he is being "persecuted" because of his religious faith. That the charge is false even Senator McCarthy concedes. But it is being given the color of authenticity by some zealous Catholics. Some weeks back we pointed out that the columnist John O'Donnell objected to the make-up of the Senate committee which was hearing the censure charges on the ground that its members represented states in which Catholic political influence was negligible. More recently, posters exhorting firemen to rally in Washington in support of Senator McCarthy, issued by an affiliate of the Knights of Columbus, were distributed in some New York fire stations. Still more recently, Msgr. Edward R. Martin, introduced as a representative of Cardinal Spellman, told a Catholic War Veterans communion breakfast that a fund of \$5,000,000 had been raised "to kick Joe out" and went on to say: "The reason is solely because of his Catholic ideals." To date, Cardinal Spellman has not replied to the question addressed to him by seven members of the Colgate University faculty: "Do you really want the American people to believe that the Catholic Church identifies the widespread concern over preservation of the Bill of Rights with opposition to Catholic ideals?" While Senator McCarthy was being

presented by the Catholic War Veterans with 250,000 signatures to a petition protesting the censure resolution, Clarence E. Manion, former dean of Notre Dame University Law School, was telling the Laymen's League of the Bishop Molloy Retreat House in New York that the resolution amounted to "the official commission of trea-

son" since it "gave aid and comfort to the Communist enemy." Fortunately enough prominent Catholics have opposed Senator McCarthy to offset, to some extent, the effect of these inflammatory statements. But those who have made them will have only themselves to blame should the charges be taken seriously.

Unser Kameraden . . . Victor H. Bernstein

IT IS highly unlikely that Baron Constantin von Neurath, recently released from Spandau prison, will again become Germany's foreign minister or the Reich Protector for Bohemia and Moravia. Eighty-one and ailing, he may produce his memoirs, hardly more; and whether he dies in jail or at home is a matter of indifference to the millions whom he helped to send to their deaths in World War II. Yet his release, and particularly the manner in which it was greeted in Germany, cannot lightly be passed over. It is symptomatic of the astonishing circle we have come since the days of early 1945, when the fetid odor of the charnel house still hung over Germany, and twelve German divisions stood for death and torture, not salvation.

I remember von Neurath at the major war-crimes trial at Nuremberg. Silver-haired and handsome, he was the impeccable aristocrat. His voice was soft, his manner restrained; one sensed the aloofness with which he regarded most of his fellow-prisoners with whom, in truth, he had little in common except his guilt. In fairness it must be said that he did not kill as many people directly as others in the dock; had he done so, he would have been hanged with them. Yet in what he did do, he was more contemptible than any, for he was a man of intelligence and breeding, an experienced diplomat of cosmopolitan background, who could argue neither ignorance nor fanaticism in his own defense. His unique value to the Nazis was emphasized at the Nuremberg trial by the late Justice Jackson, who was chief of the American prosecution:

Therein lies the special crime and betrayal of men like Schacht and von Neurath. . . . It is doubtful whether the Nazi master plan could have succeeded without their specialized intelligence which they so willingly put at its command. Their superiority to the average run of Nazi mediocrity is not their excuse. It is their condemnation.

Von Neurath was Hitler's foreign minister from 1933 to 1938, when he became Minister Without Portfolio in the Reich cabinet. He participated directly in the planning of the conquests of Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. He personally assured the Czechs that they had "nothing to fear" after the fall of Austria; and he

played his part in reassuring the Poles after Czechoslovakia had fallen. In 1939 he became Reich Protector for Bohemia and Moravia, and in a memorandum dated October, 1940, he made clear his ideas as to the future of the area he commanded:

Assimilation of the Czechs, i. e., absorption of about half the Czech nationality by the Germans, in so far as this is valuable from a racial or other standpoint. The other half of the Czech nationality must be deprived of its power, eliminated, and shipped out of the country by all sorts of methods. This applies particularly to the racially mongoloid part, and to the major part of the intellectual class. . . . Elements which counteract the planned Germanization are to be handled roughly and should be eliminated.

I recall a November afternoon at Nuremberg when the courtroom was darkened by blinds drawn over the windows and a documentary film, taken by the Allied armies in various extermination camps, was shown on a screen placed where the defendants could see it. Leipzig and Penig were shown, Nordhausen and Hadamar, Dachau and Belsen. Across the screen flowed an endless river of charred bones and white bodies—bodies with ribs sticking out, with pipestem legs and battered skulls and eyeless faces and grotesque thin arms reaching for the sky. That evening Dr. G. M. Gilbert, American prison psychologist, talked with the prisoners, and in his "Nuremberg Diary" he notes: "Von Neurath didn't have much to say. Simply pointed out that he was not in power when all this went on." Von Neurath was telling the truth, in a way, for while he remained in the Hitler Cabinet until the end of the war, he was comparatively inactive after 1943. But by that time he had already made his contribution: many of the bones he saw that November afternoon were those of the "racially mongoloid" Czechs he had shipped out of Bohemia and Moravia by "all sorts of methods."

This was the man whose release from prison was hailed by President Heuss of the West German Republic as a release from "martyrdom." Cancellor Adenauer sent him a warmly congratulatory telegram, his townsfolk gathered on the lawn to welcome him home, and his

neighbor's children gave him small bunches of flowers.

With one or two exceptions, what little editorial comment appeared in the American press on von Neurath's release was in the "humanitarian" vein: Of what use to make an old man, incapable of further crime, die in prison? Well, one use might have been simply as a rebuff to the unregenerate Germans who wanted him out. For of course the pressures to free him came from the Germans themselves; the greetings from Heuss and Adenauer are merely proof that the unregenerates are numerous enough to constitute a powerful political entity in the Federated Republic. And what is true of West Germany is also true in East Germany. In proposing his release the supposedly implacable Russians also bent to the neo-Nazi winds blowing across all of Germany.

But if so many Germans have the strength to be unrepentant, why have not the Allies the strength to resist them? It cannot be that we have so soon forgotten the abattoir that Hitler made of Europe. Certainly the soldiers remember, and the survivors of the camps, and the peoples of the occupied countries. And as for the United States, surely a country with memory good enough to recall what actor belonged to which organization in 1935, or

who told Dr. Oppenheimer what in 1941, cannot have forgotten the lessons of Nuremberg. No, it is not a matter of memory; it is rather a matter of brain-washing, a monstrous and frighteningly successful manipulation of the mass mind. The needs of the cold war have been so drilled into our consciousness that there is room for nothing else.

I think of Lord Russell's book, "The Scourge of the Swastika," which has just been published. It is a scholarly, moving, terrifying account of the Nazis' war crimes. Through no fault of the author, it is also a useless book. None of the reviews I read put it in the context of what is happening today. No reviewer thought to point out that the perpetrators of the horrors recounted will form the cadres of the 500,000 of *unsere Kameraden* who are now to be rearmed in Germany.

There is an indecency here that does not bear thinking about. In all the tumult over the rearmament of Bonn, how many voices are raised to say not that it is practical or impractical, dangerous or not dangerous, necessary or not necessary—but simply to say that it is morally wrong? Who is there to cry out that the last victory any peoples may ever win in a war has already turned to ashes?

THE TIME FOR TALKS

Before or After Ratification? . . . by J. A. del Vayo

United Nations

DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD, U. N. Secretary General, faithfully reflected the dominant mood of the delegates to the General Assembly when he told an Advertising Council dinner last week that the danger of a third world war was receding as the magnitude of the disaster it would create became more apparent. A series of recent events has helped dispel the gloom and skepticism that characterized previous Assembly sessions. One of them, to begin with the United Nations itself, was Russia's acceptance of a Western invitation to serve on the committee charged with making arrangements for an international conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Another, outside the U. N., was President Eisenhower's rejection of the demand voiced by Senator Knowland that something be done before Russia and the United States reach an atomic stalemate—a situation that for all practical purposes has

already taken place and produced conciliatory statements, some accompanied by deeds, from both sides.

It is in this atmosphere of exceptional self-confidence, that I would like to analyze the Soviet proposal of November 13. It is not pleasant to sound a discordant note when most people appear to be so relieved, but it must be done for the record.

The twelve-hundred-word note calling for a conference on European security in Moscow or Paris on November 29 was promptly dismissed in Western capitals as another obvious maneuver to prevent or postpone ratification of the Paris treaties. But quite another interpretation is possible. The short notice originally given by Moscow, as well as Russia's subsequent willingness to delay the date if the West wanted more time to prepare, can be taken as evidence of the seriousness with which the Soviet government regards ratification of the

Paris agreements and tends to refute the glib theory that as long as Moscow retains its hold on East Germany it will take philosophically the reestablishment of full sovereignty for West Germany, its rearmament, and its new status as a member of NATO.

The request for a big-power discussion on Germany and European security before the new *Wehrmacht* begins to take shape was not in itself sensational. It was Moscow's fourth such proposal since the Berlin conference. Obviously it had its limitations. Several U. N. delegates basically sympathetic to the idea of a general negotiation deplored the absence from the Soviet note of specific offers on Germany which would have forced the hand of even the most ardent partisans of "ratification first." But the widening of the list of countries invited to encompass the twenty-three European states with which the Soviet Union maintains diplomatic relations revealed the

depth of Russia's determination to rally support for its fight against ratification. Also, the inclusion of the United States as an active participant—while China was invited only to send an observer—should not be minimized. It was a reassuring gesture toward those Western countries which for various reasons want this country as a full partner in any European settlement. It will be remembered that in Mr. Molotov's original proposal of a security treaty, made at the Berlin conference, the Americans, like the Chinese, were offered the status of observers.

By addressing themselves to such a large audience the Russians know that, whatever the fate of their initiative, a great number of people within each country, and not only Communists or neutralists, will again raise the question whether this overture ought not to have been used as the occasion for a new attempt to negotiate. That is exactly what the leader of the German Socialists, Erich Ollenhauer, and other important persons and groups in West Germany are demanding.

Europe's chancelleries found it quite easy to reject the Russian note and to reiterate their decision not to open discussions with Moscow on Germany until after ratification of the Paris pacts. In

his statement before the House of Commons, Foreign Secretary Eden seemed to give little weight to Moscow's warning of "new measures" against the rearmament of West Germany or to the series of editorials in *Pravda*, *Izvestia*, and *Trud* which have taken a progressively stiffer tone. The idea of a process of ratification "paralleling" negotiations with the Russians has now definitely been abandoned even by Premier Mendès-France, as is evident from the joint French-American communiqué issued at the end of the Washington talks.

UNDERLYING the confident attitude on the part of the Western powers is the apparent conviction that, no matter what they may say, the realistic Soviet leaders will be only too ready to talk after the treaties are ratified. But such an experienced and moderate analyst of foreign affairs as Pertinax thinks differently. In *France-Soir* of November 16 he wrote:

We find the press in general animated by a spirit of optimism, encouraged by official diplomacy. After all, it is said, the Kremlin will have to accommodate itself to the *fait accompli*. But the fact remains that the Soviet leaders consider German rearmament, carried out without even a previous consultation with them, as an act directed against their country and against the People's Democracies. It is quite obvi-

ous that the Soviet Union will never accept either the formation of a German army within the Atlantic alliance or the reappearance of an armed Germany that has not renounced once and for all the territories beyond the Oder and Neisse.

The caption on the Pertinax article read: "It is by no means certain that the Russians will be willing to negotiate after the ratification of the Paris treaties."

Of course it is possible that some years might elapse before the fateful consequences of German rearmament became fully evident. Conciliatory moves in other directions—for example, in the domain of trade and cultural exchanges and in the work of the United Nations—might continue to lighten the hearts of the majority. But as long as the division of Germany continues and the German problem retains its explosive potentialities, such an era of optimism would have little substance. And the day when the idyl ends and the conflict breaks out with the additional fury that a revived German nationalism will inject into it, those statesmen like Sir Anthony Eden who have resolutely refused to take seriously the warnings of Moscow may regret the exuberance that has accompanied the latest victory of the "diplomacy of strength."

WAYS TO COEXIST

Ideas Must Go with Arms . . . by D. F. Fleming

THE objective evidence that a long period of coexistence with the Communist world lies ahead is overwhelming. The after-convulsions of World War II seem to be over except in Germany and Formosa, and the German conundrum appears on the way to solution without war. To think otherwise is to contemplate the slaughter of thirty or forty million Americans and the destruction of

our industrial society, while Europe suffers comparable ruin from London to Stalingrad. Because both sides know this, there is little likelihood that "negotiations from strength" can push either side out of Germany; only give-and-take negotiations, promising victory to neither, are likely to settle the problem.

Can sufficient statesmanship be mustered to avoid world catastrophe over Formosa? There is no reason to doubt Communist China's grim determination to recover the island in order to end the challenge of counter-revolution offered by it. Several years of industrialization may be necessary to enable Peking to

accumulate sufficient planes, ships, and weapons to attempt an all-out invasion. In the meantime we must make up our minds whether we want to fight a world war for Chiang Kai-shek. No great power, we should realize, can continue to tolerate bombing and blockading by a small native faction backed by a foreign power.

If war can be avoided over Formosa, there is good reason to believe that Communist China would settle down to several decades of intensive internal development, as the Soviet Union seems desirous of doing. Both have more than enough to do at home without risking

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the horrors of atomic war in external adventures. It is this very prospect of a long period of internal consolidation and growth for the two giant Communist states that is intolerable to many of us, particularly those who have strong emotions about China. Resentment against humiliations suffered in Korea and Indo-China combines with fear of future Communist power to make many Americans determined never to recognize Peking and to insist that we break off relations with Russia before we are forced to negotiate settlements of the German and Formosan problems. For these Americans, Senator Knowland is perhaps the most influential spokesman.

But to follow such a course would lose us our allies and the support of a large group of nations which tend increasingly to cry, "A plague on both your houses." As Thomas J. Hamilton reported in the *New York Times* on October 31, "Not only is the world tiring of the 'cold war,' but there is mounting apprehension about what would happen in a hydrogen war, or any shooting war whatever."

THE iron fact which must govern our future policy is that if we drift into world war over Formosa, or if we refuse to accept coexistence with the Communists for any other reason, we risk not only the destruction of our great cities but also—an equally decisive factor—the support of mankind. When we invented first the big A- and H-bomb and then the little ones, we created a compulsion toward coexistence from which there is no logical escape. But logic does not always dictate the course of events, and we are still influenced by factors which could force us into atomic war. These are an emotional reliance on closed-mind attitudes and formulas, a belief in military force instead of constructive competition, and an unwise defense of lost causes.

Since logically there must be coexistence, we should learn to accept the word even if the Communists use it. "Most Washington officials," the *New York Times* reported last week, "do not like the phrase 'peaceful coexistence' because, they say, Moscow has corrupted it by using it insincerely and misleadingly." Some of us have already abandoned the word "democracy," if not the thing itself, because the Communists insist on using it. Could anything be more child-

ishly self-defeating? Is semantics or statesmanship to guide our foreign policy?

A writer in the London *Observer* of July 4, 1954, described the conflict with communism as "a life-and-death struggle between our world-wide living and developing society and the cancerous growth of totalitarian state power," and concluded that we must not regard coexistence as "a release from tension or a return to normal." Adlai Stevenson, speaking on October 17, recognized coexistence as unavoidable but added that "coexistence with our obnoxious, aggressive, and perfidious neighbors can never be peaceful." We need every kind of strength, he said, to cope with "evil neighbors who will relentlessly and tirelessly expand wherever they scent weakness or vulnerability."

This kind of belligerent coexistence is doubtless the only kind that is politically feasible today; yet it is doubtful that we can hold our own in a state of coexistence motivated by hostility. The editor of the very conservative London *Daily Mail* may have seen farther ahead when he said on October 13: "A new red sun is rising in the East. It holds a warning which we must heed. China has been dormant for seven hundred years because she has been disunited. Now she is once more unified; this time under communism. . . . We must match strength for strength and strive for friendship, which is something better than coexistence."

We can neither "win" the waning cold war nor coexist successfully with communism in a negative state of mind. That way lies continued decline for the West, which has already lost half the world since 1900 through its own destructive wars—it cannot be reiterated too often that we would not have communism today in Russia, Eastern Europe, or China except for the world wars which were hatched in Germany and Westernized Japan.

WE CAN coexist successfully with communism only if we substitute constructive thinking for the negations of the cold war.

1. *Let us reexamine the theses which have led us to fight the cold war.* The first is that the Reds are out to conquer the world. This has been dinned into our ears so many times that nobody dreams of questioning it. But now we must ask

for the evidence, and expect something better than a quotation from Marx or Lenin, for it is upon this dogma about Soviet intentions that the argument for permanent hostility and preventive war rests.

Of course communism expects to take over the world. Every "ism" does. Some Red leaders have even defined "coexistence" as only a pause to gather strength. But ideas and expectations, desires and opportunities change each day and always will. Much that Lenin wanted was repudiated by Stalin, and many of Stalin's ideas were swiftly disavowed by his successors. So let us not leave our minds in the deep freeze of the either-or absolutes of the cold war.

We are also motivated by our fixation that communism is just a wicked conspiracy. This idea, enacted into law and almost universally accepted, is used to justify our current effort to stamp out Communist parties, supporters, and ideas in the United States.

Admittedly communism has a conspiratorial side which needs to be watched. But isn't it about time to remember that we are supposed to have a winning set of ideas of our own? If we believe in our way of life, why should we lose our self-confidence because a few individuals engage in revolutionary activities? Why, above all, should we take steps toward suppressing everybody's freedom in order to be sure of scotching a few Reds? Do we really think that the people of the old-established democracies will want to have one-party regimentation and police-state rule?

If we believe in our own system, we should also be ready to study carefully the positive appeals which communism has for undereducated, underfed peoples and for those emerging from barbarism or from feudal or colonial rule, most of whom have never known any civil liberties. Must we go on backing dying social orders all around the globe and then hunting angrily among ourselves for scapegoats when they succumb? Can we not help the many countries which have not yet gone Communist to raise their standard of living and to advance toward representative government instead of one-party dictatorship? To be specific, must we fume about the loss of China and resent Indian neutralism until India is lost?

2. *Let us keep our own economy strong and expanding without war.* Here is the field of crucial competition with communism. We believe that our system has greater creative forces within it, but we are not sure yet that we can maintain prosperity over the long pull. There is no doubt about our enormous productivity during our three wars since 1914 when it was financed by the government. But what must we do to keep on growing without war? We know what the Russians do. The government directs the whole economy, or tries to, in peace as well as in war. Now that the pent-up post-war demand is satisfied must we resume the arms race? Or shall we try to give our own people, especially the lowest third, a higher standard of living and at the same time help less favored peoples abroad?

3. *Let us maintain strong armaments while negotiating constantly for disarmament.* No one should assume that disarmament is still a utopian dream. It can't be, after we have perfected such lethal weapons that war means obliteration. The side which first puts atomic energy to work to help humanity instead of to destroy it is likely to be the victor in the cold war, for by doing so it will both ease men's fears and give them new sources of peaceful power. There is no certainty that we can win this race. We have made a good beginning. Why not really work at it?

4. *Let us go on to greater freedom instead of to fascism.* It is here that we face the acid test which will determine whether we can compete with communism. Nothing that we have ever done has so shocked and alarmed free men everywhere as our recent hysterical hounding of fellow-Americans. They have watched with horrified astonishment the rise to power of the McCarthys and McCarrans who spend their time hunting for the professors and diplomats who "lost" China, the pink dentists who drilled holes in the national defense, the loyal citizens who were war-time allies of the Soviet Union, those who opposed fascism "too soon" or "too long," those who once belonged to the Communist Party or attended a Communist meeting—indeed, any unfortunate person, from helpless government employees to powerful bishops, who ever voiced ideas not demonstrably conservative.

This relentless passion for enforcing conformity has convinced all nations that Americans do not really believe in freedom, that they are the victims of their own propaganda, that they are immature, even that a universal paranoia has seized them. This is the real reason why we have lost the leadership of the free world in both Asia and Europe. While we were vindictively pursuing each other, the cold war played out and we did not know it. We shall not regain that leadership until we work our way back, with some penitence, to the full practice of freedom.

The practice of freedom is our greatest asset. If we stand upright in the world, thinking and living freedom, no unfree way of life can continue anywhere on the globe without being modified by our example. And if we fail to restore here a living community of upstanding free men, no hoard of atom bombs will make us respected or safe.

What we need most is leadership that would tell us we have nothing to fear except our own self-destructive proclivities—our obsessive anti-communism, our yearning to lead counter-revolution everywhere, our mania for enforcing orthodoxy and loyalty by using the great power of the government to crush dissenters. We need to be reminded that every social system is in constant evolution, that William McKinley would not know what to make of post-New Deal America, and that the next generations in Russia and China will surely modify the systems that prevail there today. In both countries the government has given

two great hostages to the future—universal education and the promise of a better standard of living. As they progress toward these goals the people will develop both more independent thinking and more desire for freedom.

It would be a pity indeed if the Communist-led peoples passed us on the highway toward freedom. If we drop back, toward fascism, the whole world will eventually be Communist after convulsions worse than any we have witnessed. This is a race we were born to win. All we have to do is believe in our heritage and improve on it.

WE NOW come to an arresting final question. Which of our political parties is best fitted to lead us in peaceful competition with the Communist world? Two years ago the Democrats were clearly indicated, since the Republican platform advocated the "liberation" of the Communist satellites and both John Foster Dulles and General Eisenhower urged it. By contrast Governor Stevenson spoke courageously about the necessity of negotiation.

Today the situation has changed. The Republican Administration made peace in Korea. It refused to plunge into the Indo-China war. It has cut military expenditures to some extent and has tried to foster a prosperity not based on war. Secretary of Defense Wilson has publicly opposed those who "rattle the atomic bomb." The big-business element in the Cabinet rightly fears the disruptive social effects of another war. Moreover, there is no denying



From the London Eastern World

Mr. Dulles: "You mean to say that 'peaceful coexistence' includes the Communists too?"

that the Democrats were in power when our last three wars began. It was also a Democratic President who declared the cold war, by his presence behind Churchill at Fulton, Missouri, on March 5, 1946, and by his proclamation of the Truman Doctrine on March 12, 1947.

Though some powerful Republicans want war and are violently opposed to coexistence, President Eisenhower has moderated the government's tone and is striving to be a "good partner" with our allies now that the leadership of the

free world had fallen to them through the failure of containment. On the other hand, the Democrats, terrified by the charge of "softness" toward communism, appear to be as belligerent as ever. Having let the Republicans drive them into the cold war, they now seem unable to get out of it. Thus there is a strong chance that the Republicans may now emerge as the party of peace and the more dependable party to practice coexistence with the Reds.

Every Democratic leader should note

that peace is breaking out in the world, that it is already popular and likely to become more so. The Democrats should realize, also, that the political party which drifts toward a third world war will be finished, and that the alternative to an atomic war is a coexistence which, on both sides, evolves from hostile acceptance into constructive competition, and eventually into cooperation through the United Nations.

There is no other way for humanity to go forward.

CHALLENGE TO CONGRESS

The Free-Trade Issue . . by Charles P. Taft

ALL Americans interested in national affairs have had to accept the official custom of identifying government organizations by their initials. As a matter of history, it was not the New Deal that began it but the State Department, the army, and the navy. In any case it is important to know the meaning of the mysterious initials G. A. T. T., for during the next months they will be the center of sharp congressional controversy.

The letters stand for the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade which thirty-odd nations, including the United States, entered into at Geneva in 1947 after months of negotiation. As amended by two subsequent meetings of the signatories, the agreement has three main parts: it provides for a sketchy secretariat; it lays down certain general principles which may be regarded as the commercial "rules of the game" for trading nations; and it fixes tariff rates on innumerable items of trade goods.

President Eisenhower in his March message on trade had this to say:

CHARLES P. TAFT, brother of the late Senator, has had a distinguished career in public service with the federal government and in his home state of Ohio, where in 1952 he was the Republican candidate for Governor. He is president of the Committee for a National Trade Policy.

Since 1948 virtually all the major trading nations of the world, including the United States, have become parties to a General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. . . . The Commission on Foreign Economic Policy [the Randall commission] has recommended that the United States renegotiate the organizational provisions of the agreement, so that the contracting parties acting collectively would confine their functions to sponsoring multilateral trade negotiations, recommending broad trade policies for individual consideration by the legislative or other appropriate authorities in the various countries, and providing a forum for consultation regarding trade disputes. I shall act promptly upon this recommendation. At the same time I shall suggest to other contracting parties revisions of the substantive provisions of the agreement to provide a simpler, stronger instrument contributing more effectively to the development of a workable system of world trade. When the organizational provisions of the agreement have been renegotiated, they will be submitted to the Congress for approval.

The process of renegotiation is now under way in Geneva, where the G. A. T. T. signatories opened their ninth meeting on October 28. The revision of tariff rates is not on the agenda; the delegates are confining their discussion to organizational questions and a review of the general principles of international trade as set down in the agreement. However, a meeting of the signatories is scheduled for February in Geneva largely for the purpose of nego-

tiating a multilateral trade agreement, to include Japan.

High-tariff spokesmen in the United States are strongly opposed to the G. A. T. T. Because this country's adherence to it is by "executive agreement," the G. A. T. T. has always been one of the main targets of the Bricker amendment, which would deprive the President of much of his present power to conclude various types of international accord. At hearings in Washington which preceded the departure of the American delegation to Geneva, representatives of protectionist organizations sought to give the impression that the agreement was somehow a radical departure from American tariff policy. Spokesmen for the American Tariff League called it too "complex"; others called it "totalitarian."

Actually the G. A. T. T. is simply another reciprocal-trade agreement negotiated under the authority of the Hull Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act of 1934, as amended. It replaces with a single agreement all the individual bilateral accords we have made since that date, taking over the tariff changes made in the Smoot-Hawley Act from 1934 to 1947, and adds all the reductions negotiated in 1947 at Geneva and later at Annecy and Torquay. Where the G. A. T. T. differs from any prior trade agreement is that under it any concession

made to any country, and extended to all others under the "most favored nation" clause, is no longer extended to these others for nothing but only in return for a concession to us. The G. A. T. T. eliminates what the high-tariff spokesmen have been objecting to for twenty years—namely, giving to other countries for nothing the benefit of bilateral concessions. And it includes the "escape clause" designed to protect domestic producers against injury from unforeseen sharp increases in imports.

The only new questions raised by the G. A. T. T. have to do with certain general trading principles and with proposals for setting up a formal organization to administer them. Of the trading principles embodied in the agreement the first is the adoption of the general most-favored-nation clause by all the signatories; this is clearly in the interest of the United States. Second, a blanket limitation is imposed on any additions to existing preference systems, such as those of the British and French empires and that between the United States and Cuba. This, too, is clearly in our interest. Third, certain provisions protect against new restrictive devices, such as "internal quotas," valuation schemes, customs regulations, or marks-of-origin legislation. In addition, there are general rules for the application of quotas and exchange controls, and governing subsidies, state trading, and the complex of problems connected with underdeveloped countries. All these provisions help the United States far more than they hurt.

THE Committee for a National Trade Policy, which I represent, is strongly committed to the three basic purposes of the G. A. T. T. We think there is need for an organization which makes possible the *multilateral* negotiation of tariff concessions and the settlement of trade disputes. We believe in an international "fair trade" code. We favor a permanent organizational setup for research and informational purposes and to provide continuity for the consultative functions envisaged by the agreement. These three aspects of G. A. T. T. are interrelated. The ability to undertake multilateral tariff negotiations broadens America's bargaining power and increases the efficacy of any concession it may grant. The "fair trade" code can serve to secure the advantages of the concessions negotiated



"Notice anything up there?"

through it. A permanent organizational setup is the best means for obtaining adherence to the code.

The establishment of a permanent secretariat for the G. A. T. T. is essential to its effective operation. The problems that arise out of the agreement do so continually; at present no machinery is available to deal with them in the intervals between the regular meetings of the contracting parties. I was glad to note that the United States and Britain, as well as other delegations now meeting at Geneva, seem to be in agreement on this point.

One of the major subjects under renegotiation at Geneva is the treatment of underdeveloped countries. As a general rule it is better to have the same standards of behavior in international trade applied to all countries, whether they are underdeveloped or highly industrialized. It must be recognized, however, that under some circumstances exceptions from the rule are probably justified. For example, some of the underdeveloped countries feel that the obliga-

tions imposed on them by the G. A. T. T. are excessively onerous. Arguing that the agreement favored industrial countries over those dependent mainly on the export of raw materials, the Australian delegate at Geneva demanded more freedom to raise tariffs to protect young industries, freedom to negotiate new preferential arrangements, and protection against the employment by some countries of export subsidies to enlarge or even to maintain their share of world markets for agricultural products.

Where the issues are thus sharply drawn, the alternative is to let the underdeveloped countries withdraw from the G. A. T. T. or to revise the agreement to keep them in. Withdrawal from the G. A. T. T. is a most undesirable act. The problem, therefore, is really to decide what exceptions should be written into the agreement to accommodate the underdeveloped countries. My own feeling is that these countries should not be released from their obligations without prior consultation. On this issue as on others the only effective device for de-

terrering precipitate action is the provision for machinery for consultation and review.

IT IS natural that when a country imports more than it exports and lacks the foreign exchange to pay for the difference, it will tend to cut down on further imports. At one time I was sympathetic to this tendency; it was difficult to see how one could get rid of import quotas in an atmosphere of economic reconstruction and adjustment characterized by recurring and severe pressures on payment balances. But now the world's economy has come on better times. The moment is ripe for pressing vigorously for the elimination of restrictions that no longer serve any legitimate purpose and that in fact may present a barrier to more rational production patterns. When balance-of-payments crises arise, resort should be had to short-term borrowings from the International Monetary Fund rather than to import quotas.

Samuel C. Waugh, Assistant Secretary of State and chief of the American delegation at Geneva, urged the conferees "to deal firmly and positively with the question of limiting the use of protective quotas." Failure to do so, he added, might lead Americans to question the value of the G. A. T. T. and to wonder "whether there is any hope of our country's ever being able to reap the benefits anticipated from tariff concessions." The

fact is that in a dollar-short world import controls are generally directed at the United States.

Just as the removal of import quotas is of primary interest to this country, so the stability of tariff rates is of special interest to other nations. At Geneva the British delegate asked in effect that the G. A. T. T. provision for the unilateral modification of duties, which is scheduled to become effective June 30, 1955, should be deferred until 1957. My own feeling is that it should be deferred indefinitely. The tariff concessions negotiated at Geneva, Annecy, and Torquay have by now been long enough in use to become firmly binding. Such modifications as special circumstances warrant can be obtained through the "escape clause" in the G. A. T. T. agreement; negotiation provides whatever other flexibility may be needed. Any additional provision for unilateral modification represents a continuing danger to the whole complex of rates. Actually no country has had to use the unilateral right since the G. A. T. T. was created, but so long as it stays in the agreement, protectionists everywhere are in a strong position to urge its use—or the threat of its use—to take back concessions or demand them without offering much in return.

The advantages to the United States of the multilateral negotiation of tariffs are clear. Those who challenge our participation in such negotiations are chal-

lenging, in effect, the whole concept of liberal trade. If one accepts the premise that liberal trade policies are to our economic advantage and are the indispensable handmaiden of our foreign policy, then one must conclude that the G. A. T. T. is necessary and desirable. Any other assumption is unrealistic and mischievous. It is my belief that we must take the lead in working for a stronger and a more effective G. A. T. T. It is not an easy task. The issues are complex, and the special interests of the signatories often conflict.

The fact that American participation in the G. A. T. T. has been called into question in our own country adds to the burden which our delegation carries in Geneva. In view of this criticism the message sent by the President through Mr. Waugh to the delegates at the opening session of the Geneva meeting must have been doubly welcome. "I am convinced," Mr. Eisenhower wrote, "that economic reconstruction and growth has now reached a point in many countries to warrant the further development of the G. A. T. T., so that we may progress with even more assurance toward our ultimate objective, the objective of freer and greater world trade."

In the same letter the President indicated that he would press his foreign-trade program at the session of Congress which begins in January. We can look forward to some interesting debate.

CONSULAR CURTAIN

A Ruinous Visa Policy . . . *J. Campbell Bruce*

IT IS ironical that our very fear of the Soviets has led us to insulate the United States against scientific developments abroad and thus to stifle our own scientific progress. We are doing this through the simple device of barring entry to eminent foreign scientists who may have been invited by their American col-

leagues to attend a conference here, deliver a lecture, or engage in research at an American university.

In recent years many international organizations have canceled scheduled meetings in the United States and held them elsewhere because of the difficulty of obtaining visas for European delegates. Some 50 per cent of the foreign scientists invited here since World War II—more than 80 per cent of the French scientists—have been denied entry or their visas have been held up

beyond the deadline for their usefulness. Was it because these scientists were Communists? No proof was offered that they were; as a matter of fact, most of them were avowed anti-Communists.

Dr. Howard A. Meyerhoff, administrative secretary of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, has said: "If this trend continues, American science faces the threat not merely of becoming provincial but also of becoming atrophied to the point where the national welfare and national security

J. CAMPBELL BRUCE of the San Francisco Chronicle is the author of "The Golden Door: The Irony of Our Immigration Policy."

will suffer. Security and welfare are founded on knowledge only part of which originates within the confines of the United States."

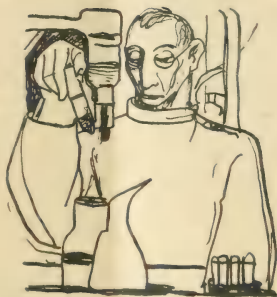
Why do we pursue a policy that is so harmful to our best interests? The answer lies in the McCarran-Walter Act, which invests consular underlings abroad with absolute power in the issuance of visas, as did the immigration law that was supplanted by the act. In a big consulate the visa section is assigned to a vice-consul, and this minor official can refuse a visa without giving any reason; what is worse, there is no appeal from his decision.

The climate of fear generated by McCarthyism enters the picture. What consular official dares risk McCarthy's censure and the ruin of his career by granting a visa to a foreign scientist who, it may later develop, had been remotely linked in the distant past to some group now considered subversive—not in his own country but in ours? It is far safer to stall or to deny a visa than to grant one.

THE result is not only to subject distinguished and learned men to humiliation but to set up an almost impenetrable consular curtain. The excluded scientists I am thinking of are not Communists. Professor Michael Polanyi, for example, distinguished British chemist and social philosopher, was denied a visa to come to the United States to teach at the University of Chicago though he has long been known as an anti-Communist. An astronomer at Lick Observatory commented recently, "Eventually the United States will become an outcast in international scientific society." Dr. Otto Struve, head of the Department of Astronomy at the University of California and president of the International Astronomical Union, says that this strange policy on visas "is doing no end of damage to this country. It is far greater than any damage or danger of a spy getting into the United States, for astronomers are not likely to be very good spies." Obviously, the policy diminishes our prestige abroad and prevents us from adding the fruits of foreign research to our pool of vital knowledge.

It also works a hardship on learned societies. The International Astronomical Union last met in the United States at Harvard in 1932 and since World

War II has discussed the possibility of a return visit at every triennial gathering. It has been deterred by the visa difficulties. "We wanted to meet on the West Coast in 1948, in tribute to Palomar and its 200-inch telescope," says Dr. Struve. "We made our plans far in advance; in fact, we presented the invitation at the 1946 meeting of the executive committee



in Copenhagen. At that time the Soviet Union invited us to meet there in 1948. Both invitations were declined. Ours was later withdrawn because even then, before the McCarran Act, scientists were encountering obstacles in coming to America."

At the 1948 meeting in Zurich, the first full assembly after the war, the Soviet Union tendered an invitation to gather in Russia in 1951. This, says Dr. Struve, caused a great deal of concern. The result was a statement by the executive committee, a sort of "feeler" to the United States, that an invitation from any country would be acceptable only if assurance were given that all participating delegations—not individual delegates but delegations—would be admitted. The United States was silent on the matter, but the Soviet Union issued a formal statement that all delegations would be welcome. The Russian invitation for 1951 was then accepted. Plans for the meeting were canceled upon the outbreak of the Korean war in 1950.

The astronomers met in Italy in 1952. Again came an invitation to meet in the Soviet Union in 1955. With our visa policy now stricter than ever, the American delegation withheld an invitation. Eire came to the rescue, and the meeting next year will be in Dublin.

Early this year two American astronomers did accept the Soviet invitation to attend the dedication of the rebuilt

Pulkovo Observatory, near Leningrad, which had been destroyed during the war. There is little likelihood that the Americans will be able to return their Russian colleagues' hospitality.

Where the association will meet in 1958 must be settled at Dublin. The American delegates, vexed by the visa situation, are reluctant to offer an invitation. Many European astronomers feel a Soviet invitation should now be *solicited*, as an indication of displeasure at America's visa policy. But Dr. Struve thinks some small country, whose politics are "favorable to us and not too offensive to the Soviet Union," will again come to the rescue.

"This visa policy," says Dr. Struve, "is building up the prestige of the Soviet scientists, particularly their influence in the I. A. U. Certainly that is not to the best interests of the United States. We have more able astronomers and the largest telescopes and have made the most discoveries in the past thirty or forty years. But there is a growing hostility toward us among the scientists of Western Europe and elsewhere."

A MINOR incident, significant because typical of the treatment we accord foreign scientists, was the affront to M. Minnaert, professor of astronomy at the University of Utrecht. Professor Minnaert was awarded a gold medal in 1951 by the Astronomical Society of the Pacific, and preparations were made for an elaborate ceremony of presentation at the University of California. American scientists eagerly awaited his lecture on the results of his own patient scanning of the outer universe. But the lecture was never delivered. Professor Minnaert could not get a visa to come to Berkeley, and to this day nobody—except the American consular officer who denied it—knows why. He was not a security risk; he had visited the United States several times before, the last time in 1946. And he was coming to Berkeley simply to pick up an award and deliver a lecture. There was no question of his having access to classified information.

However, he did get the gold medal. "I put it in my pocket," says Dr. Struve, "and took it to Holland and gave it to him at a small gathering of Dutch astronomers in his honor." Dr. Struve grinned at the recollection. "Perhaps I violated some law by doing that."

LAND AND LEFTISM

Italy Below Naples . . by Gina Racca

Catanzaro, Calabria

IN WHAT Italians call the *Mezzogiorno*, the region south of a line between Naples and Foggia down to the tip of the Italian boot, old structures are being torn down and new ones erected. And I am not thinking only of the slums of Naples and the cave dwellings of Matera, which are being replaced by modern low-cost housing, but of the political and social institutions of those ancient lands.

Foreign travelers, and even most Italians, seldom go much below Naples; they may take a night boat or a plane to Palermo or bask in the winter sun in Taormina, but they ignore Apulia on the Adriatic Sea with its many medieval castles and churches, Calabria with its mountainous core and miles of beaches, and Lucania, which Christ did not visit, according to Carlo Levi, because he "stopped at Eboli" before he reached that poorest of Italian provinces. The *Mezzogiorno*, once famous as the "soft underbelly of Europe," is now again in the news as a focus of Italian political instability.

Italy is an indispensable link in the system of free nations, but it still has underprivileged and undeveloped areas where Western democracy is a myth. In the industrial areas of the north, with their intensive agriculture, highly developed communications, and comparatively rich markets for consumer goods, the population is keenly alive to social and political issues. In the south, where the economy is based mainly on extensive agriculture or on small holdings insufficient to feed even a single family, where the villages are perched on mountain tops far removed from railway stations, where illiteracy reaches 25 per cent, the population is only beginning to wake up to modern realities.

GINA RACCA, formerly chief of the New York bureau of the Italian News Agency, is on the staff of Il Globo, a Rome weekly.

The *Mezzogiorno* is the greatest source of anxiety to the Italian government and to the Western coalition. In 1948, when Italy held its first post-war elections and the Marshall Plan was in full swing, the Christian Democrats used the slogan: "The Marshall Plan will transform the *Mezzogiorno* into an Italian California." Five years later, after the expenditure of almost a hundred billion lire (about \$160,000,000) on roads, bridges, dams, land reclamation, reforestation, and agrarian reform, the region was still no California, and the Communists and Left Socialists were able in 1953 to obtain more than 34 per cent of its votes. How did they manage it?

THE city of Crotone on the shore of the Ionian Sea has a Communist mayor who boasts that every one of his party "activists" controls ten people in the community. Any time he wants he can fill the public squares with crowds so large and noisy that the politicians in Rome must take notice of them. Recently the government allotted 75,000,000 lire to the municipality for a new sewer; naturally the mayor is boasting that the money would never have been forthcoming without Communist pressure. For whatever the southern Italian lacks—and he lacks many things—the government is blamed. For whatever is done in his behalf by the government the Communists take credit.

It is a tactic which generally works, but there are exceptions. On a recent visit to Bari, Matera, Crotone, and Catanzaro I talked with many farmers who, thanks to the agrarian-reform laws, had moved from caves or huts where they had slept six and seven to a room, with a pig or chickens for company, into neat farmhouses with living-room, two bedrooms, kitchen, shower, porch, and nearby stable. One man candidly confessed: "Yes, we all used to vote Communist, but now that the government has given us this nice house and

ten acres of land, it wouldn't be right."

Despite instances such as this, the extreme right is fighting land reform as an example of "creeping communism," an opinion not shared by the government, which approved a land-reform measure in 1950. The reforms now in effect, however, are terribly inadequate, as a few statistics will indicate. Italy's twenty-two million farmers own altogether about fifty million acres of land. If the land were evenly divided, each farmer would own one-quarter acre. But until recently more than 500 landlords owned holdings of more than 2,500 acres each, and another 15,000 owned a minimum of 250 acres each.

Expropriations under the land-reform law began in 1951, and so far 58,000 families have been settled on estates once owned by 2,500 landlords. Allotments range from five acres of fertile, irrigated land to twenty-five or thirty acres of poor arid land. With the land and house go a cow, chickens, sometimes a pig or mule, seed for the first crops, fertilizer, and a few tools.

All this has to be paid for by the settler, but according to the government the terms are very generous. Most settlers get thirty years to pay an average total of two million lire (about \$3,000); payments begin at about \$18 a year and never rise higher than \$100 a year. Even so the settlers often find the payments too much for their slender budgets, and the Communists argue that the land reform has changed nothing for the farmers except their landlords—they are now paying the government instead of a rich proprietor. Another touchy aspect of the law is the selection of beneficiaries. For every available plot and house there are hundreds of applications; for the one fortunate family, hundreds feel let down. In making allotments it is doubtless true that government parties, and especially the Christian Democrats, try to favor their own people, but as one government official

admitted, such favoritism is impossible in areas where Communists are strong.

THE question remains: Does land reform encourage or discourage the growth of leftism in an area like the *Mezzogiorno*? Leftist voting strength certainly began to decline in 1952, when redistribution was undertaken in earnest, and I am convinced that if conditions are still unstable, it is because there has been too little land reform. In Calabria a baron owns an olive grove of 40,000 trees; vineyards extending for mile on mile belong to a single family. Under the present law cultivated land cannot be divided. A young Calabrian priest told me: "It is a miracle that our peasants are not 100

per cent Communist when you consider their poverty and the injustices and unequal distribution of wealth that prevail in this part of the country." And in a coffee house in Crotone a Communist queried me about workers' conditions in America and said with a deep sigh: "That's it. In America workers have so much they don't need to be Communists."

A new and more radical land-reform bill is now before the Italian Parliament, but it has not the slightest chance of passage in the near future. The ties between the Italian ruling groups and the southern landowners are still too strong. Here is a problem that the United States, disturbed by the continued strength of the Italian left, has need to ponder.

Experiment in the South

by A. G. Mezerik

Monteagle, Tenn.

THE South's first interracial "workshop" on the United Nations was held recently at Highlander Folk School. Here, atop a mountain in Tennessee, a Negro bus operator from South Carolina, a young man from Travancore, India, a judge from the Cumberland plateau, students from Fisk, a Negro university, and the white University of Tennessee, union men, farmers, and educators gathered to talk about the U. N. and to decide what they could do to support it, if they approved of it.

When the week started, most of the groups had only a hazy notion of what the U. N. was. Their preconception of it as either sinister or beneficial depended on the information, or lack of it, which had seeped down to such places as Greenville, Alabama; Charleston, South Carolina; Edenton, North Carolina; Tallahassee, Florida; and Tracy City, Tennessee—a few of the many post-office addresses on the registry. As they listened and talked in the Highlander rough-hewn library or in a classroom which doubles as a dining-room, they discovered that the U. N. was re-

lated to their own experience. Their little multiracial group, as the week progressed, became a unity—not just a gathering of individuals. They were no longer conscious of dividing skin colors and accents.

Fred Bennett, from Alabama's black belt, brought one part of the story into focus. A family farmer, Fred carried to Highlander the ancient belief that if the need arose he could lock his front gate and, self-sufficient in his isolation, get along fine. But after a couple of days he told the others that he had changed his mind somewhat. Up the U. N. road a piece Fred found the Food and Agriculture Organization and learned about cooperatives, and realized that the latter could be a sorely needed method of increasing his bargaining power. A little farther along he decided that the hungry peoples of the world and this country's huge farm surpluses—part of which he produced—were both very much his business, and that he could only transact this particular business through the U. N. Proceeding from that hunger and those surpluses, Fred Bennett discovered the International Children's Fund and a way of satisfying his yearning to help the downtrodden. No one could doubt his sincerity when, after the evening meal, with the dishes cleared, Fred lifted

his warm voice, together with the other students, in singing the spirituals which tell of his people's years of slavery.

Esau Jenkins, community leader of John's Island, South Carolina, listened intently to the discussion of a subject which the U. N. General Assembly lists as "The Question of Race Conflict in South Africa Resulting from the Policies of Apartheid in South Africa." He understood what was going on in South Africa, for segregation and race discrimination are familiar to him. He was deeply disturbed that the U. N. had been able to do so little about it.

The county judge, a mountaineer all his life, contended that the whole idea of the U. N. was wrong. "You can't trust the Russians; they'll never keep an agreement." His neighbor, Julie Mabree, workshop director, and Myles Horton, Highlander's dynamic founder, grappled with that one. An answer was found in the Tennessee hills. Not many years ago union organizers in the coal mines were met by machine-guns. Mine owners made the rules and broke them at will. Today those same mine owners live up to agreements into which they have freely entered. They may still own the machine-guns, but they don't use them anymore.

The judge remembered how things used to be, as did other workshop participants, themselves veterans of union struggles and employers' strong-arm methods. Their recognition of the change helped them decide that it might be well to take a chance on Russia's word, if an international agreement could be reached.

That is how this workshop in the Cumberlands found its way to understanding the U. N.—almost always by relating U. N. activities to matters previously understood. The nebulous desire for peace became concrete as a Fisk student spoke of his ambition to work with foreign student groups and of his interest in UNESCO. "I'll have to get started quick," he said, "before I'm drafted."

Eager to lend their support to the U. N. the students, characteristically, determined to begin at home—by demanding an end to segregation in Southern groups working for the U. N.—for example, some chapters of the American Association for the United Nations. That, they thought, should be the first step in integrating the South with the United Nations.

A. G. MEZERIK is the editor of the *International Review Service* and author of *"Pursuit of Plenty"* and other books.

BOOKS

Dance of the Hobgoblins

REALITIES OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. By George F. Kennan. Princeton University Press. \$2.75.

THE LIMITS OF FOREIGN POLICY. By Charles Burton Marshall. Henry Holt and Company. \$3.

POWER AND POLICY. By Thomas K. Finletter. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$5.

By Frederick L. Schuman

LAWRENCE DENNIS in his weekly letter *The Appeal to Reason*, aptly commented last spring that Secretary Dulles's notion of diplomacy was first to shake his fist, next to shake his finger, and then to shake all over. An America unused to "world leadership" alternates between illusions of omnipotence and spasms of fright when facts refute fancies. When told that issues are never black or white but gray, Americans see red. In quest of total security they recurrently feel themselves reeling on the brink of total catastrophe.

George F. Kennan, who has long rendered yeoman service in the cause of rationality, here offers us the four Stafford Little lectures delivered at Princeton last March. He begins by arguing that foreign policy is not an end but a means. The Founding Fathers were concerned with preserving a way of life based on individual rights. Through realistic diplomacy they sought safety for their values. Foreign policy was therefore "very modest and restrained," with no lofty pretensions of moral superiority, no "messianic tendencies," and no "belief that we had ideological answers to everybody else's problems." Only much later did we begin pursuing utopias—arbitration, disarmament, outlawry of war, and other panaceas, lead-

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ing in our latest disillusionment to a schizophrenic dichotomy in American minds between a friendly world of sane neighbors and a nightmare world of Red devils bent upon our doom.

In his search for reality Kennan notes, with his usual perspicacity, that contemporary American policy has tended to ignore the necessary relationship between power and responsibility in sponsoring pious resolutions, mobilizing U. N. majorities of impotent small countries, relying tautously on "morality as a general criterion for the determination of the behavior of states," and aiming at popularity through hand-outs. As for Russia, we confuse hostile attitudes with aggressive intentions. "I have never seen any evidence that the Soviet leaders have at any time desired a general war." In a penetrating reassessment of America's course he shows that "liberation" is folly. Hysteria over Soviet bombs is worse. Effective "containment" and promotion of freedom cannot be had through military measures alone and still less through domestic witch-hunting, but only through a deeper dedication to the purposes we want America to symbolize before mankind.

IN A voice softer but equally eloquent, Charles Burton Marshall, then a member of the Policy Planning Staff of the State Department (to which Kennan formerly belonged), delivered five lectures of similar import at Hollins College a year ago. As "a precious contribution to reason," in Adlai Stevenson's evaluation, they richly merit publication. With grace and humor Burt Marshall lucidly reappraises the past and present and reminds us of much that many of us have forgotten—for example, that it is not the function of foreign policy to inaugurate the millennium; America is neither all-wise nor all-powerful; the world is full of foreigners with wills of their own; the efficacy of military force is transitory; the test of policy is utility, not perfectionism; inflated expectations and enthusiasms are vain; successful coalitions rest on consent; listening is

more important than talking; inflexible formulas are futile in human affairs; restraint and compassion are practical virtues, even in diplomacy; and so on.

THAT Americans need to be told these things is an ironic commentary on our national state of mind. That the reminders still evoke little response, even among the more intelligent of our policy-makers, is amply demonstrated by Thomas K. Finletter, able lawyer whose public career began with his appointment in 1941 as special assistant to the Secretary of State, "Power and Policy," subtitled "U. S. Foreign Policy and Military Power in the Hydrogen Age," purports to be an analysis of American defense, the struggle against communism in the "gray areas" beyond NATO, United States military policy, and the search for peace. Actually it is a journalistic jumble and an unintentional venture into the poorer sort of amazing science fiction, interspersed with some informative passages and some useful distinctions between "aspirations" and "precepts" in foreign policy. The whole is woven around a familiar thesis which is appalling in its obsolescence and remarkable only because it resembles the national credo.

By 1956, runs the argument, Russia will have "supremacy in air-atomic power," meaning capacity to destroy America in a sneak attack. This, of course, is what Russia plans to do, since Russia's rulers are obviously monsters of total depravity. Immediate preventive war is attractive but impractical. Negotiated settlement is unthinkable, because we cannot compromise with wickedness and we must strive to "liberate" the "slaves." All is therefore lost—unless we build up massive deterrent and retaliatory weapons capable of destroying Russia. The function of armaments—like that of all armaments through the ages, though the author appears unaware of this—is not to wage war but to keep peace by frightening the enemy. It is "intolerable" that our survival should be at Russia's mercy. (Unstated corollary: it is tolerable and indeed imperative for Russia's survival to be at our mercy.) The remedy, fortunately, is simple: twenty billion dollars a year for the air force! (Let the reader who may not recall try to guess what branch of the armed forces Finletter was Secretary of,

1950-53.) We shall then be safe and can proceed, somewhat incongruously, to champion "enforced disarmament."

Although Finletter and his fellow-retaliators seem innocent of such knowledge, all this is identical with the "peace program" of the British Navy League before 1914: "Defense consists of being so strong that it will be dangerous for your enemy to attack you." The German Navy League said the same, echoing the English spinster who remarked: "We ought to build our navy up to double the size of theirs if they build theirs up to the point they say they will if we build ours up!" "Is it not about time," asked Norman Angell, "that each nation abandoned the somewhat childish assumption that things which would never frighten or deter it will frighten and deter its rivals?" The year of the question was 1910. The answer in 1954: not yet.

The Finletter thesis, to be sure, has this merit: the certainty of mutual thermonuclear annihilation may well deter all governments from total war, by the same logic which produced a change of mind on the part of the fabled duelist who

challenged Lincoln—Abe proposed shotguns at five paces. Avoidance of disaster does depend, precariously, upon a parity of power between the Free World and the Red Empire. But the alternative to war is peace. The method of peace among sovereignties is diplomacy. Finletter has not the foggiest notion of the limits and possibilities of diplomacy, nor have most of his counterparts in the State Department. These lessons contemporary America has still painfully to learn.

The common denominator of these books comes, I believe, to this: Congress, press, and public are indifferent to problems of defense and foreign policy unless they are scared half to death with hobgoblins or rendered frenetic with fantasies of saving the world from sin. Finletter fears indifference and joins the chorus of scaremongers in order to overcome it. Kennan and Marshall fear frenzy and panic, and seek to persuade their readers to reason. Americans, in short, are still too immature to discharge their global responsibilities safely and successfully. Two of these volumes, if widely read and pondered, will be invaluable guideposts toward maturity.

A Housewife on the Atom

ATOMS IN THE FAMILY: MY LIFE WITH ENRICO FERMI. By Laura Fermi. The University of Chicago Press. \$4.

By Earl Ubell

THINGS looked pretty bleak for Laura Capon in 1927. A young Roman, Enrico Fermi, in whom she had a particular girlish interest had declared to his friends that he would soon do something definitely extravagant and contrary to his conservative nature—either buy an automobile or take a wife. In September, alas, he bought an all-yellow car, a Bebe Peugeot. Laura decided on a career, never to marry.

But this little man, who was to become an atomic artificer extraordinary, fashioning atom and hydrogen bombs for an America that received him when Mussolini threatened his family, indulged in an even greater extravagance than the car. He married Laura in July,

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1928. How he came to this decision, Lauri Fermi, with Old World tact, declines to tell in this delightful book about many domestic and a few atomic adventures in her life with one of the giants in physics of this century.

Seeing Fermi through his wife's eyes made me wonder a little why he was so great, although we get a few clues. He is a hard worker; he gets good ideas and has the training to work them out to a conclusion; he is a good experimenter and a master theorist. Perhaps we miss the flavor of genius because Mrs. Fermi covers the physics with more emphasis on the fun it was to the scientists than on the impact of the discoveries.

Fermi and an incredibly versatile group of boys in a Fascist-sponsored school of physics in Rome succeeded in transforming elements one into another with slow neutrons—the basic process of the atomic pile that is creating a revolution in biology, chemistry, and physics research. Later he made huge contributions to the theory of physics, contributions now being felt in every corner of

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modern science. Laura Fermi deals with these things mostly in terms of human drama. And good drama it is too. She dwells deliciously on the whole crew of atomic physicists, many of them bequeathed to this country by fascism—Neils Bohr, Robert Oppenheimer, Edward Teller, Hans Bethe, and Harold Urey. For spice she adds vignettes of Bruno Pontecorvo, who defected to the Soviets, and of the master spy, Klaus Fuchs.

About Teller she is interesting. The Hungarian who has been presented, improperly I believe, as the sole creator of the hydrogen bomb, had his doubts about entering arms work in World War II, Mrs. Fermi reports. She says he was convinced by a Roosevelt radio speech. Then, she says, "to the uranium project he brought all the theoretical contributions his mind could possibly yield." Not so, Mrs. Fermi, not so. During the Oppenheimer security hearings Dr. Bethe told how difficult it was to get Teller to go along with his group and how Teller finally left the theoretical division. Besides, what kind of guy plays the grand piano at midnight in a wooden apartment house at Los Alamos where scientists want to sleep so that they can be up early to do some work? Mrs. Fermi tells the story charitably with a kind edge of hindsight humor.

About Oppenheimer she has little to say except that he was a fine, sensitive, brilliant director. She dwells more on some of the lesser characters at Los Alamos. Perhaps she was influenced by the social relationships of the scientists' wives rather than by the prominence of the men in the project—she never mentions having met Mrs. Oppenheimer, although there are many other wives in her tale.

So it goes: we get a housekeeping woman's charming chatter of Fermi, his friends, his work. This war-time laboratory was no holiday resort, and the comforts were few—barracks living, isolation, prison-like security regulations, lack of water, and the press of the same people day after day. "[We were] a high-strung bunch of men, women, and children. High-strung because the altitude affected us, because our men worked long hours under unrelenting pressure; high-strung because we were too many of a kind, too close to one another, too unavoidable even during relaxation

hours, and we were all crackpots; high-strung because we felt powerless under strange circumstances, irked by minor annoyances that we blamed on the army and that drove us to unreasonable and pointless rebellion."

Mrs. Fermi is fine when she is reacting to the people and things around her and pretty awful when she invades politics. I think she does her husband a disservice in interpreting his political

views. Fermi, she says, did not join the Federation of American Scientists, which sought to promote public understanding of scientific ideas and to have atomic energy placed under international control, because, among other reasons, he did not think that "in 1945 mankind was ripe for world government"! She neatly avoids telling us Fermi's reasons for urging that the first A-bomb be used on a city rather than in a demonstration.

Bard in a Pub

SUNSET AND EVENING STAR. By Sean O'Casey. The Macmillan Company. \$4.75.

By Harold Clurman

PERHAPS this book, presumably the last of six constituting an informal autobiography, should be reviewed as many music critics do symphonies—by quoting the musical text. Nothing, it seems to me, can quite convey the feel of O'Casey's writing—and thinking—except the text itself. Despite the many faults which might "legitimately" be found in it, it is, I am convinced, great writing.

O'Casey writes as he feels—not as a thinker but as a poet, and less as a poet than as a bard. If one views everything O'Casey writes in this book in terms of arguments, explanations, judgments—that is, in prose terms—one may easily become exasperated. Many people will be, anyway. It is not simply that in many instances one would disagree with O'Casey but that one would find oneself as stumped and speechless as one is when assailed by the eloquent expletives of a brilliant drunk or an imaginative and irate woman. O'Casey lashes out with a resounding series of epithets all highly colorful, melodious, and complex, leaving one dazzled, delighted, and dumbfounded all at the same time. The result is not reason and can only be comprehended emotionally—as with music.

Still, music *has* a meaning. So does O'Casey. But the meaning of music, as of O'Casey, cannot be measured by reducing its details to formulas: it is the whole line, rhythm, texture, body, spirit of it that create its significance.

HAROLD CLURMAN is The Nation's drama critic.

O'Casey is a rambunctious humanitarian—repetitiously roaring, singing, joking, jeering, kidding, dreaming, exhorting, constantly spilling out his vibrant love of life and hatred of everything inhibitory, giggling, negative in the arts, in politics, in religion, and in social custom. If you challenge such a man point by point you are not only lost, you are a fool. He is not subtle, so it is silly to be subtle with him. You must say yea to him or nay. And if you say nay to him, then you are doomed.

O'Casey's language is full of lovely alliterations, inspired and uproarious puns, tender lyrics, mad limericks, and a mighty incoherence which nevertheless retains great clarity within it. It is intensely personal and private—in the manner characteristic of the Irish intellectual movement from Yeats's time onward—and yet because of its peculiarly strident parochialism it makes us realize more intimately and intensely some of the general problems we in other parts of the world consider so impersonally. (One of the great contributions made by O'Casey's best plays, the early ones, is that through them we are able to sense the familiar or "homey" aspects of practically every modern revolutionary period.)

He seems at moments to hate Ireland; yet he is Irish in his every breath. He strikes out wildly at institutional religion; yet he is deeply religious. He rants at enthroned and embattled Culture, and continually reveals the keenest awareness of every expression of our higher faculties. He who seems to be bursting with rebellious indignation is essentially all love. "And who can claim a share in God," O'Casey asks apropos of T. S. Eliot, "who does not take the part of man?"

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Selected New Books

Miscellaneous

TURGENEV. By David Magarshack. Grove Press. \$6. The facts about Turgenev's family life, love affairs, and relations with other writers are worked into a clear portrait of a gentle, kind, and troubled aristocrat. Mr. Magarshack's excellent treatment of the man makes one wish he had devoted more than token attention to his art.

JOAN OF ARC. By Lucien Fabre. Translated by Gerard Hopkins. McGraw-Hill. \$5. In this biography the humble peasant girl becomes the central figure of a wide patch of French history. The author's affection for his subject and his vivid accounts of character and action make what is essentially a work of authentic and detailed scholarship as readable as a novel.

THE BLOOMSBURY GROUP. By J. K. Johnstone. Noonday Press. \$5. A thorough and informative but routine study of the important intellectual circle which included E. M. Forster, Lytton Strachey, and Virginia Woolf is

weighed down by stretches of badly integrated summary and quotation.

AS FINE AS MELANCHTHA. By Gertrude Stein. Yale. \$5. This collection of unpublished work by Miss Stein gives the impression of an endless game of *corps enquis*, but it will please those for whom time cannot wither nor custom stale her infinite monotony.

THE EMPEROR'S CLOTHES. By Kathleen Nott. Indiana. \$4. Although the logical analysis to which it subjects the orthodoxy of T. S. Eliot and other literary religionists cannot really destroy beliefs based on faith, this book is a vigorous, sound, and welcome reassertion of the scientific position and the liberal principles based on it.

THE WORLD OF ODYSSEUS. By M. I. Finley. Viking. \$3. A clear, informal account of what is known about the daily life and customs of Homeric times provides the "Iliad" and "Odyssey" with a useful factual backdrop.

JACOB KORG

"Heart of the Matter" is a well-constructed film. It proceeds sharply along its narrative path, its cast is capably persuasive, and both its sets and its dialogue ring true. Whether or not there was more to Greene's Scobie than survives in his translation to the screen I do not know, for I have not read the book. But from other occasions I know that Greene has a tendency to stage desperate moral conflicts with characters of insufficient moral stature to give the struggle much general importance.

ANOTHER British picture (Rank) dealing—very handsomely in color—with morals in the tropics is a new filming of "The Beachcomber," with Robert Newton, England's most alarming impersonator of hairy scoundrels, in the title role. The Maugham story seems to have been brightened up considerably since Laughton played the part a few years ago; it is now thoroughly whimsical and succeeds in making vice and virtue look equally good fun. The great treat in "The Beachcomber" is to see how the ferociously blasphemous remittance man, when at last he forswears booze and native girls, is rewarded with the pure but full-blooded love of as plump a missionary (Glynis Johns) as ever brought the doxology to the heathen.

"The Beachcomber" is set on an island in the Indian Ocean, and its cameras are fortunate in catching more glimpses of the fauna than I have seen in any picture since "King Solomon's Mines." I suspect again that someone has been carting the beasts in by the carload. There is even a fight to the death between an elephant and a crocodile, a contest so unlikely that it would have delighted a Roman Caesar or Frank Buck. I would not indorse the scenes of island village life without advice of an anthropologist, but this is not vital, since the picture brazenly admits that its only value is its face value. On that cynical level it is good fun, and innocent enough if it doesn't teach young girls that drunken bums make exemplary husbands.

A BELATED note on "Mr. Hulot's Holiday": This French picture is being widely touted as a side-splitting comedy, an insufficient description of a remarkably acute essay in satirical characterization. The film is certainly funny, but the

Films

Robert Hatch

THE difference between an inevitable tragedy and a predictable mess is often unclear to modern storytellers. They tell of victims instead of heroes, and this gives tragedy a bad name, for few sensations are less agreeable or profitable than having one's withers wrung for insufficient cause. Instead of being cathartic, the experience is merely enervating.

A case in point is the workmanlike British film adaptation of Graham Greene's "The Heart of the Matter." This picture was made by London Films, mostly on location in West Africa, with Trevor Howard in the central role and Elizabeth Allan and Maria Schell playing the two women in his life.

Harry Scobie, for fifteen years a deputy inspector in the British colonial police, is one of those men who are exquisitely conscious of their own integrity. They care for it and display it with the same quiet pride they feel about the hard-earned insignia on their uniforms—such men are often to be found in

uniform. They are, as is obvious to anyone who comes to know them, exceedingly fragile members of responsible society.

Scobie has an unassailable professional record and is the most loyal and patient of husbands; his wife is a nagging neurosthenic—she knows him well. In the few weeks spanned by the events of the picture this virtuous man has accepted a bribe, fallen victim to blackmail, betrayed his duty, committed adultery, and ended up alone with a loaded pistol. What happens between him and the pistol is deliberately fogged by the movie makers, who do not wish to offend anyone unnecessarily, but it is safe to assume that he is intent upon suicide. All this could have been an astonishing tragedy to the friends and associates of Mr. Scobie; but to the watchers in the audience it is neither surprising nor tragic. Are we to be detained by stories that tell us no more than that miserable fellows are likely to come to miserable ends?

Aside from its central flaw "The

point of the joke is dipped in vinegar.

Mr. Hulot, as conceived by Jacques Tati, is a man at once completely benevolent and completely self-centered; painfully shy but remorselessly set on carrying out his own small projects. He is a romantic in a deadly real world, an object of good-natured fun or a maddening nuisance, depending on how often one trips over his ineptitudes. It is a type that everyone has met, though he does not abound. And the same is true of the

people with whom he collides on his brief seashore vacation; they are recognizable without being familiar, funny without being particularly attractive.

The film beads down hard on the aching monotony of middle-class recreation; with a wonderful disdain, the editor cuts his episodes at the moment when the slapstick climax is about to erupt. Whoever planned this really excellent picture is an alert, witty observer of his fellows; I shouldn't want him to observe me.

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE Ballets Espagnols Teresa and Luisillo feature as a novelty the use of traditional Spanish dance in dramatic ballets, "Luna de Sangre" and "El Prisoniero"; but for me the important feature is the excellence of the dancing, whether in these pieces or in the non-dramatic ones; and by excellence I mean, among other things, the restraint and quiet, as against the flashy dancing of José Greco and his company. It is a smaller company with younger dancers whose seriousness and dignity were attractive in the numbers in which they circled about each other with haughty stares, but who were most engaging in the later numbers in which they were called on to dance for fun—the Jota, and the final "Cafe Flamenco." And near the end there was the comic performance which Maria Vivo made out of her singing of a song about some agitating experience, with a rhetoric of eloquently confiding gestures that were funny as real communication to those who did understand the words, and equally funny as ostensible communication to those like myself who did not.

COLUMBIA ML-4876 offers Beethoven's Cello Sonatas Op. 102 No. 2 and Op. 5 No. 1, and ML-4878 the Sonatas Op. 102 No. 1 and Op. 69, played by Casals and Serkin. The slow movement of Op. 102 No. 2 is one of the high points in Beethoven's writing; and Casals's playing in this movement in the pre-war performance that Victor never issued here—above all his inflection and timing of the cello's comments

on the piano's statements when the opening section returns, and the cello's announcement of the theme of the concluding fugue—is one of the highest points in the performer's art in my experience. It was therefore the first thing I listened to in the new performances, with the expectation of hearing again, as in other recent performances, even more powerfully sustained tone and phrasing than in the old one; and I was amazed to hear unsteady tone and timing that did not give the cello's phrases the tension and shape they had in the old performance. This turned out to be true also of certain sustained cello phrases in Op. 69—e.g. the ones in the so-called second subject of the finale. And throughout these two works one hears in the new performances neither the compact and rounded tone nor the completely achieved and contained shaping of phrase, nor consequently the effect and meaning, that is to be heard in the old ones. In Op. 102 No. 1, however, Casals's new performance can stand comparison with the old. And I should add that anyone who doesn't know the old performances of Op. 69 and 102 No. 2 will find Casals's playing in the new ones powerfully effective and moving. As for Serkin, striving for power commensurate with Casals's, he achieves more loudness and crudeness, I see that RCA Victor has at last reissued a couple of the old Cortot-Thibaud-Casals performances; perhaps it can be induced to reissue those Casals-Horszowski and Casals-Schulhof performances of Beethoven's sonatas. Meanwhile there are

the Fournier-Schnabel performances, in which the piano parts are played with revealing clarity and force, and the cello parts are played very beautifully, though not with the power and meaning Casals gave them.

Columbia ML-4862 offers one of Bach's finest instrumental works, the Sonata No. 3 for violin and clavier, in an excellent violin-and-piano performance by Stern and Zakin that is to be preferred to the violin-and-harpsichord performance of Menuhin and Landowska with its ponderously slow tempos, Menuhin's coarse tone, and Landowska's pounding. Stern also plays an engaging early Sonata in G minor and a Partita in E minor with a good opening Allegro and Adagio. The same Partita (called Sonata this time) gets a different and better performance on Concert Hall 1174—the differences being that Rostal plays the figuration of the opening Allegro with more musical sensitiveness and the sustained melody of the Adagio with more lyricism, and that the bass is more effectively realized by cello and harpsichord. Rostal also plays superbly a fine Tartini Concerto in G minor with the Winterthur Symphony under Goehr, and an impressive Passacaglia for unaccompanied violin by H. I. F. von Biber.

London LL-1049 offers Schubert's beautiful Octet Op. 166 for strings and winds played by the Vienna Octet, a group of excellent musicians from the Vienna Philharmonic whose ensemble playing has a balance and clarity, a refinement and subtlety of phrasing and tone, that make it a delight to hear. The more astonishing, therefore, is the bad taste of the enormous retardation in measures 36 to 39 and the enormous pause before 40, in the third movement.

Of Bloch's String Quartet No. 3, played well by the Griller Quartet on London LS-840, I like only the Adagio and the one or two slow episodes in the other movements.

London LL-1034 offers Mozart's Symphony K.504 ("Prague") played by Solti with the London Symphony. I find his tempos for the allegro movements a little slow, but the performance otherwise good. The recorded sound of the violins is a little dry.

I listened to most of the first movement of Shostakovich's Symphony No. 10 as performed by Mravinsky with the Leningrad Philharmonic on Concert Hall

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1313, which was reason enough to go
no further. But then I received Colum-
bia's announcement of its forthcoming
recording of the work, with quotations
of the portentous pronouncements about
it by Mr. Downes and his colleagues;
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Letters

(Continued from inside front cover)

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FELIX S. COHEN COMMITTEE

New York

Any Answer, Mr. Fenton?

Dear Sirs: One might have expected to
find Frank Fenton's Hollywood's Message
in a Hearst slick; it was startling to find
The Nation (issue of November 13) giv-
ing space to such provincial flippancy, dis-
tortions of fact, and calculated anti-
intellectualism. It would have been under-
standable had *The Nation* printed the
piece as a dolorous commentary on the
low level to which current thinking in
Hollywood has sunk, but to present it for
the serious consideration of your readers
is very puzzling.

Surely *The Nation* cannot agree with
Fenton that before the investigations
... messages from Hollywood were al-
ways quite innocuous—like the Gilbert-
Garbo kiss . . . or the fight in *The Spoil-
ers*." Editors and readers of *The Nation*
will surely remember the works of Chap-
lin, from *"The Immigrant"* to *"Monsieur
Verdoux,"* which in their combination of
sharp social commentary and great artistry
lifted Hollywood by its bootstraps above
its own mediocrity to a position of world
respect. Films like *"The Grapes of
Wrath,"* along with scores of others less
prominent but with equally serious intent,
sought to convey what Fenton ignores or
cannot see, a realistic reflection in dra-
matic, humanist terms of various aspects
of American life.

LESTEF COLE

New York

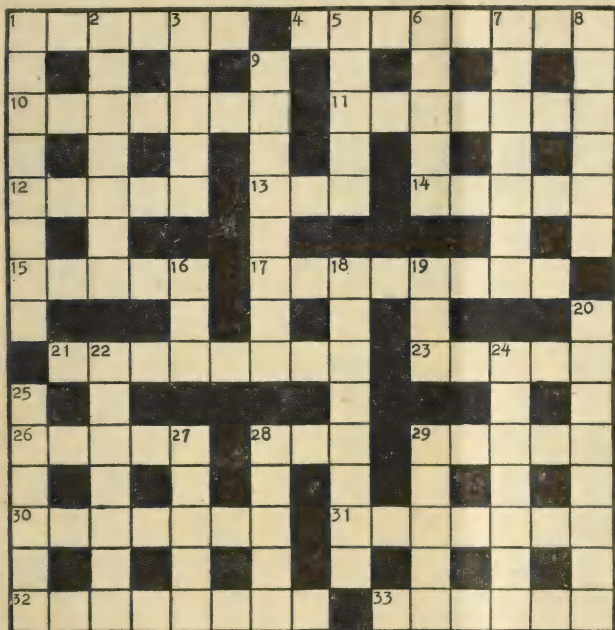
Case of Overshooting

Dear Sirs: Thank you and Scrutineer for
his article in your October 30 issue. There
is no doubt that censorship may at times
seem a necessary procedure. There is
equally no doubt that it all too frequently
overshoots its mark and makes itself ridicu-
lous. It is refreshing and heartening to
find a Scrutineer who can put his finger
and his pen on the silly stuff. "More
power to his elbow!"

New Haven, Conn. CHARLES G. MORRIS

Crossword Puzzle No. 595

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1, 28 across, and 4. If you're the judge, do you expect a witness? (2, 4, 3, 3, 5)
- 10 See 23 across.
- 11 A silly ending to the wrong tune along the Adriatic. (7)
- 12 Obviously there's little money when times are bad. (5)
- 13 See 25 down.
- 14 See 15 across.
- 15, 14 and 29 down. The job of dressing the Musketeers? (5, 2, 3, 5)
- 17 Point, but not period. (8)
- 21 Yields to a broken leg in the water. (8)
- 23 and 10. Ideal method of communication for a man of few words. (5, 7)
- 26 These are often detected out-of-doors. (5)
- 28 See 1 across.
- 29 Face an embankment when this sort of tree has a famous sign in it. (5)
- 30 German historian, or American theologian. (7)
- 31 Does he make a blemish, or cover it over? (7)
- 32 The haves might, compared with the have-nots. (8)
- 33 This animal is doubly agreeable. (3-3)

DOWN

- 1 Slightly less than a three-time burner. (8)
- 2 More secure. (7)

- 3 Places in which to lie. (5)
- 5 The sort of hen that is a poet. (5)
- 6 Permit an implication of emptiness. (2, 3)
- 7 Just plumb! (7)
- 8 Pumpers, perhaps. (6)
- 9 You might make this thing act conversational. (8)
- 16 The part of the mule that doesn't get off the ground. (3)
- 18 Birds use this for pay. (8)
- 19 See 25 down.
- 20 Tax-exempt. (4-4)
- 22 Period, but not point. (7)
- 24 Plain, and not quite the Georgia type. (7)
- 25, 13, 19. Suggests a horse with foot trouble. (4, 2, 3, 3)
- 27 The boat sounds like the framework. (5)
- 28 Fabricated from the whole cloth, or made into it. (5)
- 29 See 15 across.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 594

ACROSS:—1 PHOTOENGRAVER; 10 OUTWARD; 11 OUTSTAY; 12 SEDENTARY; 13 MEETS; 14 HOMING; 16 PANTRIES; 19 TALLOWED; 20 SCOTTI; 22 BACON; 23 IDEOLOGIC; 25 SALTIER; 26 KETTLES; 27 CROSSHATCHING.
DOWN:—2 HATED; 3 TRAIN ANNOUNCERS; 4 END MAN; 5 GOODYEAR; 6 AUTOMATIC CLUTCH; 7 EXTREMIST; 8 NOT SO HOT; 9 AXES; 12 MOLECULAR; 13 SUITCASE; 18 PERIANTH; 21 BECKET; 22 BASS; 24 GALEN.

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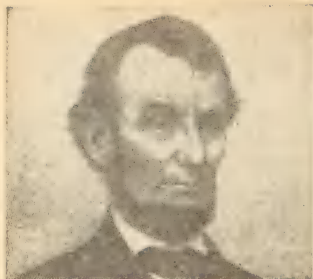
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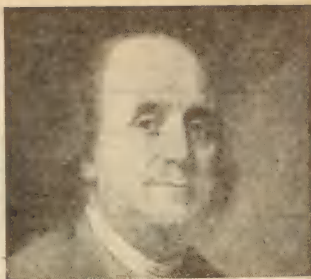
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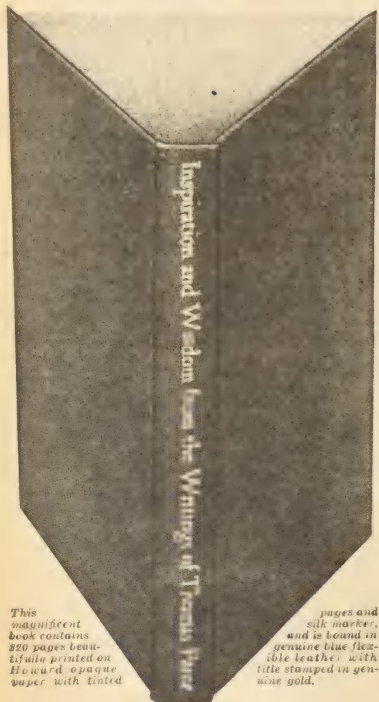
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The Shape of Things

What's Nibbling Knowland?

A significant section of the press has begun to express intense annoyance with Senator Knowland's failure to support the foreign policy of the President and Mr. Dulles. "With the persistency of a broken record," comments the Chicago *Sun-Times*, "Knowland has become one of the most vociferous critics of the Eisenhower Administration's foreign policy." In numerous other papers the Senator has been urged to step aside as his party's leader in the Senate. He has also been pressed for a statement on what alternatives to coexistence he has in mind. On all sides it is recognized that, so far as the Republican Party is concerned, the alternative to coexistence with the Senator might be an irreparable schism in an already divided organization. At the moment Senator Knowland is far more concerned with domestic politics than with foreign policy. The agitation he has kicked up, with the assistance of Senator Jenner, for breaking off relations with Soviet Russia stems from a realistic fear that sentiment for coexistence may become overwhelming by 1956. The objective of Senators Knowland and Jenner is to check this sentiment by freezing the political climate at subzero cold-war temperatures. For time is running out on the Knowland position. It is opposed not only by the logic of events but by new political currents. People are tired of cold-war tensions; they want an end to grimaces and threats. The Senator thus finds himself in the position of a merchant who is trying desperately to protect his investment in stock so obsolete that it cannot be moved even at cutrate prices. What is nibbling Senator Knowland, therefore, is not the prospect of "another Munich" but a well-founded fear that he lives on borrowed political time.

A Tragedy for the Country

No doubt the case against the two convicts arrested for the murder of William W. Remington in the federal penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, will be vigorously prosecuted. But there are certain aspects of it which should be carefully investigated by an agency wholly unconnected with the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. If the F. B. I. functions in this as in similar cases in the past, a major effort will be

made to smother public interest in the affair. One may expect the two convicts to "cop" a plea, the warden to maintain a dense silence, and J. Edgar Hoover to make a number of new speeches belaboring the "Communist menace." Only a full inquiry by an independent agency, with adequate provision for press coverage and public hearings, will restore confidence in the federal prison administration after this case of mistreatment of a "political" prisoner.

Phil Frankfeld, one of the Baltimore Smith Act defendants, was, it will be recalled, beaten in Atlanta prison; and not long ago Robert Thompson, another Smith Act defendant, was savagely beaten with a lead pipe in a New York City prison while in the custody of federal officials. It may be that politics had nothing to do with the Remington case, but the public can hardly be expected to accept the F. B. I.'s assurances on this, and local law-enforcement agencies have of course no jurisdiction. If there is one thing worse than serving a prison sentence it must be to serve such a sentence under constant fear of physical assault; prisoners, being in the law's custody, are entitled to the fullest measure of its protection. The bitter protest of Remington's widow is fully applicable: "A person can be accused wrongly of being a Communist, and it is a dreadful thing. . . . This is not a tragedy of mine alone but a tragedy for the entire country."

Wounded Tiger

A bruising, brawling, bare-fisted fighter, Senator McCarthy has boasted from coast to coast that only his rough-tough tactics have been successful in forcing the Kremlin pinkos to their knees. But David Lawrence now tells us in his widely syndicated column that the Senator is a victim of "the pain of wounded pride and repressed ambition." Imagine the traumatic effect on McCarthy, he urges, of his realization that it would be unreasonable of him to aspire to the Presidency because the late Alfred E. Smith, also a Catholic, was defeated for the office. "Every mother who gazes at her newborn child," writes Mr. Lawrence, "has hopes that such an honor might come some day to her son." When McCarthy feels the pain and injury of being unjustly kept from the White House "the tiger in [his] make-up begins to fight back."

As a journal that ardently championed Al Smith against the bigots who opposed him, we claim the right

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to resist Mr. Lawrence's attempt to break our heart. Actually, the classic American doctrine does not guarantee that every mother's son shall be President if he so desires; it is merely an assurance that his right to run his head off for any office in the land will not be frustrated by artificial legal disqualifications. McCarthy's career is a brilliant proof of the continuing validity of that assurance: he has been running hard for the Presidency ever since he entered the Senate in 1946. Religious bigotry may have defeated Al Smith, but if Joe fails to make the White House, the prime reason will be his behavior and character, not his faith.

Birthday Greetings

Sir Winston Churchill, eighty years old this week, saved the world in time of crisis, and it would be ungracious for Americans at this time to stress the obvious flaws in his political philosophy. That task we leave to his Labor opponents in Britain, who have to live, with him. For ourselves, we wish him what he himself once said he wanted most: a chance, through a meeting with Malenkov, to crown a brilliant career with the most glittering jewel of all—the achievement of world peace.

Vishinsky Departs

Most of the American comment on the death of Andrei Y. Vishinsky was bitter, even vindictive—in striking contrast to the European press, which was generally respectful and sympathetic. But the reaction in this country was perhaps inevitable. During his life the Soviet chief delegate to the United Nations had never spared his adversaries; his unquestioned agility and wit had been used as weapons—particularly against the United States—and the wounds they caused were not forgotten. So the papers concentrated chiefly on his record as ruthless prosecutor in the purge trials of the thirties and as vitriolic defender of Russia's position in the U. N. There was scarcely even a perfunctory expression of regret to accompany Vishinsky's final departure from these shores and this earth.

Yet the tone of personal hostility seemed somewhat misdirected, for Vishinsky was never a man who determined policy, inside Russia or out. He was the spokesman, the advocate, the tough trouble-shooter for the regime and system he represented. His special quality lay in his vast range of political knowledge and cultural background. In this he entirely outclassed his younger colleagues, not to mention many of his fellow-diplomats from other countries.

At a moment when international tensions are slowly easing, when East and West are taking small, gingerly steps toward each other, the loss of Vishinsky may be unfortunate. Not that Ambassador Malik will less precisely represent Kremlin policy, but rather that Vishinsky

could move along the lines laid down with an agility and inventiveness, backed by experience, that his successor cannot be expected to match. The West may yet have reason to regret his abrupt disappearance from the international scene.

Square D's Long Shadow

In retrospect the recently concluded Square D strike in Detroit may well be regarded as one of the most significant developments on the domestic scene this year. Involving about 1,200 employees, members of the United Electrical Workers (Ind.), the strike lasted for 108 days and from the outset was characterized by a turbulence and bitterness reminiscent of the great strikes of the middle thirties. Not since 1941 has Detroit witnessed the use of labor injunctions, the importation of scabs, and unfair police methods to break a strike. Detroit trade unionists did not need to be reminded by their leaders of the meaning implicit in these tactics: here was a clear test of the permanence of labor's hard-won gains of the last fifteen years. Nor did the fact that Representative Kit Clardy of the House Committee on Un-American Activities accused the U. E. and its local of being "Communist-dominated" diminish in the slightest degree the determination of Detroit labor to support the Square D strikers. Before a settlement was finally negotiated—with a new agreement and a four-cents-an-hour wage boost—some twenty-two U. A. W.-C. I. O. locals were actively supporting the strike. Over a thousand U. A. W. rank-and-file members walked on the picket line carrying placards which read, "Square D Workers Today; C. I. O. and A. F. of L. Workers Tomorrow." The pressure for unity "from the bottom up" was irresistible. This first attempt at "union-busting" has been stymied, but labor is well aware that Square D was merely an initial skirmish in a battle yet to come, as is amply proved by the strike at the Kohler Company.

The Strike at Kohler Village

Kohler Village, about four miles southwest of Sheboygan, Wisconsin, is one of the nation's best-known company towns. It dates from 1912, when Walter J. Kohler, Sr., then president of the Kohler Company, returned from a trip to Europe full of paternalistic plans for the Kohler workers. Architects, landscape designers, and city planners were put to work building a model village, with homes, parks, playgrounds, and a huge recreation area. Unions, of course, were out of place in Kohler Village. But in July, 1934, the National Guard had to be called out to preserve the peace in the community after two workers were killed and forty-seven wounded in one of the bitterest strikes of the era. The strike was broken and the A. F. of L. union that called it was replaced by the company-sponsored Kohler Worker's

Association. In May, 1952, the United Automobile Workers (C. I. O.) organized the plant and after seven months of negotiation finally got a contract for the workers. On April 5 of this year the 3,300 members of Local 833 voted to go on strike to protect their contract and to win new objectives. They have been on strike ever since. Governor Walter Kohler proposed arbitration, but his uncle, Herbert V. Kohler, who now runs the company, squashed this and a number of similar proposals.

The original issues of the strike have now taken second place to the dominant question: can the company break the union? The atmosphere of Kohler Village today has overtones of the 1930's. But the year is 1954, not 1934, and it remains to be seen whether the victory that Herbert V. Kohler won against the union then can be repeated today. If he is successful, the same union-busting tactics will be repeated elsewhere.

Fire Prevention in Boston

Last spring Boston police, armed with a search warrant issued at the request of Garrett H. Byrne, Suffolk County district attorney, seized several truckloads of books, personal files, and other papers from the home of Otis Archer Hood, a self-proclaimed Communist. At the same time Byrne arrested Hood and five other persons on conspiracy charges under Massachusetts's 1919 anarchy law. Byrne's office said it "suspected" that Hood's library could be used to advocate the overthrow of the state and federal governments, and asked the court to order it "burned or otherwise destroyed." Later Byrne switched his position, claiming he only wanted to use the books as evidence in Hood's trial.

Hood's attorneys, Gabriel Kantrovitz and B. Loring Young—he is a former speaker of the state house of representatives—argued that the seizure violated the Fourteenth Amendment and Article XIV of the Massachusetts Declaration of Rights. Only a week before the raid, the lawyers reminded the court, the Massachusetts Commission on Communism had suggested the need for a new state law authorizing search warrants for the seizure of "subversive" literature. Counsel pointed out that the books seized might be found in any good public library—fairy tales, works on Lincoln and the Founding Fathers, as well as books by Marx and Engels.

Judge Edward O. Gourdin, making it clear that he was influenced by the probity of the defense's brief and by the obvious failure of the prosecution to produce legal justification for its action, ordered the books returned to their owner. His ruling has broad implications. If the invasion of Hood's home was unwarranted, it seems to follow that the possession of literature of any kind is not in itself illegal so long as it is not obscene. The decision strikes at the heart of the doctrine that books, as instruments of the intellect, constitute a threat to the state.

Bonn to Bagdad . . by J. Alvarez del Vayo

THE enthusiasm with which Western spokesmen, including many who call themselves Socialists and liberals, are greeting the prospect of a resurgent German army has warmed the hearts and loosened the tongues of the West Germans. Their press and radio no longer suppress news about "Bureau Blank," which in collaboration with former Nazi officers has spent the last four years in secret military planning. Today its operations are a matter not of secrecy but of open pride. Thanks to its work Bonn will be making light arms by 1956 and tanks and jet fighters by 1958 to supplement the flood of armaments promised by the United States.

Related to German rearmament is another story, less dramatic but of equal or greater importance. This is the drive for economic expansion and the conquest of world markets which has characterized every period of German military growth. In the view of most visitors, Germany's economic recovery has already reached the "miraculous" stage. In September industrial production reached a new high of 186 (1936=100). The Hamburg shipbuilding yards are producing five times as much tonnage as they were in 1948, and they have enough work to keep them busy at full capacity until the spring of 1956. Despite the presence of millions of refugees, unemployment throughout the republic steadily diminishes. The big industrial concerns—Mercedes-Benz, Ruhrchemie d'Oberhausen, the Rhine steel and coal complex—look forward to handsome profits from German rearmament, the new Franco-German trade agreements, and the construction of capital equipment and strategic bases in Spain, Portugal, Greece, Turkey, and other underindustrialized areas.

EXPLORING the direction of German economic expansion, one is instantly struck by the fact that Bonn is driving into regions monopolized, in recent years, by the British and Americans. Germany's Balkan trade has already risen enormously. Trade with Greece increased from \$46,000,000 in 1950 to more than \$70,000,000 in 1953; with Tur-

key from \$108,000,000 in 1950 to \$230,000,000 in 1952. West Germany is getting in on the ground floor of Turkey's vast industrialization program. Early in October Prime Minister Adnan Menderes of Turkey visited Bonn, and within a month a Turko-German commission was set up in Ankara to lay the groundwork for closer economic cooperation between the two countries. Interestingly, while his visit was made much of in the German press, Menderes had little to say upon his return home. Diplomats are speculating that the Prime Minister did not want to disclose to Washington the extent of the obligations he had assumed in Bonn. Developments which further the military interests of the American anti-Communist crusade do not always jibe with the interests of American manufacturers.

Only a few days after his return from Bonn, Menderes played host to Nuri al-Said, the Prime Minister of Iraq, who afterward told the press: "We resumed discussions of the Turkish-Iraqi Treaty of Friendship and Alliance signed in 1946 and exchanged ideas on parts of this agreement that have not hitherto been applied."

That the rapprochement between Bonn and Ankara was simultaneous with one between Ankara and Bagdad cannot be dismissed as coincidence. Since Kaiser Wilhelm II visited Turkey in 1899, the phrase "Berlin to Bagdad" has animated adventurous German minds. Hitler inherited this interest in the Middle East; indeed, an open pro-Nazi revolt took place in Iraq in 1941. Now Bonn takes over where Hitler left off.

The present *Drang nach Osten*, like earlier ones, is two-pronged—military and economic. From 1949 to 1951 a German military mission was training the Syrian army. More recently German experts have undertaken the training of the Egyptian military forces. The presence of these German military men has been more conspicuous but no more important than the swarms of German business men who have been circulating through Bagdad and Cairo, Damascus and Beirut, since 1950 and even earlier. These salesmen for German goods have

been scoring successes in every Arab country except Jordan, which depends upon Britain for nearly half of its government revenues. More than a year ago the *U. S. News and World Report* said: "Germans are running off with trade and influence in the Middle East. The United States and Britain, once on top, are being left behind." Since then the Germans have further advanced their plans for grabbing markets, advising governments, and seeking oil.

A **DRAMATIC** example of how German economic expansion clashes with American commercial interests was provided recently in Saudi Arabia, where last year American firms had apparently succeeded in negotiating a profitable contract for the construction of several industrial plants. Early this year, however, the contract was awarded to two German firms, Hansa Steel of Düsseldorf and the Julius Berger Construction Company of Wiesbaden, which had sent no fewer than 160 representatives to Saudi Arabia. The contretemps evidently aroused considerable diplomatic reaction, for the activities of the two German firms are now in a state of suspension. But it is a matter of record that West Germany's President Heuss sent a telegram to the King of Saudi Arabia reminding him of "traditional German-Arabian" friendship, and the latest reports from Bonn indicate that no isolated obstacle will be permitted to interfere with Bonn's grand economic, political, and military designs for the Middle East.

Assisting in the execution of these designs are the Nazis who were stationed as underground agents in the Middle East during the war or who have subsequently fled to the area. It is a curious turn of history which now makes the Western powers the allies of these Nazis—the Western powers which have been so busy putting Germany back on the path to conquest.

It must not be thought for a moment that "Bonn to Bagdad" is the only slogan interesting German merchants today. Next week I will discuss Germany's powerful economic drives into other areas of the world.

CALIFORNIA CONUNDRUM

Why It Votes G. O. P. . . by Grant McConnell

Berkeley, California

ONE of the regular features of a national election is the continued Republican domination of California. Now, once again, the state offers the paradox of having a strongly Democratic registration and electing, with relatively few exceptions, Republican candidates for office. As it now appears, the Republicans have retained the governorship by a margin of five hundred thousand out of a total of less than four million votes cast and the senatorship at issue by a margin of almost three hundred thousand. The Congressional delegation remains divided just as it was after the previous election, nineteen Republicans and eleven Democrats.

This would be quite comprehensible if California could be dismissed as simply another one-party state like Vermont or Mississippi. But the registration figures show that it is not. Moreover, the usual factors that explain one-party domination of a state are not operative in California. Unlike Vermont and Mississippi, it has a diversified economy and a truly heterogeneous population. Although it ranks first among farm states, its industry produces more wealth and employs more people than agriculture. The industry itself is diversified. Beyond this, the state has important regional divisions.

When one-party domination of a state is not explained by a homogeneous economy and population, it may be due to the existence of a strong old-fashioned political machine like that which ruled Pennsylvania for many years. But there is no such powerful Republican organization in California. What, then, does explain the situation?

One answer often advanced is the weakness of the Democratic Party organization, and this weakness is in turn attributed to the rapid growth and ex-

treme mobility of the California population. The population increased more than 50 per cent between the last two censuses, in large part as the result of war-time migration to the shipyards and other new industries. At present the rate of immigration has slackened, but it still continues at a very substantial pace and will probably keep up into the indefinite future. A high degree of mobility also prevails within the state; in some communities the turnover is as high as 70 per cent in a year.

The effect of all this is to confuse the political scene. When communities are created overnight and established communities are suddenly inundated with new residents, strange things happen. Newcomers who have little knowledge of the candidates are bound to be susceptible to advertising, and it is generally true that the Republican candidates have the bigger advertising budget. It is also clear that in this situation the incumbents are favored, and Republicans have usually been the incumbents.

PERHAPS the most popular way of explaining the weakness of the Democratic Party in recent years has been to point to California's peculiar device of cross-filing. Under this system, it is said, Republicans have been able to maintain themselves as incumbents by capturing both primary nominations. The argument rests in part on the belief that Republicans take a greater interest in elections than Democrats and that a larger proportion of them turn out for the primaries. Certainly the organized groups that support the Republicans favor the continuance of the system.

The cross-filing procedure was changed in 1952 by the requirement that the party affiliation of candidates in the primaries should appear on the ballot. This had a more definite effect than had been anticipated. In the 1954 primaries the Democrats managed to produce a full slate of candidates for the general election. There was suddenly hope that

they could now move forward into the place of power due them by right of being a majority. They were also encouraged by the results of a pre-primary convention and by their success in building a fairly extensive system of clubs. The test of this November, however, was disillusioning. Perhaps the developing organization had had too little time to mature under the new conditions.

Of course, the Republican organization is also weak, but this is probably because the groups usually identified with the Republicans nationally—business and big farmers—find it easier to control the machinery of government in California as things are than they would with a strong party organization. If the party were their chief instrument of power, it would have to make appeals to many, often antagonistic, groups in order to win over a majority of voters. Two serious risks would be involved in such a policy. First, the now influential business and farm groups would find their own interests compromised within the Republican Party. Second, the likelihood of at least occasional victories by an invigorated rival Democratic Party would be increased, and such a party would be less amenable to their desires than the Republican Party. The present situation, then, is for their purposes an almost ideal one. The process of candidate selection in the vitally important early stages is in their hands, and opposition candidates have almost no opportunity to acquire experience in lesser offices and so to become well known.

Cross-filing is only one of many devices which inhibit party organization in California. The state election code is filled with items whose effect is to frustrate effective party activity. Provisions which specify the personnel of the governing bodies of the parties are so detailed that the central committees have become sheer formalities, quite without life. If a real party system is to develop, it will apparently have to originate out-

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side the official machinery, in the party convention or the clubs or in some other way. In Wisconsin, where the parties are similarly overregulated, a number of voluntary committees parallel to the statutory committees have been formed, and a similar development is not impossible in California.

IN addition to the array of legal handicaps the entire political tradition of the state is a hindrance to efficient organization. This tradition is, by one of the many paradoxes of California politics, Progressive. The Progressives came into existence in California as a protest against the excessive concentration of power around the Southern Pacific Railroad, and many people still cherish the conviction that Progressivism brought cleanliness to California politics. The early Progressive leaders, however, were unable to make a distinction between party organization and corrupt machines. The two were synonymous in 1906; they have remained synonymous to the political descendants of the Progressives. The voters of California, even the new ones, are unconscious followers of Hiram Johnson. The press is so steeped

in his tradition that it is usually hostile to attempts to frame a new party organization.

Evidence of the power of the Progressive tradition abounds at election time. Many of the political advertisements that appeared this fall were quite devoid of party designation. Although Richard Graves, the Democratic gubernatorial candidate, was attacked for having registered at other times as both a Democrat and a Republican, this was undoubtedly a virtue in the eyes of many voters. Appeals were made for individual candidates purely on the basis of their personal qualities. It was more important, the voters were told, to elect a good man than to record party loyalty. This type of statement was made repeatedly by the Republican candidates, and was occasionally echoed by the Democrats, with marked effectiveness. The restrictive provisions of the election code also stem from the Progressive theory, and the device of cross-filing is only its most dramatic realization.

There is the deepest kind of irony in the situation. The central purpose of the Progressives was to return the government of the state to the people. The un-

anticipated result, which extremely few people in California even now are willing to see, is that the government has been made remarkably amenable to tight pressure groups, corrupt and otherwise. Also the possibility of meaningful choice at the polls has been taken away from the electorate. One of the more startling features of the 1952 election was the fact that Senator Knowland, certainly a controversial figure if there ever was one, had no Democratic opponent on the ballot at the general election. The Progressive inheritance has been responsible for campaigns in which it was almost impossible to discover that anything of importance was involved.

Progressivism, moreover, has left a legacy of economic opportunity to political mercenaries like Joe Robinson, who will guarantee the right number of signatures to an initiative proposal, or the public-relations firm of Whitaker and Baxter, who can always make good on a contract to put a given measure through the legislature or a candidate into office. The general result has been a political vacuum in which money has a peculiar value and the one-voiced press gains a remarkable amplification.

CORPORATION WEDDINGS

Marriage for Profit . . by Keith Hutchison

NOT long ago Wall Street was happily anticipating the biggest business wedding in years, with the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, number two in the industry, leading to the altar Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, number six. Then, on September 30, Attorney General Brownell forbade the banns, declaring that in the opinion of the anti-trust division of the Department of Justice the union would violate the 1950 amendment to the Clayton Act by effecting "a significant reduction in the vigor of competition."

This pronouncement put a slight

crimp in the corporation marriage market, which, active ever since the end of the war, has been really booming for the past twelvemonth. Temporarily at least, the matrimonial schemes of the larger corporations have been discouraged. Smaller concerns, however, continue merging merrily: hardly a day passes without the financial society columns announcing one or more betrothals.

Since it is common practice for corporations contemplating matrimony to seek an advisory opinion from the Anti-Trust Division, we must assume that most of the nuptials recently celebrated have received an official blessing. Some of these marriages have been between aristocrats of the business world: such were the Burlington Mills-Pacific Mills and the

Chemical Bank and Trust-Corn Exchange Bank mergers. In the same class, although the parties concerned had in these cases encountered hard times and fallen somewhat in the social scale, were the two big automobile weddings—Studebaker-Packard and Nash-Hudson. But more frequently we find an aristocrat stooping to marry a middle-class concern with a handsome dowry, as was the case when the Sponge Rubber Company was successfully wooed by B. F. Goodrich, one of the Big Four of the tire world. Still more common, of course, are the petit-bourgeois matches between modest enterprises that seek to advance their fortunes by combination.

Corporate morals do not exclude polygamy; indeed, harems are very fashion-

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able. Thus the Mathieson Chemical Company, which married Squibb last year, accepted this summer a proposal from Olin Industries, already a veritable Bluebeard among corporations. And Burlington Mills had not consummated its union with Pacific Mills before it began making advances to Goodall-Sanford. Of course, some discretion has to be observed. A multiple wedding of the kind that launched the United States Steel Corporation would nowadays certainly invite an anti-trust suit. Nevertheless, many if not most of our corporate giants owe much of their growth to a succession of carefully spaced matrimonial alliances.

NATURALLY, corporation marriages are not made in heaven: their motive is profit, not affection. But granted that basic fact, the question remains why the conjugal impulse is so strong at the present time. Undoubtedly it has been encouraged by the recession. With the end of the post-war sellers' market, competitive pressures have mounted and have been felt with especial severity by small-to-middling companies in industries dominated by a few major concerns. Thus this year the tremendous selling putsch of the two giants of the automobile industry almost wrecked the independents, who were forced to join hands to save themselves from bankruptcy. In the face of an over-all decline in the demand for cars, General Motors and Ford have held production high and maintained sales by heavy pressure on their dealers, accompanied apparently by extra discounts.

The independents have lacked the resources to match these tactics and in addition have been handicapped by too small a range of models. Now the Studebaker-Packard merger, to take one example, has brought together the makers of automobiles that do not compete with each other and made possible a pooled selling organization. Moreover, the very astute executives who presided over this marriage may have plans to strengthen it. Noting that their mighty rival, General Motors, has many irons in the fire besides cars—diesel locomotives, refrigerators, road-building machinery, aircraft engines—they are said to be contemplating buying up companies producing such goods as automobile parts, household appliances, and

electronics, and they hope also to get their share of defense contracts. In short, their objective, to quote *Business Week* of August 21, is "something like a lower-case G. M."

The desire for diversification is, in fact, one of the principal motives inspiring mergers. In particular, producers of specialized capital goods who in the past have alternated between feast and famine seek to stabilize their businesses by acquiring concerns with a different demand cycle. A notable example of this trend is to be found in the railroad-equipment industry, leading members of which now turn out a wide variety of goods, including truck trailers, pumps, and valves for the oil industry, machine tools, storage tanks, and many other products. Above all, they have spread into the field of earth-moving and road-building equipment on the intelligible theory that public works are likely to come to the fore when general business is depressed and the demand for railroad goods especially slack.

ON August 29 Stanley N. Barnes, assistant attorney general in charge of the Anti-Trust Division, said he was seriously concerned about the recent wave of mergers. He added, however: "There is nothing wrong with bigness as long as the bigness does not affect competition. The effect on competition is the criterion, not the size of the firm resulting from the merger." It was on these grounds that the division turned thumbs down on the proposed Bethlehem Steel-Youngstown merger, which would have formed a very large enterprise but still one significantly smaller than the gigantic United States Steel Corporation.

Bethlehem and Youngstown executives, who have not abandoned their plans and may before long seek to test the ukase of the Department of Justice in the courts, claim that actually their union would not affect competition, since they do not compete to any extent at the present time. Bethlehem's operations are very largely confined to the East and West Coast areas, while Youngstown's territory is the Central States. The main objective of the merger, in fact, was to secure for Bethlehem a share of the rich and expanding Middle Western market, and its consummation might well increase competition in that area.

But this would not mean the permanent strengthening of competition. As the automobile industry shows, the result of a fierce struggle between major corporations may be the squeezing to death of their minor competitors and the final concentration of production in the hands of two or three concerns. Then competition, if not entirely suppressed, is apt to take a very attenuated form. Formal agreements of the kind that the Anti-Trust Division would pounce upon become unnecessary: all that is needed is an occasional friendly luncheon or golf game.

Thus the Department of Justice, which by law is bound to prosecute mergers that result in a "substantial lessening" of competition or have "a tendency to create a monopoly," must take into consideration not merely the immediate but the ultimate effects. In the case of the Bethlehem-Youngstown plan it had to take note of the opposition of the smaller steel operators, who according to *Business Week* of July 31, feared it "would tighten still further the price, labor, and marketing leadership of the two giants." If it became effective, there can be little doubt that it would promote a further series of mergers in the industry which the Anti-Trust Division could then neither logically nor in equity oppose.

IT IS true, as the *New York Times* pointed out recently, that the wording of the 1950 Amendment Act lends itself to differences of interpretation and that so far there has been no judicial determination of the meaning "substantial lessening" of competition. The *Journal of Commerce*, which holds that the Department of Justice is applying the act too strictly, admitted frankly in an editorial on October 27 that "because concerns that enter into mergers generally compete in one way or another an incidental consequence is some curtailment of competition." Nevertheless, believing that the merger movement represents a natural response to current technological and economic challenges, this paper argues that a "rule of reason" should be followed and that "so long as substantial competition is maintained no obstacle should be placed in the way of mergers." But this contention leaves the problem of definition unsolved: it is no easier to measure "substantial competition" than

"substantial lessening" of competition.

In any case, some economic arguments for discouraging the present plethora of mergers have been slighted and deserve a brief mention. If we are to keep our economy growing, if we are to attain the goal of a five-hundred-billion-dollar gross national income that the President recently adumbrated, a steady expansion of real investment is essential. Mergers may sometimes facilitate such an expansion, but in many cases they tend to act as a substitute for investment rather than a stimulus. As the October issue of the

Monthly Stock Digest remarked, in calling attention to the stocks of some marriageable corporations, "If a corporation is interested in expanding, diversifying, or making its operating position more efficient, in many cases it is currently much cheaper to buy existing facilities—through purchase of control or full ownership of existing corporations—than to construct new plant and equipment."

In other words, when United Gadgets marries American Gadgets we not only have a reduction of competition in the gadget industry but the probability of

reduced investment in gadget-making machinery. Such a union from the point of view of national economic welfare is apt to prove sterile. That does not mean stockholders will not profit: more likely than not the merger will boost the prices of their stocks. As in the late twenties, mergers and rumors of mergers have been a prime ingredient in a Stock Exchange boom that is tending toward the dissipation of savings in the purchase of securities at inflated prices. And that again could prove a threat to a healthy economy.

LABOR DOWN UNDER

A Crisis in Leadership . . by W. Macmahon Ball

Melbourne

THE crisis in the Australian Labor Party was precipitated, though not caused, by the Petrov affair. From the moment back in August when Dr. Herbert Evatt, leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party and former Deputy Prime Minister, appeared as counsel before the Royal Commission on Espionage the clouds began to gather. Dr. Evatt had been given leave to represent two members of his staff who had been named as sources of some trivial information in the notorious Document J.

Dr. Evatt submitted that the references to these officers were part of a disgraceful political conspiracy designed to damage him personally and the party which he leads. He named Petrov and Mrs. Petrov as the main conspirators and declared that his former press secretary, O'Sullivan, had been forced by blackmail to join the conspiracy. He charged the Security Service, or its senior officers, with improper conduct and with inefficiency for having failed to unmask the conspiracy.

Outside the commission's hearings Dr. Evatt asserted that the government

had bungled the whole Petrov affair and that the commissioners, who are Supreme Court judges, had failed in their duty. Then on August 7 the commission withdrew its permission to Dr. Evatt to appear as counsel on the ground that he was unable to separate his responsibilities as the legal representative of his clients from his political interests and responsibilities. Five weeks later Dr. Evatt sought leave to reappear but was refused.

On October 26 the commission made an interim report in which it rejected Dr. Evatt's charges of political conspiracy as "fantastic and wholly unsupported by any credible evidence." Dr. Evatt repeated his public demands that the commission should be reconstituted and its findings reviewed since it had failed to act properly and justly.

Dr. Evatt's decision to appear as legal counsel caused widespread disquiet in Labor circles, since it was felt that his conduct of the case might be unpredictable and would inevitably have political implications for the party. When he persisted in his charge of conspiracy, the anxiety changed to near consternation among the moderates and to angry indignation among the right-wingers. The long and strong Labor tradition of party discipline and of loyalty to the party leader checked any move toward open revolt, but at the meeting of the Parlia-

mentary Labor Party on August 26 a majority of members passed what was in effect, though not formally, a motion of censure on Dr. Evatt.

On September 9, after he had been excluded from the commission's hearings, Dr. Evatt defended his conduct in caucus, but the meeting was reported in the press to have ended "in uproar." Dr. Evatt then made a statement that the report of uproar was false and had been given to the press by "paid informers" in his party. Since then he has openly charged a "small minority" of the party with "disloyal and subversive" action. This is a minority of right-wingers some of whom are active members of Catholic Action, an international organization under the control of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The right-wingers, notably those from Victoria, have in turn publicly charged Dr. Evatt with unfitness for his post and contemptuous indifference to the will of the party.

OBJECTIONS to his continued leadership are by no means confined to the right wing. In the caucus vote on October 20 Dr. Evatt mustered fifty-two supporters against the twenty-eight who favored a motion that all party offices be declared vacant. Among the twenty-eight were a number of Labor's most influential and moderate members, including Mr. Calwell, the party's deputy leader,

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who let it be known that he would be available for the leadership.

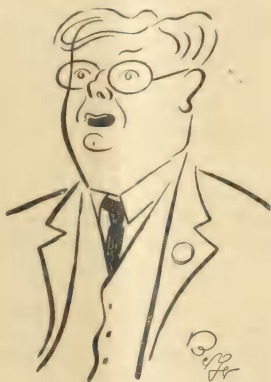
This party conflict has been brewing for some years. Like all such conflicts it is partly a clash of personal ambitions, but it is more than that. At the end of the war Communists had won positions of power in some of the large unions and, through these unions, tried to influence Labor Party policy. They had very little if any success in the political, as distinct from the industrial, arena. In the big Communist-led coal strike of 1949, for instance, the Chifley Labor government took very firm measures, including the use of the army to mine coal, and the strike collapsed. The Labor Party has always stood for political and constitutional action and is strongly opposed to the Communist tactic. It has always been a moderate party, with a sense of political expediency and little more than an academic attachment to its declared Socialist objective. Yet its strength is built on the trade unions, and if the Communists had succeeded in extending or consolidating their hold on the unions, they would probably in time have been able to infiltrate the party.

THIS situation made politically conscious Catholics very apprehensive. Hence Catholic Action, or to be exact, a group within Catholic Action known as "the Movement," resolved to take the offensive. With great energy and skill they established anti-Communist cells, known as "industrial groups," inside a number of unions. These groups were well organized and disciplined and won the official blessing of the Australian Labor Party. During the past four years they have scored many successes and wrung the leadership of some key unions from Communists or left-wingers. Their successes have enlarged their ambitions, and they have tried increasingly to shape the Labor Party's political policy.

Moderate Labor and union leaders were glad enough to have the help of the "industrial groups" to suppress or expel the Communists, but they do not want to be suppressed or expelled themselves. Catholic Action is concerned not only with industrial but with broad political issues, in particular with Australia's foreign policy. It is utterly opposed to negotiated settlements with Communist governments and bitterly critical of British policy toward Communist China. It

wants Australia to disassociate itself generally from the British policy of "appeasement" and identify itself with America in world affairs. Indeed, on many of the most important political issues Catholic Actionists seem to consider the moderate Labor leaders more dangerous than the Communists because more likely to mislead the majority of workers. These attitudes have recently provoked a widespread distrust of the industrial groups, though many, perhaps a majority, of their members are non-Catholics. In his campaign to discipline or expel the right-wing minority Dr. Evatt is no doubt relying on this reaction.

THE great majority of the Labor Party are imbued with a strong sense of Australian nationalism and a belief in democratic procedures. They are equally opposed to Communist and clerical authoritarianism. Yet since the war the unity of the party has been threatened, first by a small Communist minority and more recently by a small clerical minority. The Communists and the Catholic Actionists have marked similarities, though their objectives are diametrically opposed. Both represent international movements, the one directed from Moscow, the other from Rome. Both adopt conspiratorial



Dr. Herbert Evatt

methods, for when they are identified they are isolated and repudiated by the majority. The propaganda techniques of the two groups are also similar, relying heavily on the slanted report and the personal smear.

It is important, of course, not to iden-

tify Catholic Action with membership in the Catholic faith or communism with industrial militance. It is probable that the majority of Catholics in Australia are out of sympathy with "the Movement." Catholic Action is a bitter critic of a number of moderate Catholic leaders, including Mr. Calwell.

THE crisis in the Labor Party today is therefore on two levels. On the surface the question is whether Dr. Evatt shall retain the leadership. At the deeper level the question is whether it is possible in the present circumstances to remove Dr. Evatt without increasing the power of the Catholic Actionists who have led the attack on him. Probably the great majority of Labor Party members are unhappy about Dr. Evatt. His public behavior this year has often been eccentric and his motives obscure. His real weakness stems not from the hostility of his political enemies but from the misgivings of his political friends. Yet Labor seems likely to decide that at the present moment party unity is more important than party leadership, that the first step is to discipline or expel the right-wing rebels. It will then be possible, some time before the next federal elections in 1956, to reconsider the question of leadership.

It would be wrong to try to explain the present paralysis of Labor leadership in terms of personalities or of disruption by subversive minorities. Labor is searching for a leader when it should be searching for a policy. For some time now it has had no effective or reasonably consistent alternative to the program of its opponents. In the elections of last May it was impossible to distinguish between the Labor and the Liberal approach to the very critical problems of foreign policy facing Australia in East Asia. On the domestic front about the only difference between the parties was that Labor tried to outbid the Liberals in promising increased payments to old-age pensioners. On one of the few questions of principle raised at the elections Mr. Calwell, the deputy leader, did declare that Labor was opposed to the private operation of television, but Dr. Evatt, a day or two before, had declared that Labor approved the private operation of television. It seems that Labor's great need today is to rethink and restate its distinctive objectives.

HIGH-FIDELITY SECTION

SUPERLINEAR amplifiers, variable reluctance cartridges, wolves, growls, and treble trouble—this is the language of the high-fidelity enthusiast. He is at once sound engineer and music critic (sound or unsound), and under the impact of his impassioned search for ever more beautiful noises, a new multimillion-dollar industry has come of age in the incredibly short span of six years.

The Nation assumes that its readers are interested in high fidelity. For one thing, they are music-lovers, as is attested by the devotion with which they follow the

weekly column of B. H. Haggin. Moreover, when the tweeter threatens to replace the TV screen as the family icon, a revolution is brewing in the American home that every *Nation* reader ought to know about.

With these facts in mind, we asked a group of experts to discuss various developments in high fidelity in terms understandable to the intelligent layman. The following articles may or may not inspire the reader to become a sound engineer; they will surely increase his interest in good music and in the best method of obtaining it without going to Carnegie Hall.—EDITORS THE NATION.

Promise and Problems . by James Hinton, Jr.

FOR six years the industries devoted to the manufacture and sale of records and sound-reproducing equipment generally have been growing at a spectacular rate. Presumably there must at some point be a slowing down, even a regression, as the plateau of balance between supply and demand is approached. But no one can yet say with anything like authority just where that plateau will turn out to be. One thing is sure: the total sales for 1954 will reach somewhere between \$300,000,000 and \$400,000,000.

The upswing began almost exactly as soon as Columbia Records, in the fall of 1948, took the cold plunge everyone in the record industry, as it was then constituted, feared, and released the first commercial long-playing records. They were successful, to put it mildly, and while one of the other two major producers, London, waited to see just how successful and the other, RCA Victor, countered by releasing the first 45-rpm records, a whole regiment of smaller companies cropped up to issue LP's. Aside from their novelty, the initial success of LP's was based solidly on two advantages they had over the old, conventional 78-rpm records—convenience and economy. However, these advantages had not much to do with the pro-

liferation of small companies. This was made possible by the fact that, in the meantime, tape recording had been perfected, or very nearly so, and that LP's are, characteristically, engraved from taped performances in the laboratory instead of from wax discs engraved laboriously and at huge expense, five perfect minutes at a time, with the performing forces cooped up in a recording studio of special design. Thus the initial outlay necessary to go into the record business was drastically reduced, and, in effect, anyone with money enough to buy a tape machine—or even money enough to buy bootleg radio tapes in Europe—could design his own label, hire a telephone answering service, and be a record company. Columbia itself, out of a desire to establish the new speed, more than anything else, set up a kind of out-patient engineering department to process independent tapes into 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ -rpm vinylite discs.

Faced with this, both RCA Victor and London capitulated to the trend and went into LP production themselves, and since its plants are in this country, RCA Victor also began to sell its engineering services to the independents. Obviously, barring subtleties of the Sherman Act, this customer-competitor relationship of the small companies to Columbia and RCA Victor puts everyone in a rather tippy social position, but so long as business continues to be as good as it is, tightening of the noose would be mere

humorous caprice. When and if a real price war starts, the story may be different.

From the customer's point of view, the only trouble with LP was that the turntables commercially available in 1948 revolved at 78 rpm, at least approximately, and had no provision for gearing down to 33 $\frac{1}{3}$. This meant that anyone buying his first LP had also to invest in at least a new turntable. Columbia provided one—a cheap, simply designed unit that could be plugged into almost any amplifier-speaker setup. It bridged the gap, but not much more, for a good many people still had 78's for which they had a special fondness, and the constant plugging in and unplugging was a nuisance.

This was the public entrée of the term "high fidelity." For the customer in search of a turntable capable of playing his records at the proper speeds had, at first, to deal with manufacturers of professional audio equipment, which had for some time been infinitely superior in design and performance to any used in even the best commercial radio-phonograph combinations. The story is familiar. Experiment was in the air, and, given that fact, normal human motivations did the rest. More and more people began to scrap the cabinetry and assemble in formations of their own devising components that gave them what sound-engineering hobbyists had for a good while called "high-fidelity" repro-

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duction, by which was meant, simply, reproduction of the full range of frequencies audible, or theoretically audible, to the human ear, with as little distortion of any kind as possible.

Now, unfortunately, the term caught the attention of the commercial-set manufacturers and their advertising and promotion men, who began to use it to describe all manner of sound boxes, including television sets, that fell far short of anything even remotely describable as "high fidelity." All the buyer can do is beware of claims that, if not actually fraudulent, are apt to result in unwise spending of considerable money. The situation is not helped by the fact that even the most reputable manufacturers do not agree straight down the line on just what high fidelity is, and certainly not in terms that are understandable to the average layman. The best advice that can be given is always to remember that "high" in connection with "fidelity" is necessarily comparative—the expression of an ideal, not of an absolute—and that the best criterion that can be applied is that of "naturalness."

The small original high-fidelity clique, with its cabalistic jargon, its affinity for strange noises, and its general disputatiousness, bore the reputation of being an odd lot of people. It did have its share of mad scientists, and as it has expanded has gained others, but it also had plenty of normal, intelligent people who were simply interested in obtaining the best possible reproduction of sound, and this element is by now a clear majority. More and more people interested primarily in music, and knowledgeable about it, have become interested in high fidelity.

It is great fun to pretend that all owners of high-fidelity "rigs" are lunatics interested only in high-frequency "silent" dog whistles and sixteen-foot organ stops that affect the viscera quite as much as they do the eardrums, but it simply isn't so. However, neither is it so that ownership of a shelf of high-fidelity components is any guaranty of taste in their use. It may be that only the dedicated hi-fi really knows what everyone else is missing in the way of music at home. On the other hand, it is just as possible that what he is hearing and everyone else is missing is something that no one in the least musical would ever want to hear anywhere. For in

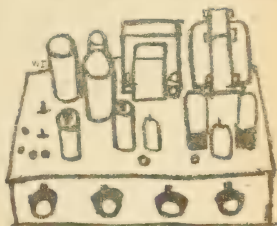
creating equipment capable of recording, records capable of preserving, and components capable of playing back music at extended frequencies, the engineers have also left almost limitless possibility for human error. No matter how clearly the piccolo is recognizable as a piccolo, the bass drum as a bass drum, it is hard to assign aesthetic value to music that has been mangled because someone in the complex process of getting the music into the living-room twisted the wrong knob. The simplest recording process, under modern conditions, is complicated and frighteningly delicate. Similarly, the home equipment necessary to play recordings is delicate enough in its behavior to make its operation a test of musicality as well as of common sense and manual dexterity. By now almost everyone must have heard the horrid thumpings that can come from a perfectly balanced record just because, as the owner of it says, "I like more bass than they put in," or the weird keenings that can be given off by the same record in the power of a sound-dabbler who is proud of his new super-tweeter.

IT IS customary to picture the world as getting more and more musical every day in every possible way with the sale of another LP record or another well-designed audio component. The theory seems to be that, given the materials to work with, taste will tell, and everyone will be able, perhaps at once, perhaps after a few mistakes of judgment, to put a recording of unspecified characteristics on a turntable, twist the right knobs, and hear the music as it should be heard, without previous experience of it anywhere else, save perhaps in the house of a similarly gifted friend operating under similar conditions.

It has been my observation that this every-home-a-concert-hall theory has a way of working out very haphazardly. When all music tends to come out either bass-heavy or screaming, it does give pause. And when almost everything is played so loudly that the experience becomes mainly physical rather than auditory, it gives even longer pause.

Certainly there is great value in being able to listen to music at home, especially so now that records and equipment can be had that if used properly are capable of giving at least a reasonable im-

pression of a living performance. But it would be a terrible mistake to think that music on records can do more than that. It would be even worse if because of enthusiasm for music on records we were to raise up a generation of listeners who relied entirely on them for their musical experience, guessing as they went along—for that is what it amounts to—how a live concert would sound, what an opera performance would be like in the opera house. Ever and always, a loudspeaker will be a loudspeaker and two loud-



speakers two loudspeakers. And Carnegie Hall is Carnegie Hall, not anybody's living room.

There can be great value in listening again and again to a fine performance on records, or, better still to two or three fine performances of the same work on records. Much can be learned that way, both about the music and about the techniques of performance. But the most important thing that can be learned in this way is that the vitality of the experience becomes less and less the more it is repeated—not necessarily because the music has less to offer the second time but because the ear comes to know in advance what is to be revealed. This simply means that in music as a performing art the recreative function is vitally important, and that repeated experiences of music as it pulses and flows in performances that are never quite the same on different occasions, in different contexts, is vital to the formation of real musical taste and discrimination. Without such experiences no one can take the finest and most modern audio equipment and be sure that his manipulations are helping rather than harming the effect.

This problem—almost more than the problem of repertoire on records—is basic to consideration of the effect of high fidelity on our musical taste. Today, with LP and the technical developments that are loosely called high fidel-

ity, it is possible for the first time to stay at home and hear something enough like full orchestra concerts and opera performances to be aesthetically satisfying. If this stimulates an interest in music in general, it is all to the good. If it makes us a nation of sedentary, non-participating listeners—a kind of aural television audience that gives nothing back to the performers, and, worse, contents itself with rehearsing over and over the same officially pronounced "definitive high-fidelity" performances—it can end by being very bad indeed. There is evidence both ways, for although it seems sure that performers build audiences for themselves by making recordings, it is equally sure that dollars spent on recordings are, usually, dollars *not* spent at box offices. And there is so far little indication that audience-building through records is doing much for the music of our own time—which, after all, is the music that must have a hearing if our musical life is to grow in any direction. No one can deny that it is a good thing for there to be available on records an imposing list of Bach cantatas, of Mozart chamber works, of Verdi operas. It is also valuable to have available for all, rather than a few people in the big musical centers, music by Vivaldi, by Schütz, by Monteverdi, by Vivaldi.

From the standpoint of one primarily interested in serious music, it is worth noting that, percentage-wise, more LP's



of ponderable works were sold last year than ever before, with a corresponding decrease in 78-rpm and 45-rpm popular records, even though the leading seller at RCA Victor was a record of Mario Lanza playing Caruso—hardly the greatest artistic triumph of the year but serious music, by and large, at any rate. Bach sold well, for smaller companies, and so, for everybody, did Beethoven, Brahms, Schubert, Tchaikovsky, and other "staple" composers. But it is a plain disgrace that of all Roy Harris's works only two are to be heard on records, and only two by Wallingford Riegger, to name but two contemporary Americans of proved status.

It is all very well for the record mak-

ers to say, when questioned about contemporary music, that it is up to the public to lead the way, that when modern works that sell appear they will record them, and so on, but they can hardly answer so and still claim much credit for broadening the American people's musical taste. If they are going to claim credit for bringing music at all to the great outland mass of music lovers and potential music lovers pictured as being untouched by live performances, then they can hardly escape responsibility for the kind of music they bring them.

In the face of statistics, it would be difficult to deny that the recorded-music boom brought about by LP and high fidelity is having a great influence on the listening habits of Americans. Whether the influence will turn out to be salutary cannot be told. If, to Americans, music becomes something that is bought by brand name and then "appreciated" at home, without active participation even to the extent of sitting in an audience, persons seriously concerned with music itself will not feel very happy. Nor will they if broadening of musical taste turns out to mean simply digging deeper and deeper and farther and farther back into the neglected music of the past. But if records actually *do* build a vital new audience, interested in listening to music as music and in finding out what musical creativity in their own time amounts to, everyone should be pleased with the development.

It's All in the Groove . . by Peter Bartók

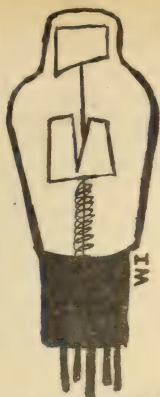
IT IS generally supposed that a recording engineer always knows precisely what he is doing and why. I am afraid this is not so. There are members of the profession who say that they can wander around a studio or recording hall, head cocked and one ear stopped, and point to the exact spot where the microphone should be set up. Other engineers have developed complex mathematical formula-

las for this purpose. The truth is that there are many phases of sound engineering which, scientifically speaking, are about on a par with the use of a divining rod in oil prospecting. Opinions even differ on what "good" sound should sound like. This article will not deal with these broad problems, however, but will be restricted to a discussion of certain electrical and mechanical problems attendant upon the reproduction of sound.

In a college examination paper I once defined "high fidelity" as "the faithful reproduction of a certain original sound." I flunked, the correct answer to

the question being: "High fidelity is a frequency response of 30 to 15,000 cps." There are, of course, still other definitions. There are some people who seem to believe that no sound is truly high fidelity unless it is piercing enough to hurt the ear just a little bit; others claim it refers to a predominance of percussion instruments in the music. I have even heard rumors of the formation of a high-fidelity orchestra which will play only high-fidelity compositions! For the purposes of this article, however, let us accept as valid the definition which my college teacher would not accept. In

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other words, if the effect on the listener of a loudspeaker-produced sound is the same as it would be from a "live-performed" sound in a suitable auditorium with proper acoustics, then let us call the reproduction good. Conversely any deviation in the sound characteristics due to acoustical conditions, in the time-relationship of the various sound components to each other, in their intensity relationship, in the components that are present, makes for bad reproduction.

One way or another it is possible to determine the approximate capabilities and limitations of the human ear. At first blush it would seem useless to construct sound-reproducing equipment of greater sensitivity than the ear, since the additional sensitivity would be lost. This is a fallacy. The total psychological effect of a cluster of sounds is produced not only by the components which are directly audible but by vibration components which are felt in the belly, elements of distortion created in the ear by the loudness of the sounds, and also probably by pain induced in the ear by the supersonic components. In an ideal sound-reproducing system, therefore, all the sound components must be transmitted in their original relationships, regardless of whether they lie within or without the "audible" range.

The elements of the system available to us today—the microphone, amplifier, player, recorder, loudspeaker—are far from perfect. They function well neither in the below- or above-audible (supersonic) range; and even within the audible range they show an unevenness of sensitivity. Thus in some musical sounds the overtones get excessive reproduction

as compared with the fundamentals, or "basic" tones. The defect is exaggerated in expensive high-fidelity record players, whose owners go to great trouble to assure their friends that the harshness of a violin, as reproduced on their set, is really natural and proper as compared to the same sound heard in a concert hall, which is really "wrong" and "unlike." There are many other weaknesses in our present-day equipment. There is the distortion called "phase shift," involving a change in the time-relationship between the sound components: *e. g.*, the fundamentals and the overtones reach our ears at slightly different times (imagine an automobile whose wheels are following fifty yards behind the chassis). When the original duration of various sound components is changed, the effect is called "ringing," and a cello may be blamed for a stronger "wolf" than it really has.

With all these distortions, it is a wonder that reproduced music can still sound pleasant. Fortunately our ears are accustomed to many of these distortions, which are as characteristic of the "live" performance as of the reproduced one. We hear distortion in a soprano's voice and we call it "improper tone production"; too many high frequencies we call "breath sounds." Strings have "wolves," pianos have cracked sounding boards, percussion instruments can be struck badly. All of this makes us more tolerant of small distortions in reproduced sound, since we do not always know the source.

IN disc-recording the cutting stylus must be sharp in order to cut; the playing stylus, or needle, must have a round tip, otherwise it *would* cut. Under the impact of the sound waves the cutting stylus vibrates and cuts a wavy, undulating groove in the disc. The slower the speed at which the disc is revolving, the smaller will be the waves cut by the stylus. But by diminishing the size of the waves, you make it more difficult for the playing stylus, or needle, to follow them faithfully, unless you make the needle so fine it will tend to cut the record. The moment the needle "skids" or loses close contact with the minute undulations it is supposed to follow, distortion arises. The effect flowing from the difference in recording speed is often shown on a single record, where

the music sounds better at the outer edge of the disc than it does toward the center, where it revolves more slowly.

There is a fanatical race to put more and more playing time on each record. To achieve this the manufacturer must either increase the size of the record or make the grooves finer. Obviously the latter is the method being followed. But the finer the groove, the smaller the waves. And the decrease in the wave size means in turn a decrease in the loudness of the recorded sound. To restore the sound to its original loudness in the playback, amplification is needed. But the greater the amplification the more we hear the little imperfections in the record—the surface noises, "static," and microscopic pittings. Many of these defects are inherent in the material of which the disc is made; others are caused by careless handling and the countless particles of grit from the air which sooner or later have their abrasive effect on the disc's surface. I suppose there is no way of getting rid of grit, but we do have control over the size of the grooves in the record. There was good reason for Columbia to decide to limit its first long-playing records to 22½ minutes of music per side; yet many rush to buy 45-minute sides with grooves so fine they can hardly be played, let alone seen. Anyone who has heard the early 78-rpm (revolutions per minute) records of vinylite, with their broad grooves and minimum need for amplification, will remember their quietness.

Vinylite is a soft, rubbery material, and has certain drawbacks when used in long-playing records. In the reproduction of high-frequency sounds the inertia of the stylus is an important element; vinylite tends to bend out of the way of the stylus rather than to force it to follow the undulations. Tie a paper



weight on one end of a rubber band, holding the free end of the band and moving the hand slowly up and down. The paperweight will follow your motion. But now move the hand faster; the weight will soon stop its motion altogether. With a disc on which the needle is vibrating at 10,000 times a second the weight or mass of the needle itself has a pronounced effect on performance. Even with the best of modern equipment, 15,000 cycles per second tend to resist reproduction. What happens to the 20,000 cycles-per-second sounds that are so carefully recorded on the disc! The remedy is a harder disc and—or—a lighter pickup stylus. Both are already long past due.

Another common blemish of today's long-playing record is the fact that the manufacturers seem to be having diffi-

culty putting the hole in the geometric center. The hole is often as much as 15 mils off; most record listeners must be familiar with the resultant waver in pitch which repeats itself exactly 33⅓ times per minute. Why this eccentricity should have cropped up in long-playing records I frankly have no idea.

IS recording on tape instead of discs the answer? Not at all. For every disc problem, there is a tape problem; the difficulties are not always the same, but they are equally vexing. The answer lies largely in the hands of the sound engineer. He should design recording rooms with acoustical characteristics that will complement those of the living-room in which the record will eventually be played. He must strike a balance between the large groove which lessens

many types of distortion and the small groove demanded by customers who want as much music as they can get on their disc. He must not record too loudly, avoiding distortion; on the other hand, he must record loudly enough so the music overrides the record noises. He must make his records brilliant in order that they will not sound dull on "bassy" playback equipment; but he must also make them "bassy" so that they won't sound too shrill on small equipment. He should seal records in plastic bags to protect them from grit, but on the other hand he has to find ways to please the customer who demands open jackets so that he can play a dozen records or so in the shop before he decides to make a purchase.

A sound engineer's life is not always a happy one.

The Little Fellows Did It . . . by Joseph Riggio

A FEW weeks ago an advertisement in the magazine section of the New York Sunday *Times* announced "high-fidelity" shirtings for men. A recent issue of *Fortune* has an advertisement of "high-fidelity" packaging. These far-fetched attempts to tie in with the words "high fidelity" are an indication of the tremendous impact the phrase has made on the public.

The November issue of a leading electronic trade magazine reports that "more than 60,000 high-fidelity fans attended audio shows in Chicago and New York in the past month, attesting to the increasing growth of the audio-equipment market. Attendance at the New York show broke all previous records for the event, with an estimated attendance of over 31,000. In Chicago over 28,000 fans attended the event." The report goes on to say that "in Chicago there were 108 firms occupying 132 rooms, with equipment on display ranging in price from \$80 for hi-fi kits to \$8,000 for complete home theaters."

I shall not attempt to define what this

thing called "high fidelity" is or why it has grown so fast. But I should like to examine some of the economic aspects of its vogue, and to do so it is necessary to look back and see how it all started.

Before World War II there were a number of manufacturers interested in catering to the informed engineer or music-lover who wanted record-playing equipment that was somewhat better than the sets then on the market. These people knew that it was possible to replace inferior component parts of a phonograph with better ones, and that one could buy a record changer, an amplifier, and a loudspeaker of known technical excellence and custom-assemble them at home with highly satisfactory results and at a cost, surprisingly enough, much lower than that of a ready-made complete set of comparable quality. During the war all manufacturing of phonograph parts stopped, but as soon as it ended a high-fidelity market emerged.

Being small, the market was naturally taken over by small concerns producing under "craft" conditions. These could not compete with mass-production plants and were therefore largely excluded from the assembled TV-radio-phono-

graph field. At the same time the giant set manufacturers were not especially interested in tooling up to make high-fidelity parts which they might sell in the hundreds when they could expect to sell their complete sets in the 'tens of thousands. The larger manufacturers were also preoccupied with the development of television sets, and were concentrating on vision more than on sound.

The pioneer component manufacturers not only had to design and develop their product but set up distribution outlets. Since the music dealer and the neighborhood record shop had not enough confidence or enough funds to establish a high-fidelity department, the manufacturers turned to the radio-parts jobbers. These jobbers, or distributors, were accustomed to selling loudspeakers and amplifiers—whether hi-fi or not—along with transformers, capacitors, and other types of electronic equipment to manufacturers, service dealers, and large industrial plants. They were primarily wholesalers and began to sell retail only because of the growing demand for equipment from high-fidelity addicts and the pressure of manufacturers who were anxious to sell it.

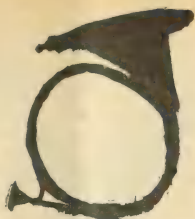
As a result, the radio-parts distributor

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became a sound specialist and in this phase of his business a dealer. And he still functions as such, though within the past year other types of retailers have entered the field in some areas. This division of interests made it difficult for him to supply to consumers the goods they wanted and delayed the high-fidelity boom. In many parts of the country distributors are still not organized for retail selling, but in the large cities parts jobbers have installed excellent sound rooms for demonstrating high fidelity and ingenious switching devices to show how some combinations of equipment compare in sound with others.

While the consumer found it a little harder than it should have been to buy high-fidelity equipment, as compensation he was able to get what he wanted for less than he might have expected to pay. This was because the manufacturer was selling directly to the jobber, who was selling directly to the public, which meant the elimination of at least one "profit step" in the normal radio-distribution channels.

About a year ago, when it became obvious that, despite the many obstacles, the high-fidelity-components business was going to grow rapidly, the larger radio-set manufacturers took another look at the business. The fact that television sets were no longer a novelty and



profit margins not so high as formerly may have had something to do with this second glance. In any case, some manufacturers began to bring out so-called "high-fidelity" models and to use expressions synonymous with "higher fidelity" and "highest fidelity" in their advertising. While true "high fidelity" is difficult to define, sets show wide variations in quality which are clearly apparent to those who are interested in musical realism and can recognize the true sound of an instrument.

Paralleling the growth of the high-fidelity industry has been the growth of publications catering specifically to the industry and to music listeners in the home. Other periodicals which never covered this field in the past are now regularly doing so; many of the country's leading magazines and newspapers give special attention to the subject. Among the publications aimed directly at the high-fidelity enthusiast are *High*

Fidelity, *Music at Home*, and *Audio*, with a combined circulation of roughly 100,000.

Each improved component has demanded equally improved associated components. As the amplifiers became better, they required better pickups. These, in turn, demanded better loudspeakers, which then had to be installed in scientifically designed speaker enclosures. With mechanical improvements in reproduction came more sensitive long-playing recordings. In fact, it may be said that all along the line the quality of music in the home has advanced in the past few years at a rate far exceeding all the progress previously made since the days of Mr. Edison's cylinder.

It is now recognized that the cultural potentials of hi-fi are enormous. The interest in finer sound brings with it an interest in better music, and while the novice in the high-fidelity world may find himself initially preoccupied with sounds and noises rather than with the composition or performance, appreciation of the music finally becomes the focal point of his hobby. A nation which has often been called "sports mad" and has had the reputation of being not too concerned with cultural development, actually spent more money last year in attending organized concerts than in attending organized baseball games!

FM: An Unaccepted Challenge . . . by David Hall

WHEN I was a student at Phillips Exeter Academy and Yale University, taking advantage of every opportunity to soak up listening experience in concert music, the first reports were filtering through to the public about a new type of broadcasting known as frequency modulation—or, as we now call it, FM. As developed and perfected by the late Major Edward Armstrong, it promised

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not only completely static-free listening but also the possibility of broadcasting music without the restrictions on frequency and dynamic range imposed by the conventional amplitude modulation, or AM.

Shortly after World War II, I acquired an FM tuner. Listening to occasional live performances on Major Armstrong's FM station in Alpine, New Jersey, and over the FM outlet of New York's municipal station, WNYC, I had my first experience with high-fidelity sound as we know it today. Fortunately, my FM tuner operated through an amplifier-speaker combination which would be looked upon favorably even by to-

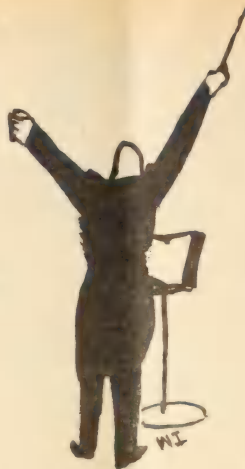
day's hi-fi addicts. Hearing a piano or a guitar transmitted by a fine FM signal was a revelation, for at that time phonograph recordings had by no means reached the peak of sonic perfection that they have in today's era of the long-playing disc. I still remember with extraordinary vividness a broadcast of Zoltán Kodály's "Psalmus Hungaricus" from a concert given by the Handel and Haydn Society in Symphony Hall, Boston, which was relayed to the New York area not by the usual telephone lines—which automatically reduce sonic fidelity—but by FM signals passed from one station to another.

For me these experiences awakened

passionate hopes for this new method of broadcasting. When most of the major networks added FM outlets to their existing facilities, it seemed that the millennium might have arrived; here was the chance to hear Toscanini and the NBC Symphony, the Sunday New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra broadcasts, and the Saturday Metropolitan Opera performances in their pristine splendor—at least if one lived in or near New York.

My expectations were in large measure unfulfilled. While one could hear these broadcasts free from static, an advantage of sorts, it seemed that very little effort was made by the big networks to give to the FM signal the full advantages of increased dynamic and frequency range that it was capable of handling. There remained a slowly growing number of independent FM broadcasters, such as WQXR-FM and WABF in the New York area, as well as the ever-faithful WNYC, which soon had its own FM transmitter; but their stringent budget limitations made live-music broadcasts a comparative rarity on their programs. For the most part the program fare was recorded music—and I might add, very good recorded music. Nevertheless, this could scarcely be called full exploitation of the potentialities of FM broadcasting. I shall not dwell here on the complex of economic and legal factors which stunted the development of FM in its infancy except to say that almost irreparable damage was done by the Federal Communications Commission's reallocation of the FM broadcast channels not long after many thousands had purchased FM receivers designed for the original bands. Also the marketing of low-grade table-model FM-AM radio receivers did much to discredit FM.

THE years since 1948 have seen the full flowering, for good or ill, of television broadcasting, and simultaneously a fantastic multiplication of concert-music records and great improvement in the phonographs on which they are played. The perfection of the long-playing record, the development of wide-range magnetic-tape recording, the availability of high-fidelity components, all this has led highbrows and middlebrows alike to expect the reproduction to encompass a truly wide dynamic range



as well as the full frequency range of human hearing. The past year has seen the first steps taken to make available "three-dimensional" sound reproduction in the form of binaural magnetic tapes, discs, and broadcasts (using simultaneous AM and FM channels). In short, phonograph and magnetic-tape recordings have become the chief media today for high-quality musical reproduction, with FM broadcasting left almost completely in the lurch.

That the colossal expense entailed in television broadcasting has brought about serious curtailment of radio broadcasting by the major networks has had some interesting consequences. The trend in radio broadcasting today, both network and independent, seems to be more and more in the direction of recorded music—be it hillbilly, pop, or classical. This is sensible in terms of the services that can be rendered by radio broadcasting as compared to television. As part of this development, there has been a slow growth among independent broadcasters of the "Third Program" or concert-music station. Where at one time WQXR and WNYC in New York were almost alone in the field, there are now nearly fifty radio stations throughout the country that emphasize serious music in their programming. This does *not* include the many university and educational stations which exchange tape recordings of their outstanding programs. A number of the commercial concert-music stations have combined their efforts through quasi-

network operations, such as those of Good Music Broadcasters. They have pooled their programs in many instances either by direct FM relay or through the exchange of magnetic tapes. As might be expected, the majority of these concert-music stations are FM outlets, but a substantial percentage offers both FM and AM.

THIS is a wonderful development that should be encouraged, especially in combination with what has been going on in the recording and high-fidelity home-component field; but there are several flies in the ointment. (1) The "Third Program" stations have not been able to offer live musical performances on any scale beyond that of music for small instrumental and vocal combinations. (2) Almost all live broadcasts from these concert-music stations, and from the major network FM outlets as well, have failed to take advantage of the reproduction techniques that have become commonplace in the phonograph recording field—this with one exception, binaural broadcasts of occasional live performances. To receive these binaural broadcasts in the home, the listener must own both AM and FM receivers. He tunes in on both channels, placing the receivers so that his ears are at the focal point of the sound. Two microphones at the site of broadcasting are placed about eight feet apart and equidistant from the musicians. One microphone feeds the AM transmitter, the other the FM transmitter. The result is a remarkable simulation of the spatial sense experienced in the concert hall.

It seems to me that FM, concert music in the home, and high fidelity belong together in every sense of the word. The time has come, in terms of engineering, for FM concert-music stations to throw the radio-broadcasting rule book out the window and begin seriously using the techniques that have produced such miracles of fine sound on long-playing phonograph records of concert music. Likewise, it behooves all FM broadcasters—in particular those seriously committed to presenting concert music—to work out some way of combining economic forces so that this policy, together with improved engineering practice, will make possible a standard of live-music broadcasting never consistently experienced in this country.

the boy and the Star

He is old enough now to know that the ornament on the tree is more than simply a star . . . to understand the deeper meaning of Christmastime.

Now he knows that it is love that has been shining on the tree year after year, the love that has wrapped and held him . . . that has given him food and warmth and laughter and the promise of joy to come.

Life's great reward is the privilege of giving security to those we love—yet it is possible only in a country like ours.

And, think: When you make *your* home secure you are also helping make America secure. For the strength of America grows as the number of its secure homes increases.



Saving for security is easy! Read every word

—now! If you've tried to save and failed, chances are it was because you didn't have a *plan*. Well, here's a savings system that really works—the Payroll Savings Plan for investing in U.S. Savings Bonds. This is all you do. Go to your company's pay office, choose the amount you want to save—a few dollars a payday, or as much as you wish. That money will be set aside for you before you even draw your pay. And automatically invested in Series "E" U.S. Savings Bonds which are turned over to you.

If you can save only \$3.75 a week on the Plan, in 9 years and 8 months you will have \$2,137.30. If you can save as much as \$18.75 a week, 9 years and 8 months will bring you \$10,700!

U.S. Series "E" Savings Bonds earn interest at an average of 3% per year, compounded semi-annually, when held to maturity! And they can go on earning interest for as long as 19 years and 8 months if you wish.

If you want your interest as current income, ask your bank about 3% Series "H" Bonds which pay interest semiannually by Treasury check.



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BOOKS

Henri Matisse—1869-1954

BY S. LANE FAISON, JR.

IN MATISSE the artist's true function was exemplified. For him creation was discovery and invention became revelation. His aim, consistently stated, was to please; but in pleasing he shaped a world that turned out to be real. There are no more daring color harmonies than Matisse's—except in nature. Six springs ago at the great retrospective in Philadelphia, Matisse and nature engaged in joyous competition: the azaleas with the painter's imagined splendors. If there was no victor in this brilliant rivalry, one could at least say that Matisse forced nature into a successful imitation of art.

In 1954 it is easy to observe that Matisse's color is part of the vocabulary of modern experience. Stage design, textiles, fashion, advertising, and interior decoration all bear witness to his impact. A true disciple of the early Manet, he restored to painting the domination of color conceived in planes. Because of Matisse, and because of him first of all, painting found itself in a condition, too seldom taken advantage of, to serve modern architecture.

It is no disservice to Picasso to assert for Matisse priority in these particular matters. The watershed of Matisse's career is without doubt *Le Bonheur de Vivre*, that great pagan mural which the Barnes Foundation still makes inaccessible to all but the very few. Developed in studies during the year 1905, it was completed in time for the *Salon des Indépendants* in the following spring. "If by some chance," says Alfred Barr, "Picasso did not see it at the *Salon* . . . he surely saw it often at the *Rue de Fleury* during the following autumn and winter. Very possibly it inspired him to emulation or at least to the concentration of his resources in a single great effort. . . . In any case, early in 1907, after months of preparation, he began to paint a figure composition larger and more elaborate than any he had attempted before, at least since his student days." *Les Femmes d'Alger*, now centrally placed in the great anniversary

exhibition of the Museum of Modern Art, is Picasso's own crossing of the great divide that separates the nineteenth from the twentieth century.

Curiously enough, for all its progressiveness and for all its influence on Picasso and on other younger colleagues of Matisse, the *Bonheur de Vivre* is strikingly traditional. It has strong overtones of Gauguin and Toulouse-Lautrec in its curvilinear forms and areas of bold flat color, not to mention its idyllic, even Puvion de Chavannes kind of innocence. The accident of birth placed Matisse in the generation of the sixties as a near contemporary of other great spirits who molded or deflected that dominant decorative style of the end of the nine-

teenth century which we have come to know as Art Nouveau. Lautrec, Kandinsky, and Munch were of his generation (Lautrec was only five years older); Picasso, Léger, and Derain were not. Though Matisse, very much like Cézanne, was slow to develop, his roots were deep in his own generation even when his genius at length emerged. That is, one supposes, at least a partial explanation of why Cubism had so little impact on his art: Cubism, invented by Picasso and Braque, reoriented by Léger, and sympathetically approached after 1910 even by Derain, who was Matisse's most ardent colleague in Fauvism.

If Matisse respected tradition more than Picasso, it never interfered with the continued unfolding of his career. Perhaps the most inspiring part of it was its end. Very few artists go on in their seventies and eighties to ever more lyrical outpourings, controlled by wisdom's demand for simplicity and directness. Matisse was one of these.

Sensitivity Without Discipline

THIS ROWDY HEART. By Frances Frost. The Golden Quill Press. \$2.

By John Ciardi

THE more poetry reviews I see, the more I begin to think reviewers have entered some sort of age of tenderness, the founding faith of which seems to be that respect for the human feelings of the writer is reason enough for not calling a bad book bad in so many words. I say nonsense. Aside from what gets put down on the page, the poet has no humanity. The citizen the poet may be when he is not putting words on a page is another thing altogether. That citizen puts himself in a special bracket by the act of publication, and must risk open criticism as part of that act. I think Miss Frost has written a bad book, I think it is bad in ways that can reasonably be identified, and I may be wrong.

The poems divide roughly into two groups: poems about the state of the world and poems about the state of New

England. The world, one gathers, is about to go boom, but New England, one cannot doubt, still has character.

Unfortunately, the New England character is too often left to be expressed by New England characters, and stacy characters at that. Put briefly, the New England poems strike me as too cute. Put more precisely, the writing asks, by implication, for more sympathy than I am willing to give to a set of fairly stock characters. I cannot find them as significant and admirable as the author seems to. So for the Yankee trader who, though he will run up a fever at being cheated, still "hardly ever says more than 'Beats all!'" The jacket singles out this bit of sweetness as a point of merit. I find it dull, coy, and thrice-told.

Regionalism, of course, is a trap for all but the very best writers. Miss Frost's badness when she addresses the state of the world is both more absolute and more identifiable. She opens this collection with a piece that must be quoted in full, Cradle Song:

Rockabye, my twentieth century baby,
rockabye on the luminous mushroom's top,
When the wind blows, my radioactive
baby,

JOHN CIARDI is associate professor of English at Rutgers University. His translation of *"The Inferno"* has just been released by Mentor Books.

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the heart of nations and your heart will stop.
When the atom breaks, my sweet sun-
blasted baby,
the mushroom and the cradle of love will
fall,
and down will come my blinded star-
crossed baby,
cities, and seas, the millioned earth and
all.

I gather that Miss Frost's idea here was to write something both tender and bitterly ironic by marrying the lullaby and the boom. I doubt that disaster can be had this cheaply. A poet has to earn his disasters into his feelings, as, say, Dylan Thomas does in the *Refusal to Mourn*.

I find Miss Frost's poem silly-*coy*. I don't think the poem thinks through its own metaphorical levels. Note the number of confusions in the simple literal saying of the idea. Baby is *on* the cloud, and I will insist that's about as radioactive as one can get: he certainly will not need the wind to blow "hot" dust on him. "When the atom breaks," writes Miss Frost; but what produced the cloud the baby is on if not the splitting (does one "break" an atom?) of the atom? The original jingle at least had sequence: in Miss Frost's hands nothing comes out in relation to anything else. How justify, for example "and down will come . . . seas"? Give them the ultimate jolt and they may go up in steam, but I will not be persuaded that a sea can be blown down.

A basic formula of these state-of-the-world poems seems to be the bringing together of a simplicity (baby, plumed hills, chimney smoke, human decency) and a boom-boom threat (cyclotron, war, the atom). Mix together and you have a poetic perception. I doubt that it is that easy.

Consistently, too, Miss Frost misrepresents the fact of what she is talking about. So, in bidding sailors and airmen to come home from war she writes:

In whatever time zone, latitude, longitude,
ser sail, spread wing, but come.

I must object to "spread wing." Sailors may be said to "set sail"; aviators certainly do not "spread wing" when they take off. In flight or on the ground, the wings of a plane are equally spread. Certainly, too, someone should tell Miss Frost that time zones are not distinct from longitudes, and that the elements of her opening series, therefore, tend to blur uncritically together.

A different kind of badness occurs in *Refugee Ship Toward Israel*, where we are told "The small ship with its ballast of hearts gropes slowly." There is no doubt about what Miss Frost intends here; still the suggested image of a hundred hearts stored in the hold as ballast is inescapable and offensive in just the way Wordsworth found Cowper's use of "the sound of the church-going bell"

a "strange abuse." Cowper's intent was clear enough, but the image of that bell trundling off to church remains foolishly in view.

Poetry requires more than sensitivity and decency—which Miss Frost clearly has; it requires also a talent and the hard insistence of an aesthetic discipline, neither of which I am able to find in her poetry.

Selected Art Books

MODERN PRINTS AND DRAWINGS. Selected by Paul J. Sachs, Knopf. \$7.50. Primarily a picture book with nearly three hundred illustrations running from Goya and Géricault to the present. The selection itself mirrors the experience and connoisseurship of the man more responsible than anyone else for building up Harvard's great drawing and print collections. The commentary is divided between rather elementary chapter introductions and free-wheeling reactions to individual works often wise and illuminating.

WATER COLORS BY ALBRECHT DÜRER. Text by Anna Maria Cetto. Macmillan, \$5.50. Thirty-two fine color plates of Dürer's rare work in the medium of water color, somewhat extended to include black-and-white ink drawings on tinted paper, and accompanied by a good brief introduction and extensive commentary on each drawing. The subjects are varied—landscapes, a tree, grasses, a sea crab, helmets, a hare, figures, portraits, classical themes, and compositions for prints and paintings. This book makes a fine supplement to Panofsky's standard two-volume work on Dürer.

OCEANIC ART. Photographs by Friedrich Hewicker, with Text by Herbert Tischner. Pantheon Books. \$8.50. These 96 superb plates do for Melanesian and Polynesian art what the Bollingen publication has done for African Negro sculpture. The text includes individual comment on each work, a bibliography, and a map. The art of Melanesia (New Guinea and the Solomons) is accurately described as demonic; that of Polynesia (Tahiti and the Gauguin country) as more sober. Micronesia (Truk and the atolls) is given little attention, no doubt because of the relative unimportance of its production. The plates make an interesting supplement to Malraux's contentions about the modern discovery of primitive art.

SIGNS AND SYMBOLS IN CHRISTIAN ART. By George Ferguson. Oxford. \$10. A good book of reference for the general reader. It is adequately in-

dexed and is illustrated with marginal line cuts and 120 plates (16 in color) of examples of Renaissance art owned by the Kress Foundation or presented by it to the National Gallery and other American museums.

REALISM IN ART. By Sidney Finkelstein. International Publishers. \$2.50, cloth; \$1.50, paper. The subtitle on the cover indicates that this 190-page book treats "the relation between artistic beauty and real life in painting from primitive origins to today." Only on the painting of today is Finkelstein of interest. He uses generous quotes from Marx and Engels to bolster a foggy notion that art should represent directly the activities and appearances of society. Thus modern art is no good, and Winslow Homer is good primarily because he painted the Negro in Civil War times and returned to this theme later on, when imperialism was moving into the Caribbean.

AMERICAN PAINTING: THE LIGHT OF DISTANT SKIES. By James Thomas Flexner. Harcourt, Brace. \$10. Planned as the second of a many-volume history of American painting, this continues the skilful combination of fine scholarship and good writing that marked "Flowers of our Wilderness." The period covered runs from 1760, when Benjamin West was received in Italy as the noble savage, to 1825, when the new school of romantic landscape painting took center stage from the portraitists. Elaborate bibliographies and indices, together with 100 moderately good plates, support the authoritative character of this very readable and intelligent book.

THE EAGLE, THE JAGUAR, AND THE SERPENT: INDIAN ART OF THE AMERICAS. By Miguel Covarrubias. Knopf. \$15. A beautifully designed and profusely illustrated study of Indian art in Alaska, Canada, and the United States. The famous caricaturist Covarrubias, having drunk deep at the well of archaeology, now joins the ranks of dedicated scholars.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Violence in Harlem

NORTH OF WELFARE. By William Krasner. Harper and Brothers. \$3.50.
THE BLACKBOARD JUNGLE. By Evan Hunter. Simon and Schuster. \$3.50.

By Stanley Cooperman

A SUDDEN eruption of headlines in any particular area usually acts like a trigger for the production of novels. All too often, of course, novels following closely after headlines are no more than quick speculations on the literary market. Occasionally, however, the news stories may touch upon a crisis whose roots go down through the years, a situation with enough social drama for serious fiction.

The "new Harlem" of New York City and the trade schools of its educational system contain solid material for novels of discovery as well as those

STANLEY COOPERMAN is a freelance writer who specializes in the criticism of fiction.

which simply place a narrative frame around the latest tabloid sensation. The difference between the two types of fiction may not be immediately obvious. The calculated novel of violence usually gives some valid background, and an attempt at realism will include violence. William Krasner in his latest novel focuses largely on stereotyped "action" while making a pretense of social documentation. Evan Hunter, on the other hand, in "The Blackboard Jungle," a merciless recreation of a New York vocational school, uses violence organically in sharp and effective realism.

The social problem in Harlem has been enormously complicated by a great influx of Puerto Ricans. The newcomers have in many areas replaced the Negro on the bottom rung of the economic ladder; and one result of this displacement is the growth of a Negro commercial group which feeds on the Puerto Rican much as whites fed on the Negro only a few years ago. The central force is flux—boiling changes which have spread

out concentrically to the entire city.

This is volatile material for fiction, but William Krasner in "North of Welfare" has largely ignored it. Krasner's observations are the usual ones of slum fiction, at best adequate, more often window dressing for melodrama. There is a hero, a strong guy in the tradition of all strong guys, moving vaguely to binge and beating; there is Marie, "in years still a child but emotionally a woman"; there are the honest but calloused detective, the respectable girl, the worried mother, and so on.

Like most derivative novels of realism, "North of Welfare" focuses almost entirely on surface action and appearance; motivation is "given" to the reader rather than developed through narrative. But even the surface is not sharply depicted. A poor photograph may be better than no picture at all, but William Krasner, touching upon a tremendous new area of human conflict, has obscured the potential value of his work with a montage of unessentials.

The good surface realism of "The Blackboard Jungle" hides its lack of depth. Hunter lays to rest for all time

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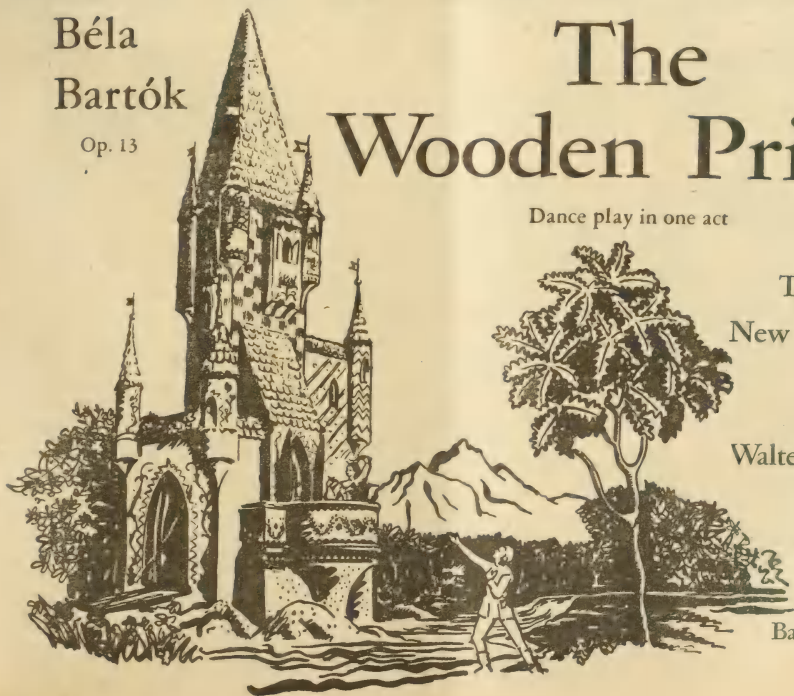
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the notion that high-school teaching is simply a white-collar job with "short hours and long vacations." Education, for thousands of boys in New York City, is often a violent hypocrisy, prime examples of which are the "trade schools" set up as depositories for the unmanageables of the academic school system.

The original reason for establishing these schools was sound enough: adolescents who could not, for a variety of psychological and social reasons profit from academic education should be given the opportunity to learn useful skills. But the schools swiftly degenerated. Relegated to the oldest buildings and poorest neighborhoods, they became the Siberia of the educational system for teachers and students alike, and the inevitable result was self-perpetuating violence and cynicism.

Evan Hunter breaks through the verbiage which has long clouded the facts of vocational teaching with his story of a young man who tries to extract meaning and hope from this educational underworld. It is true that he makes only cursory attempts to probe the well-springs of the action he photographs so well, but he succeeds in dramatizing an area heretofore neglected in fiction.

A Christian and a Socialist

AGAINST THE STREAM. By Karl Barth. Philosophical Library. \$3.75.

By Waldo Frank

KARL BARTH is one of the few men living today in Europe who are influential as *Christians*. His powerful intellect has done much to revitalize the reformed church; as he stems from Kierkegaard, Paul Tillich and Reinhold Niebuhr derive in part from him. But more intensely than these men, more than such corresponding leaders as the Catholic Jacques Maritain, the Jewish Franz Rosenzweig and Martin Buber, Barth has been a man of action. He is a militant Socialist. It is hardly necessary to add that he dissents with all his Christian soul from the atheist materialism and the police-state authoritarianism of the Soviets and that he was a passionate foe of fascism and of Hitler. But in our day of intellectual cowardice and confusion it is worthy of note that Barth

WALDO FRANK is a distinguished social philosopher, literary critic, and novelist.

has never failed to keep his standards and distinctions clear, never flagged in his fight on the capitalist system, always refused to permit his opposition to the Communists to blind him to his duty, as a Christian Socialist, to expose the public sins on this side of the Iron Curtain.

In this little volume are collected some of Barth's writings from 1946 to 1952. They make good reading, particularly for a modern American—these political utterances of an orthodox Christian for whom the literal acceptance of the gospel of Christ is the cornerstone for social action.

"May I tell a little story?" Barth writes. "In the summer of 1947 I sat in Berlin for a whole afternoon with a group of real, flesh-and-blood Communists." At the close of the argument, he quoted Ecclesiastes to them:

"Be not righteous over much; neither make thyself over wise; why shouldst thou destroy thyself?" (adding that that could be truly said of the Western church as well!), and then continuing: "Be not over much wicked, neither be thou foolish; why shouldst thou die before thy time?" (adding that that might well be said against or rather for you men, of the Eastern persuasion). Curiously enough, these Communists put up with this without a murmur and allowed it to be the final word of our discussion.

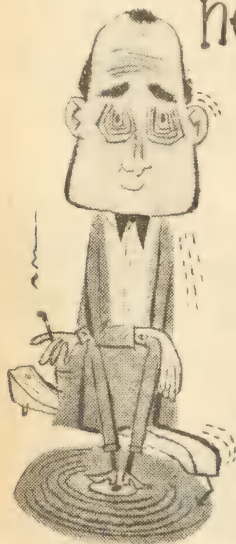
One wistfully wonders what might happen—what miracle!—if this spirit stole into the endless and elaborate meetings of the foreign ministers!

On another page Barth says:

If, as I hope, we do not condemn the Asiatic world outright simply because some form or other of despotism has always been, and very largely still is, the accepted form of public life, then it is pertinent not to omit to discriminate, in our view of contemporary communism, between its totalitarian atrocities as such and the positive intentions behind them. . . . It would be quite absurd to mention in the same breath the philosophy of Marxism and the "ideology" of the Third Reich; to mention a man of the stature of Joseph Stalin in the same breath as such charlatans as Hitler, Göring . . . Himmler . . . Streicher. What has been tackled in Soviet Russia—albeit with very dirty and bloody hands and in a way that rightly shocks us—is, after all, a constructive idea, the solution of a problem which is a serious and burning problem for us as well, and which

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we, with our clean hands, have not yet tackled anything like energetically enough: the social problem.

Barth in 1948 penetrates the Iron Curtain to visit the Protestants of Hungary. Boldly he instructs them in no way to abdicate to the totalitarian state nor to surrender to it a single one of their values; yet never to fail to acknowledge that state's formal intention toward social justice and the loyalty it wins in the minds of many, however mistaken they may be. Then Karl Barth returns to our own world of the West. And he writes: "Curiously enough, I came across more calm and serene people there [in Hungary] than in Basle. I found them occupied with genuine, serious, and burning problems." And he continues:

Must the church then move with the stream and thus side with America and the Vatican merely because . . . it has been rightly said that totalitarianism is a dreadful thing? . . . I am of the opinion that the church today—contrary to its action between 1933 and 1945—ought to stand aloof from the present conflict and not let off all its guns before it is necessary. . . . Where is our justification for talking about a "Christian West" and all of a sudden wanting to come to the aid of this "Christian West" with a summons to an intellectual, political, and one day military crusade? What fools or hypocrites we should have to be to stoop to that!

What a relief to hear a voice of such courage, such lucid and broad balance, in our wilderness of "practical men" vying with one another in pusillanimity and hysteria!

History and Biography

SPIES FOR THE BLUE AND GRAY.

By Harnett T. Kane. Hanover House. \$3.50. An account of Civil War espionage with emphasis on the women practitioners who proved again that "the female of the species is not only the dealer of the sexes but also the livelier." Mr. Kane provides a formidable bibliography and an even more impressive list of manuscripts and authorities consulted, but his book, while entertaining, is slick rather than scholarly.

THE LIFE OF JOHN STUART MILL.

By Michael St. John Packe. Macmillan. \$6.50. A well-written book occasionally marred by a hint of condescension in the author's attitude toward his subject, this biography is built around Mill's twenty-year love affair with Harriet Taylor. Drawing on new documentary material, Mr. Packe treats this famous platonic liaison in exhaustive, indeed exhausting, detail, but his account of Mill's intellectual development and achievement hardly does full justice to the man whom Gladstone called "the Saint of Rationalism."

THE REMARKABLE MR. JEROME.

By Anita Leslie. Henry Holt. \$4. Leonard Jerome, besides being remarkable as the father of three beautiful and talented daughters and the grandfather of Winston Churchill, was a financier, sportsman, and patron of the arts with a big reputation in nineteenth-century New York. Miss Leslie, a great-granddaughter, drawing on a wealth of family papers, makes a fascinating story out of his ups and downs of fortune. She also reveals the fact that Sir Winston, through his grandmother, has a modicum of Iroquois blood and throws new light on the famous quarrel between his

father, Lord Randolph Churchill, and the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII.

THE ENGLISH PEOPLE ON THE EVE OF COLONIZATION: 1603-1630.

By Wallace Notestein. New American Nation Series. Harper. \$5. A fascinating account of the society that sent forth the first settlers of tidewater Virginia and New England's stern and rock-bound coast—a society whose outlook was rapidly changing although it retained many medieval institutions. Professor Notestein combines a delightful style with a vast knowledge of this period.

A DANGEROUS FREEDOM.

By Bradford Smith. J. B. Lippincott. \$3.95. From the days of Plymouth Rock, voluntary association with its indispensable corollary, freedom of assembly, has been a major ingredient of American democracy. Bradford Smith's informal history of this "dangerous freedom" is most timely in view of the clear and present danger of its erosion by the alien principle of guilt by association.

I LIKE PEOPLE.

By Grove Patterson. Random House. \$3.50. Editor-in-chief of the *Toledo Blade*, Mr. Patterson has an engaging personality which emerges in nostalgic reminiscences of early newspaper days. But a large part of this autobiography is devoted to the many celebrities interviewed by the author in the course of his incessant travels. His impressions of them are shallow and bear out Mr. Patterson's self-description as a man who "has never suffered from even a slight degree of sophistication."

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Old-Age Assistance

OUR NEEDEY AGED. A CALIFORNIA STUDY OF A NATIONAL PROBLEM. By Floyd A. Bond and Others. Holt, \$4.50.

The early New England communities had a practice of lending a "town cow" to the neediest family. In 1954 the state of California pays \$225,000,000 annually in old-age-assistance grants to 270,000 "needy" people aged sixty-five or over, which is 29 per cent of the population in this age group. Taking a critical look at this development of the concept of assistance to the needy, the authors of this book note that many people in California regard old-age assistance as a pension and a right of older people rather than a grant of relief based on need.

The book is a solid factual study of the California old-age-assistance program, seen against the practices of the other states. It is also a sociological study of the lives of the people who receive old-age assistance compared with those who do not. This latter study was made by interviewing a well-selected sample of people over sixty-five, the most extensive study of the older age group in our population ever made through interviews.

The book ends with a set of recommendations which would have the effect of keeping the California program essentially a relief program for the needy, while the federal Old Age and Survivors Insurance program gradually assumes the main burden of providing economic security in old age. In an interesting chapter on the political aspects of the pension movement in California, the authors are critical of all such movements, paying special attention to George H. McLain, the "Great White

Father to the Old Folks," who has had the greatest success in organizing political support for an expanded old-age-assistance program to be regarded as a right rather than a grant in response to need.

About the Irish

MORE STORIES. By Frank O'Connor. Knopf, \$5.

Frank O'Connor writes not of Irish poor or Irish pixies but Irish people, and very human people too. Nor does he depend on the tinkle of brogue, although some of his Gaelicisms are delightful. Possessed of the one essential ability for any short-story craftsman—the ability to change mood and manner to suit the immediate literary target—O'Connor evokes a many-faceted culture. Here are the city and village, the eccentric and the orthodox, the middle-class sitting-room and the pub, all woven together in dynamic patterns.

O'Connor with his short stories achieves, as few but the most experimental novels can do, a panoramic recreation of life within but transcending a particular society, and this from different points of reference. He will focus one tale on an aging Don Juan, another on a tragicomic adolescent, and another on the violence of revolution. Each balances against the others, and all have pungency and life. The net effect is that of a mosaic—bright and dark bits of fiction which join together and become a larger unit, a literary mural.

O'Connor is never dull; he is honest enough to acknowledge that "everyday" life has its charm and tragedy, and artist enough to recreate both beautifully. There can be no doubt that he is one of the ablest practitioners of the short story now working.

Theater

Harold Clurman

MY ACCOUNT of the London production of Graham Greene's "The Living Room," which appeared in *The Nation* of August 13, 1953, was rather severe. On rereading it in the light of the play's New York production (Henry Miller Theater) I find that while my

opinion has not substantially altered, I am inclined to speak of the play in much more indulgent terms. The reason for this change is that in London I saw it as a play dissociated from any specific theater environment, whereas in New York I regard it, for all its intrin-

sic faults, as superior to most of the stage entertainment offered this season.

"The Living Room" is in large measure an expression of faith by an adult and literate man. Most of our plays at present are hardly an expression of anything: they are contrivances for kids. Though it resembles realistic drama, "The Living Room" is essentially a morality play. Its morality may dismay many Americans and be incomprehensible to others, but we should not forget that this play—successful in London and Paris—reflects the state of mind of many intelligent people all over the Western world.

The house of which the living room is the center is at once a strange London home in which a disabled priest and his elderly maiden sisters live and an oblique symbol for the Catholic church. It was a great house once, but the two sisters, one good-hearted, credulous, and extremely simple-minded, the other narrow and bigoted with a terrible dread of death, have gradually turned it into a house of fear. The sisters have locked all the rooms where anyone has died until now but one living room remains, so cramped that it adjoins the only lavatory on the premises.

Young life appears in the person of a niece who has come from a convent school and who, on the death of her mother, has become the ward of the aunts and uncle who dwell in the old house. The girl has fallen in love with a married man whose wife refuses him a divorce. One aunt is not allowed to understand what is happening, the other does everything in her power to kill the affair, the priest tries to intercede humanely. The girl is tortured by the pain of hurting her lover's wife. Unable to be convinced by the priest's plea that she renounce her love and wait for God's healing—for the godly in this household are people who have turned their eyes from reality—she commits suicide.

The purport of this story is to tell us first that we cannot not suffer in life, that we must trust in some metaphysical justification for our suffering or we cannot live, and that neither a dry rationalism nor an empty piety can sustain us in our common dilemma. The answer must lie in a faith beyond logic and a church open to all the contradictions that reality presents.

Whether one considers the play's mes-

sage too pessimistic or too special in its orientation—Americans live in a predominantly activist and secular-minded atmosphere—the fact remains that Greene here touches many sensitive spots in the consciousness of any mature person's life. His play therefore is generally absorbing. What it lacks is creative spontaneity, a sense of direct experience, the eloquence of original emotion. The play is constricted by a kind of shrewd though earnest literary diplomacy, calculated to satisfy the demands of the author's various interests—to present an effective show, a disturbing demonstration and a reasonable statement of his beliefs.

The production suffers here as it did in London by being directed with too sharp an efficiency, which makes it more melodramatically compelling than moving. Still, the local company, headed by Barbara Bel Geddes and Walter Fitzgerald, is a very good one, and the total performance entirely creditable.

"WEDDING BREAKFAST" by Theodore Reeves (Forty-eighth Street Theater) is a New York idyl. Lost in the great, noisy, machine-made maze of our city, good little people are still worried by the simplest and most basic things, such as the problem of getting married. Some find it difficult to get married because they are poor and would like to be married in furnishings of their own choosing; some run into difficulty because they have been warped in a first attempt and even more subtly because they are looking for a mate above the commonplace.

Out of this "baby" material Reeves has written a serio-comic play which is tender and sweet, charmingly humorous, and with a greater amount of truthful observation than one might at first suspect.

There are obstacles in the author's way. Sometimes his writing is too archly mannered in the vein of the Arthur Kober dialect, which is an invented rather than a true speech. Then, too, the older sister, who is the pivot of the play's story, is not a wholly realized character. This girl, being "college-educated" in a milieu where that estate is held in peculiar esteem, feels impelled to shape her prospective husband to a standardized version of the "socially acceptable" professional man who can recognize a Picasso when he sees one



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and knows what chamber music is. Such a girl is not an uncommon type and has her pathos, but our audience, which has its own brand of snobbishness, refuses to sympathize with her; and it is an unwritten law of the American theater that a play's leading character must be sympathetic—or entirely horrible! The author therefore feels obliged to water the girl down so that her blemish seems a minor and temporary quirk rather than a fatal defect. The result is something indecisive but troublesome in a story that at the outset seems to have been created for nothing but amusement.

This difficulty might possibly have been resolved if the play had been staged more poetically—the heavy literalness of the set is a grave directorial error—with the four lonely figures of the play seen as bright but pathetic midges of humanity lost in the dark night of the vast urban world which

dominates them but in which their innermost souls stand somewhat apart. The play would then be less conventionally funny but ultimately more poignant. Lacking such an approach the play may strike some as too light for its seriousness, too complex for its comedy.

The acting is exemplary. Lee Grant in the most difficult part, Virginia Vincent, Harvey Lembeck, Anthony Franciosa are all fine. Herman Shumlin as director must certainly share the credit for this, though he tends to force his actors into a meticulousness which has the virtue of clarity but the vice of hypertension. Despite these reservations "Wedding Breakfast" has a kind of delicacy, a thin but telling stroke in character delineation, and a not unwholesome sentimentality in regard to the ordinary people around us—whom, with our taste for the unusual and our blindness to the normal, we almost invariably overlook.

Music

B. H. Haggin

AT A RECENT concert the Concert Society of New York had Virgil Thomson conduct a small orchestra and vocal soloists in the first New York performance of Satie's "Socrate," which Thomson has frequently spoken of out of deep devotion. It is curious that not even the League of Composers should have presented this famous work here before; and I am grateful to Thomson and the Concert Society for the opportunity to hear it. Hearing it at last I found it quite unimpressive in its operation as a work of art, but interesting as the model for Thomson's operation in his own vocal pieces earlier in the concert, which I found more impressive than Satie's. That is, in Thomson's *Stabat Mater* (1932) for soprano and string quartet and his *Four Songs to Poems of Thomas Campion* (1951) for mezzo-soprano and a trio of harp, viola, and clarinet I heard a voice part that could be described by the terms he uses for Satie's—"fluid, conversational, ultra-sensitive, non-repetitive, and non-metrical"—moving, as in "Socrate," against the formally organized instrumental accompaniment; and I found Thomson's voice parts and instrumental accompani-

ments to be more freshly and imaginatively inventive, more attractive, and more expressively effective than Satie's. The pieces were excellently performed—the *Stabat Mater* by Phyllis Curtin and the Guilet Quartet, the *Campion* songs by Alice Howland and a trio comprising Edward Vito, Emanuel Vardi, and Robert McGinnis, and "Socrate" by the two singers and the orchestra. Thomson also conducted Bach's Suite No. 2, with Julius Baker as flute soloist, and Mozart's Symphony K.319; and my guess is that he supplied the excellent tempos, general style, and phrasing, while the orchestra—mostly a group from the former NBC Symphony—provided the beautiful tone, precision, and finish.

In recent years Thomson has combined journalism with an increasing amount of concert activity; and one learned to anticipate, in the Sunday article about a university chorus and orchestra in some remote place, the inevitable "In a performance of this writer's cantata. . . ." His Concert Society appearance signalized his complete substitution of concert activity for journalism for the purposes of earning a liv-

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ing and furthering his career as a composer. And since an enlightened public is as important in music as in politics, Thomson's departure from the New York *Herald Tribune* is a disaster. He could be irresponsible, he could be nonsensical, in recent years he was increasingly bored and wrote more than ever about what he imagined rather than what he heard; but he had the equipment of critical perception that is the one essential in criticism, and when it was allowed to operate on what was before him it produced the only newspaper criticism of music worth reading. For he was the only one with this equipment; and now there is no one.

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There is worse than no one: there is his successor on the *Herald Tribune* music page. Reviewing in *The Nation* the published volume of addresses delivered at the Harvard Symposium on Music Criticism in 1947, Henry David Aiken wrote of Professor Paul Henry Lang's address that his "confused and vindictive diatribe against the 'musical journalist' is a nearly perfect instance of the failure to distinguish between understanding of music and knowledge about music which is the besetting vice of so many academic music historians. That the level of a great deal of contemporary musical journalism is pitifully low is no secret. But the cure for this is not

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more historical erudition but a more intense and sensitive devotion to the felt quality of music. . . . Lang's position . . . is typical of the historicist for whom real understanding of works of art is achieved, not by attending to what one directly hears and feels in them, but rather by learning about the 'soil and surroundings they grew from.' . . . The reply to Lang is clearly indicated in the addresses of Forster and Sessions: 'What, meanwhile, has become of Monteverdi's Vespers? What has happened to the 'perceptible shape' of the work of art? Lang and Wind give little indication that they know what these questions mean. That is why I am obliged to say that the interests of music are not well served by learned minds for whom the 'central aesthetic quest' is merely an incident in the history of human culture. These interests are far better served by such 'journalists' as Virgil Thomson, for whom the experience of music is the cardinal musical fact."

To replace a critic who had the capacity for "real understanding . . . achieved . . . by attending to what one directly hears," the *Herald Tribune* chose one of the "learned minds" whose very first piece of writing for the paper demonstrated his lack of that capacity. It was diatribe no. 1 out of the familiar Lang repertory—the attack on the big orchestra and program music, written in the familiar Lang prose with which the *Herald Tribune* has replaced Thomson's brilliant writing—all about our continuing "bondage to the times when artists shed their tears before a mirror, gloried in their sorrows in stentorian tones that shook the decor, were possessed of pathos to overflowing, and in their simulated anger slashed the air with tin swords, whereupon the scared bourgeois had to be humored and reassured with bonbons. . . . As we push toward the new century, the twentieth, the gestures become even more expansive, the passions more violent, the compositions more crowded, the colors more intense. . . ." As a description of Berlioz's use of the large orchestra in the nineteenth century, of Debussy's or Stravinsky's in the twentieth, even of Mahler's, or even of Strauss's in "Don Quixote," this is the writing of a man who never has attended to what is to be heard in the music he is talking about.

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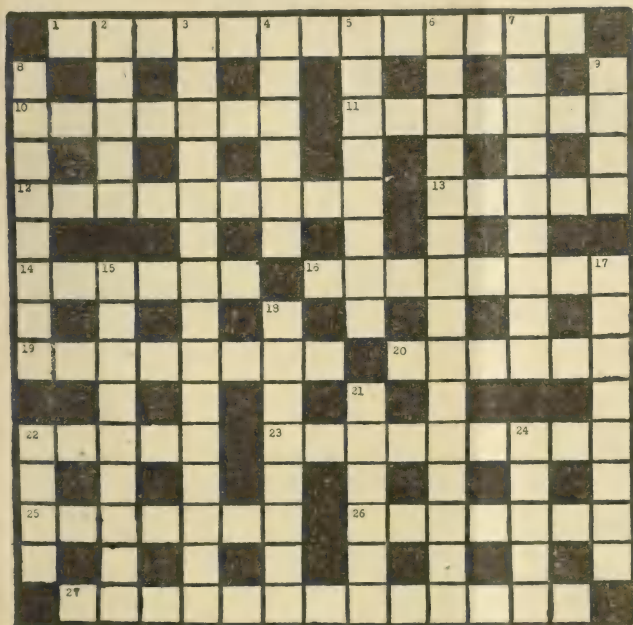
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Crossword Puzzle No. 596

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Check for concrete support. (13)
- 10 Nothing more than travel sort of raises things. (7)
- 11 Where St. John is capital. (7)
- 12 Johnson said this has its flowers of transient fragrance. (9)
- 13 Hinder writers, in a way. (5)
- 14 The noise a bat makes. (6)
- 16 It might indicate whether you're able to draw. (8)
- 19 Wax, if far back in the dish. (8)
- 20 Kibitz, as some do to traffic. (4, 2)
- 22 I held a place for another. (5)
- 23 The way the detective follows up points? (9)
- 25 ----- strictly from hunger. (7)
- 26 A bad little boy in a tree, or else under foot. (7)
- 27 It makes the clothier decry power. (13)

DOWN

- 2 He's a slippery little fellow! (5)
- 3 Sounds like Long John's overtime (7, 2, 6)
- 4 A strong flower might. (6)
- 5 Strangely enough, a student only has one a year. (5, 3)

- 6 Works them? No bets! (Evidently no improvement with new generation.) (6, 5, 4)
- 7 Evening dress? (9)
- 8 Does it belong with a lightning arrester? Nonsense! (8)
- 9 This instrument is not quite off pitch. (4)
- 15 This might be what you get as a consequence. (9)
- 17 His babies were all wet. (8)
- 18 Aversion to the way this is stated? (8)
- 21 Small coach. (6)
- 22 Signora Cheechi (the one who was sued). (4)
- 24 Animal found in drive-ins without streaks. (5)

— ★ —

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 595

ACROSS:—1, 28 and 4 TO TELL YOU THE TRUTH; 11 ILLIYRIA; 12 MITES; 15, 14 and 20 THREE TO GET READY; 17 INDICATE; 21 INDULGES; 23 and 10 BASIC ENGLISH; 26 ODDERS; 29 REVEY; 30 NIEBUHR; 31 STAINER; 32 NEEDLESS; 33 AYE-AYE.

DOWN:—1 THERMITE; 2 TIGHTER; 3 LAIRS; 5 HEINE; 6 TO LET; 7 UPRIGHT; 8 HEARTS; 9 CHATTING; 10 FAU; 18 DIN; 19 URSE; 20 SCOT-FREE; 22 NEOGENE; 24 SAVANNA; 25, 13, 19 CORN ON THE COR; 27 SCULL; 28 YARNS.

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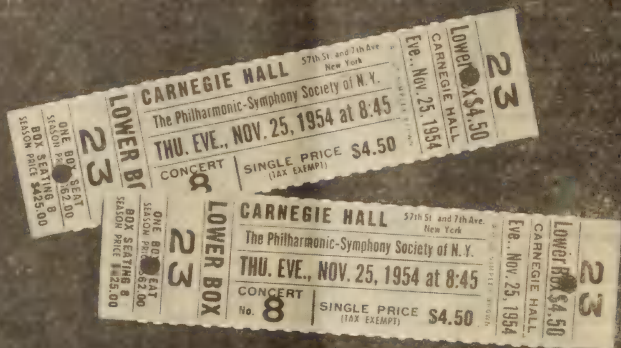
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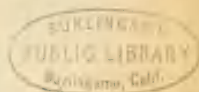
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Wages, Communism, and White Supremacy

Port Arthur, Texas

PORT ARTHUR is a bitter town after the weary months of picket lines around twenty retail establishments, many of them located in two blocks of the downtown shopping district. The city has had strikes before, but none have been attacked so unscrupulously in the name of anti-communism and white supremacy.

The strikers are dismayed. The original reason for their walkout, and the reason they continue to pound the sidewalk, was a matter of wages. Wage scales range from \$16 a week for kitchen help in the restaurants to \$18 for hotel chambermaids and \$21 to \$29 for variety-store clerks. It was their misfortune that they began their walkout just as Governor Allan Shivers was planning his campaign for reelection, and that the strike presented him an irresistible opportunity to save the state from communism and the Negroes.

Retail workers had never had a union in this corner of southeastern Texas until September, 1953, when organizers from the Distributing, Processing, and Office Workers of America (C. I. O.) set to work. Local merchants depending on cheap labor were outraged. Attacks on the union's political philosophy and on the "Americanism" of the organizers started almost at once. These became so virulent that on November 12, two days before the strike started, O. A. Knight,

president of the Oil Workers' International Union (C. I. O.), informed the president of the oil workers' local that the D. P. O. W. A. had been thoroughly investigated by competent C. I. O. officials and found to be free of subversive influences. Business men, however, were getting a story that better suited their purpose. A. A. Imberman, research director for the Foundation for Management Research in Chicago, attacked the D. P. O. W. A.'s political philosophy before the Port Arthur Kiwanis Club on Wednesday, November 11, before the Rotary Club on Thursday, and before the executive board and legal committee of the American Legion on Friday.

ON Saturday the strike began. On the next Wednesday, State Attorney General John Ben Shepperd charged that the union leaders were "proven Communists." He accused the secretary treasurer, David Livingston, of "Communist affiliation." Livingston replied that his non-Communist affidavit was on file with the National Labor Relations Board. Thereupon Shepperd issued prepared statements declaring that the D. P. O. W. A. leadership had "a long record for supporting subversive causes." Leaders of the Oil Workers' Union found his attack strongly "reminiscent of what happened to the oil workers during the early days of organization."

On November 23 Matt Cvetic, former government undercover agent, was brought to the area for four appearances. He announced that the Port Arthur strike "incident" could not be separated from occurrences at other vital points in the United States where the "Communists were infiltrating labor unions." On November 26 Shepperd charged that Port Arthur was the "testing ground" of a Communist plot to take over the oil industry and the main Texas Gulf ports. That was the D. P. O. W. A. aim, he said.

By November 27 the emergency was so inflated that Governor Shivers stepped in to save Texas. He ordered a five-man industrial committee to probe the thinking of the D. P. O. W. A. and two other Texas unions. On November 30 the C. I. O. took action and absorbed the striking local, giving it a new name, Local 1814, C. I. O. Fred C. Pieper, assistant to the executive vice-president of the C. I. O., announced that the purpose of the move was to bring peace to

the community and charged that Shepperd and Shivers had helped to prolong the strike by fomenting a hysterical situation for the past three weeks. When the Governor's investigating committee reported on December 7, it said that the evidence showed that with the exception of the leaders of the three unions probed, no member of a Texas labor union was a Communist.

THAT seemed to end it. The walkout became an ordinary walkout—for the next eight months. But when Shivers was forced into a runoff primary against Ralph Yarborough, he remembered the subversive threat in Port Arthur. Speaking in Port Arthur, he lashed out at Yarborough for saying communism was no threat in Texas. "My opponent does not have to look under the bed to find the people who are sponsoring, supporting, and sympathizing with this Communist-launched war against Port Arthur," he said. "These people are right in bed with him."

So the strike became a Communist plot again. Groups of pro-Shivers citizens from Port Arthur went through the state spreading the woeful tale of what Yarborough-style radicalism had done to their home town. At Comanche and Goldthwaite, Shivers held up copies of the *Daily Worker* to the crowd and said, "These are the kind of people who don't want Shivers for governor." "Selected" voters received a booklet containing pictures of white and Negro pickets marching side by side, of a picket carrying a banner on which were Yarborough stickers, of a white and a Negro picket of opposite sex sitting together in a car. For the voter who was not certain of his stand, the pamphlet tied Yarborough, the strike, communism, and segregation into one bundle.

Except in and around Port Arthur, where voters had first-hand acquaintance with the labor dispute, the Shivers arguments were effective. The dirtiest campaign in many a Texan's memory ended as a victory for the hysterical approach to communism. At this writing a partial settlement of the strike is in prospect which may put several hundred people back at work. But the smear lingers on.

JULES DORSEY

JULES DORSEY is the pen name of an East Texas newspaperman.

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

The Censure Vote

The vote on the McCarthy censure resolution may well mark the turning point in the domestic politics of the cold war, and this despite the fact that the real issues were never touched on in debate, except in fine summaries by Senators Watkins, Fulbright, and Lehman. For the vote on this inherently unimportant resolution accomplished what votes on far more significant issues have not accomplished—a severance of the alliance between right-wing Republicans and Dixiecrat Democrats which has been the dominant force in Congress since 1938. Consolidated at maximum strength, the right-wing elements in the Republican Party are now isolated. No longer can they pose as fellow-travelers of a Republican Party headed by President Eisenhower, or as allies of like-minded Southern Democrats. Instead, they have insisted on identifying themselves as “card-carrying” members of Joe McCarthy’s pro-war party.

At the same time, Senator Knowland’s open espousal of McCarthy and McCarthy’s quick indorsement of Knowland’s foreign policy will force the President to rely on a new coalition of liberal-moderate Republicans and a Democratic Party more nearly united than at any time since the early phases of the New Deal. Not a single Democrat voted against censure on the first count—the one detail of the vote that surprised McCarthy. Measured only in terms of Senate votes, the liberal-moderate elements are a majority in the Republican Party: twenty-three voted for, twenty against, censure. But measured in terms of constituencies, their preponderance is even greater. Thus in this new coalition the President can find ample support for a policy of “competitive coexistence” if he will show firm leadership. To the extent that he is successful in such a policy, he will still further isolate, and weaken, the right wing opposition in his own party.

Hard Answer

Since the Western world had brusquely turned down Moscow’s invitation to a conference last week on European security the guests were limited to the neighboring Communist states, with China on hand as an “observer.” The Soviet bloc will coordinate and step up its defenses, and East Germany will be armed to meet the threat of a West German army equipped with American weapons.

Western spokesmen discount the program, professing to believe that coordination antedated the conference and that East Germany cannot match Bonn in arms or men.

This view ignores a number of uncomfortable facts. One is that in East Europe the fear of a rearméd Germany is so real that its imminence will do much to rally the people behind their rulers. Another is that an East German army need not equal that of Bonn so long as the forces at Moscow’s disposal are unified. But the Washington illusion that a German army will permanently tilt the military balance our way dies very hard.

Interlocking Tragedies

Whatever the legal position—and we lack the facts on which to judge—Communist China’s detention of the American fliers lacked both humanity and political wisdom. What China wants it cannot get by giving heartache to American families or by providing more ammunition to the jingos in the Senate. The initial moderation with which both the President and Secretary Dulles reacted to an emotionally provocative incident was therefore commendable. But it is in the nature of our Asian policy that it cannot long be pursued with moderation, for it is in itself an extreme policy. Forty-eight hours after rebuffing Senator Knowland’s demand for a China boycott, Mr. Dulles announced the signing of the defense agreement with Chiang Kai-shek. We have put our seal upon a document giving away an island which doesn’t belong to us to a man who has no right to it.

In this sense China’s holding of the American fliers is a smaller wrong committed in the shadow of a greater one. If public opinion here is inflamed over the imprisonments, what must the Chinese people be feeling about losing their sons in the current fighting on the offshore islands—fighting made possible only by American guns, American money, American officers, and the American Seventh Fleet? So long as the problem of Formosa is not settled, so long will dangerous and provocative incidents occur that will keep us on the rim of war. The sensitive British are urging caution on both sides.

Mr. Lodge has submitted the latest incident before the United Nations; characteristically, he will apparently seek to bar the accused from appearing in person to hear the charge. But even if China is permitted to appear, there is little likelihood of anything constructive coming out of a debate which will deal with an effect rather than a cause.

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The Ghost of Herbert Croly

To the *New Republic*, which has just celebrated its fortieth anniversary, go the best wishes of this publication. *The Nation* firmly believes in what the Eisenhower Administration now calls "competitive coexistence," and we don't know how we managed to get on during our first fifty years without the stimulus of a respected rival. To Michael Straight, its editor, to Gilbert A. Harrison, its publisher, and to the staff of the *New Republic* we extend our congratulations, thanks, and the old and tested maxim: be of good cheer, the last forty years are the toughest.

No banquet, as Mr. Straight told his guests at the birthday dinner, is complete without a ghost. For the occasion Mr. Straight selected Richard Crossman of the London *New Statesman and Nation*, who has offended the *New Republic* by his insistence that the state of civil liberties in the United States leaves something to be desired and that liberals themselves are partly responsible. A more appropriate ghost, we think, might have been Herbert Croly, the journal's founder. What Croly would have thought of Henry R. Luce's speech at the banquet is a fascinating subject for speculation. In Mr. Luce's reading of the history of the past forty years, "the promise of American life" has been fully realized; we have reached, in his fine large phrase, "the promised land," having "almost solved almost all the internal problems which have been traditionally proper subjects for political agitation and debate." To be sure, new problems have come with the Age of Too Much; parts of the world, still wretchedly poor, have to be supplied with the gadgets and goodies that abound here. It is true, also, that some of "the same old problems" are still with us, like "slums, negro [*sic*] rights, not to mention traffic jams and mental health," but the publisher puts it squarely up to what he calls the "Advance Guard" to remove these untidy vestiges. As he says, incontrovertibly, "the business of the Advance Guard is to be in advance—way up there ahead."

The real progress of the American Century, however, is to be made in "the realm of the spirit." While the churches are full, America is still faced with the problem of "religious illiteracy." "We have a bull market in religion or spiritual values—and buyers as uneducated as the buyers of stocks in 1929." The remedy is "a far nobler politics." Let us forswear, Mr. Luce urges, words like "coexistence, appeasement, preventive war"; rather let us use only the words of "high politics"—skyscraper politics—which are: Liberty, Justice, and Law. Perhaps on second thought it is just as well that the ghost of Herbert Croly was not present to hear this Lucian reinterpretation of "the promise of American life"—which suggests nothing quite so much as a Darryl Zanuck adaptation of "Leaves of Grass" for cinemascope.

BONN'S ECONOMIC DRIVE

Caracas to Karachi . . by J. Alvarez del Vayo

GERMAN industrialists are proving incomparably more vigorous and imaginative than their Western colleagues in seizing the economic opportunities offered by the underdeveloped areas of the world. Nowhere is "Point Four" discussed with more gusto than in the villa near Essen where Alfred Krupp lays plans to link his famous family name to great T. V. A.'s instead of guns—at least for the time being. So Bonn's new *Draug nach Osten*, of which we spoke last week, does not stop in the Middle East. The Far East, Latin America, and underdeveloped areas everywhere are feeling its effects, as are the competing American and British interests in those regions. Ironically, the most energetic figure in this many-pronged German drive is Krupp himself, who was released from prison in 1951 by the American High Commissioner.

In Asia, it appears, the Germans are after the whole hog. They are seeking political as well as cash profits in contributing to the industrialization of backward areas and to the full utilization of their natural resources. And in the process they are looking forward to the creation of millions of new customers who will buy German consumer goods in fantastic quantities. This grandiose scheme can only be carried out at the expense of their Anglo-American rivals.

Without forgetting the vast potentiality of the China market, the Germans are now particularly interested in heavy construction contracts in Pakistan, India, and Thailand. They are concentrating on such basic projects as hydroelectric and irrigation dams, steel plants, bridges, roads, and the supplying of heavy and light machinery. A trade treaty concluded with Pakistan at the end of 1949 opened the country to a veritable army of German engineers and business men, and construction of a plant capable of an annual production of 300,000 tons of steel and 50,000 tons of pig iron is planned. A trade agreement with India, signed in 1951, provides specifically for

German participation in the country's capital development. Among works already under way is the construction of a cement factory near Bombay which will produce about 300 tons daily.

THE Germans are steadily regaining the powerful economic position they held in South America before World War II. It is a market worthy of being courted. The continent's present population is slightly more than 100,000,000, but at the present rate of increase it will reach 600,000,000 in another fifty years. The importance given the area in German economic thinking is made clear in "Germany's Come-Back in the World Market," the recently published book by Ludwig Erhard, Minister of Economics in the Adenauer government. The Germans are seeking to capitalize on the widespread anti-United States feeling which has grown out of this country's "dumping" tactics and general reluctance to buy Latin American goods. "Our imports from Uruguay," writes Erhard, "will have to be stimulated to the highest possible degree." The new breed of German industrialists and business men recognizes that one-way trade soon withers to no trade at all.

Quick to take advantage of Argentina's Five-Year Plan, West Germany has been bombarding the Perón government with dozens of proposals, all of them based on liberal credit terms. The first trade treaty with Brazil was signed by Bonn as early as August, 1950; this called for a turnover of \$115,000,000 worth of goods by each signatory. Since that time German exports to Brazil have been rising sharply. The Germans at one time deliberately bought more coffee than they needed just to get a footing in that potentially wealthy country.

German industrialists are keenly interested in the great plans of the Venezuela government, which is seeking to broaden the base of the country's economy. For Venezuela is rich not only in oil, but in all kinds of minerals, includ-

ing iron. German representatives are constantly in Caracas, consulting with government officials. Trade with Colombia is growing; West Germany exports mainly machinery and in turn has become Colombia's leading European buyer of raw materials and manufactured products. Peru, Ecuador, and Chile also find it profitable to do business with the West Germans. As far as Mexico is concerned, Bonn has regained all the German pre-war trade and added to it. Before World War II trade between the two countries never totaled more than \$20,000,000 a year. In 1953 the value of German exports to Mexico reached \$30,000,000. In many cases the Mexicans are getting four to five years' credit. Even Cuba, traditionally dominated by American industry, is succumbing to the songs of the Rhine maidens. Recently a Cuban who had been Havana distributor for the Packard Motor Car Company since 1913 gave up the franchise in order to handle the small German Volkswagen. "I can see nothing but a Volkswagen in the Cuban motorist's future," he said. Amusing? Probably not to the Packard people.

Today West Germany has more lucrative contracts than it can immediately fulfil. But it is the future, not the present, which accounts for the enormous self-confidence suffusing the current reports of the great German industrial enterprises. Germany has made a miraculous comeback even as a divided, unarmed, occupied nation. What will it do now that its army is being restored and it will once more be able to negotiate—in business as well as in politics—from "positions of strength"? The fact is that Germany is soon destined to become the most powerful member of the NATO community. Next week I will discuss Germany's inroads into the trade of the very countries which made possible its own rejuvenation—Western Europe and the United States.

[This is the second of a series of three articles.]

OUR ASIAN POLICY

Part Blunder, Part Thunder . . by Nathaniel Peffer

WE CONTINUE to win Pyrrhic victories in the Far East. At Geneva we resolutely refused to discuss our relations with China, and Mr. Dulles refused even to bow to the Chinese delegate, a great diplomatic feat. In the United Nations General Assembly we prevented any consideration of Communist China's admission. Who was the king or general who said, "One more such victory and we were undone"?

Never was a great power so tightly bound by shackles of its own making as this country is at present in its relations with the Far East. We cannot go forward; we cannot go back: it is uncomfortable and dangerous to stay where we are. We get relief in petulance, in recrimination, in wild but futile threats, and in self-flagellation in the form of proscription of any American who does not believe that Communist China is the principle of evil and Chiang Kai-shek the avatar of liberty. As a result American dignity has been lowered in the eyes of the world, and we are as much isolated as we were in 1920.

Is there anything that can be done? Is it possible, now that the election is over and issues of foreign policy are not sticks with which to beat opponents in domestic politics, to look at the whole question of China freshly and with a perspective not distorted by passion or demagoguery? One has no confidence, but one can hope. The first principle to recognize, perhaps the only one, is that there can be no international stability in the Far East unless the West's relations with China are regularized and unless China ceases to be a bone of contention among the great powers. That has always been true since China came into the scheme of world politics a hundred years

ago, and presumably always will be. We got into war with Japan over China and only over China. We can get into a war with Russia over China. It follows, then, that we must come to some understanding with China or sooner or later drift into a major war, one ugly incident fol-



Courtesy Washington Post and Times-Herald

lowing another until there is one from which neither side can retreat. The Chinese Communists' recent imprisonment of American airmen as spies is a case in point. The episode makes it all the more necessary for us to reexamine our relations with Peking.

If we recognize this, the first essential is to disabuse our minds of the myths, delusions, and skilfully concocted half-truths that have numbed and warped our thinking for five years. And the first misconception to be cleared out is the nonsense, originally fomented for domestic political purposes, that this country, or rather the Truman Administration, was responsible for China becoming Communist. In no country in Asia, in no country in Europe, nowhere in the world except here is that idea thought to be anything but nonsense. Events and persons within China—most of all, our present protégé, Chiang Kai-shek, and his associates—made China go Commu-

nist. Nothing but an American expeditionary force of 500,000 men could have kept it from doing so. And who among the now passionate advocates of Chiang Kai-shek in or out of Congress had the courage to propose that in 1948, when it might have been effective?

Next we must free ourselves of the delusion that Chiang Kai-shek and his regime can be reinstated on the mainland. The Communists may in time be overthrown because they too have forfeited the Mandate of Heaven and the confidence of the people. But if they are overthrown they will not be succeeded by Chiang Kai-shek and his followers. Chiang's credit has run out.

We can take it for granted, then, that the Communists will remain in power in China for the foreseeable future—always with the reservation that there is no third world war, in which case nothing can be clearly foreseen. Therefore if we are not to continue in a state of near-war in the Far East, in a situation at least as inflammable as that in Europe, we shall have to establish some kind of live-and-let-live relationship with China. China exists; it is there; we have to go on being in the same world with it.

IS THERE a basis for any kind of accord, however distant, cool, and distrustful? What are the obstacles?

On the one side, China is Communist in belief and practice, which is enough to kindle American resentment. China has joined the Russian bloc, which arouses American fears, not without warrant, though it may properly be asked whether America did not drive it there. China resorted to force in Korea, to a degree intervened in Indo-China, and threatens elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Finally, China is conducting a vicious campaign of hate against the United States. These are our grievances, and they militate against normal relations.

On the other side, the United States gave assistance to the enemies of the Communists in the civil war that pre-

NATHANIEL PEFFER, professor of international relations at Columbia University, lived in the Far East for many years. His latest books are "Basis for Peace in the Far East" and "America's Place in the World."

ceeded their victory. It has refused to recognize the Peking government and is responsible for the failure of most other countries to do so. It has blocked Peking's admission to the United Nations. And it has stationed part of its navy around Formosa to prevent the Communists from taking that Chinese island. These are China's grievances.

Can the differences be composed? First of all, if there is to be a return to a stable order, the dead past must be buried, both sides participating in the obsequies. China's adoption of communism and affiliation with Russia must be accepted as irreversible for the time, exactly as we accept Russia's being Communist. After that, if the grievances of both sides are considered together, there appears to be room for compromise and settlement in the way ordinarily practiced by nations when passions are not so aroused as to preclude reason.

So long as either side is stiffnecked and regards even an approach to negotiations as "appeasement"—whatever that now prostituted word means—there is no hope. This is to say that as long as the American government and an artificially and perhaps cynically created public opinion remain unchanged, there is no hope. If they do change, then China must be required to withdraw its forces from Korea, the United States doing the same, and both must pledge themselves not to reenter Korea with military force except in case of renewed aggression there. Korea will meanwhile have to remain divided, pending a larger settlement between the Communist and non-Communist blocs—like Germany, in other words. China must pledge itself also not to intervene in North Vietnam and not to give it military aid on a scale larger than that of American aid to any country in Europe. It must cease supplying arms to organized Communist forces elsewhere in Southeast Asia and must not interfere in the internal affairs of any country there, either directly or through resident Chinese communities. This last is not far different from what Nehru is reported to have asked of China.

If China accedes to these conditions, the United States must bring itself to recognize the Peking regime as the legitimate government of China, regardless of protests by certain groups, regardless of the uproar in domestic poli-

tics. We shall have to come to it sooner or later. As has been said, nobody who has kept his balance believes that the Communists can be overthrown in any period that counts in the present critical state of international politics or sees anything to be gained by our continued ostrich-like refusal to look at the facts. Nor is what is to be lost by recognition any more apparent. Have we been imperiled in any way or even embarrassed by our maintenance of an embassy in Moscow? Consider the Berlin blockade: was it better or worse for us that we had a normal way of negotiating with the Russian government on that?

MUCH the same argument applies to admitting Communist China into the United Nations. There is something incongruous if not preposterous in a nation numbering one-fifth of the population of the world being represented in the world organization by an evicted rump taking shelter behind American warships on an island off the continent inhabited by that nation. There might be some ground for saying that China is temporarily ineligible to be represented in the United Nations at all. There is nothing sensible to be said for its being represented by Chiang Kai-shek and the small group of aging courtiers who surround him.

What of vital interest to America would be lost if Communist China did take its seat in the United Nations? Before that is answered it must be observed that our present obduracy and the constraint we put on other countries to yield to it are irritating and even antagonizing a number of those countries, including some which are our natural allies. Suppose Chou En-lai, the Peking Prime Minister, does come to the Security Council? Suppose he adds his veto to Russia's? How much worse off are we with two vetoes against us than with one? The assumption, of course, is that admission would be preceded by the required concessions on China's part.

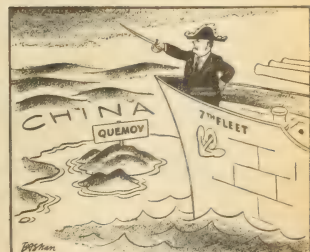
There is left the question of Formosa, perhaps the most difficult one. It is too late to ask whether the question should ever have arisen, whether we should have sent the Seventh Fleet to Formosa and thus taken on the commitment of protecting it, presumably forever. The fact is we did. It is also a fact that there is no possibility of a settlement with

China and therefore of stability in the Far East as long as we keep the fleet there as a forcible cease-and-desist order against the Communists. The Communist government will never agree to the permanent alienation of Formosa from China proper or to its subordination, even at one remove, to the interests of another great power. Neither would a revived Nationalist government.

Are we, then, to have generation after generation of young navy lads serving in cruisers and destroyers going round and round Formosa in order to prevent Mao Tse-tung's grandsons from landing there? What could be more absurd? Certainly it can be taken for granted that once the fleet is withdrawn the Communists will attack, and successfully.

The past cannot be undone, and it must be admitted that the United States cannot at once withdraw and let the Communists have Formosa. There is always the wretched thing called prestige to bedevil relations between nations. Our immediate voluntary withdrawal would inevitably be represented all over Asia as proof that America need not be heeded and that China cannot be resisted. In all probability the Chinese would conclude, since they are given to losing their heads in times of national success, that America was what they call "a paper tiger," not to be feared, and that they could advance with impunity into Burma or Thailand or both. In that event the major war would come.

THE question of Formosa must be dealt with after all other differences between the two countries are settled, but it must be embodied in the general settlement. Here, too, there must be compromise. Formosa must be declared to be part of China, within the scope of Chinese sovereignty. The present Nationalist regime must be liquidated, with



Senator Knowland: "Full Speed Ahead!"

asylum elsewhere given to the leaders of the government and such others as wish to leave. But for a transitional period—ten years, if possible, five years certainly—Formosa must have a special status. It must be put under the jurisdiction of the U. N. and administered by a commission composed of representatives of three small states. After ten years or five Formosa would be incorporated in China proper, whatever government was in power. By that time all the important men now in Formosa would have left or died and the incidence of penalization by the Communists be minimized.

This is for us a retreat, no doubt. But sooner or later we must retreat or go forward into war—war against China sure-

ly, against Russia probably—a war we shall fight without allies. No European country is going to spend its treasure or send its young men to fight for Formosa. War being what it is in our time, can any sane American think that Formosa is worth the risk? If many of us do, then we really are in a psychotic state over the Far East, as many Europeans believe.

There is only one argument in favor of not yielding at all, even for compromise—the strategic one. And the strategic argument may well be more political than strategic. It is doubtful whether navy men eight years ago thought Formosa particularly important. One cannot see why they should now. Presumably we look on Formosa as a bastion. But if

the Chinese or Russians wish to attack the United States or its possessions they can do so from a number of points on the Asian coast—say Canton, or Hainan in Indo-China—far more effectively than from Formosa.

In any situation of international conflict there comes a time when compromise is no longer possible, when both sides are carried by a tide they can no longer resist, when events get beyond their control. A small incident, unimportant in itself, can then release a holocaust. In our time and in this case the holocaust may be final. It is not melodramatic to say that the time draws short in the Far East. We had better settle quickly or prepare to fight.

EXECUTIVE SUITE

The Power and the Prize . . . by Allan Seager

FAIRLY recently two novels have appeared that do not attack business. This is not to say that all other novels do, but rather that all the novels dealing with business that I have seen for many years attack it, and pretty sharply. "The Power and the Prize" by Howard Swiggett and "Executive Suite" by Cameron Hawley defend business and business men, the one subtly with a fair show of objectivity, the other anxiously; in fact, Hawley's publishers claim that he "shows business to be an essentially honorable and socially beneficial way to spend one's life." Judged seriously as works of art, these books are sentimental, naive, and technically commonplace. But as documents they are fascinating.

If there are a few individuals who have avoided any dependence on business, they are hardened eccentrics, surviving in remote mountain valleys on brook trout and service berries. The rest of us are caught, and the authors of most business novels condemn the intricacy of our entanglement. They have discovered that big corporations dispose, if at times

reluctantly, of vast political power. They have observed that the existing specialization in shop and office stifles the individual. They stubbornly revive the old chestnut about the ethics of business being low, a point expounded by every American novelist since Frank Norris and blindingly obvious to anyone who buys and ingests a loaf of our contemporary rubber bread. They even contend that much of our business activity is gratuitous, and prove it by asserting that while the aim of production and distribution is to supply the populace with food, clothing, and shelter, about half of us get paid for catering not to these needs but to trivial desires originated and cultivated by the advertising business. Who, they ask, demanded the automobile or radio? Anyone? No, they were supplied and now seem necessities.

Probably most of these complainers drive cars and listen to phonograph records, though if consistency has any value they should play their own fiddles and walk. But it is unlikely that many will take these backward steps, and the revolution that will upset our business society has not made the faintest preliminary stir. Probably for the next half-century we shall have rebels, not revolutionaries,

and their piping accusations will seem mere private crochets, almost powerless. Yet the interesting thing about these accusations is that they are often true.

Tiny as they are, the arrows have stung the behemoth, though there has been no official response or denial in the speeches of N. A. M. presidents or in business magazines. It is really not odd that the principal spokesmen for the defense should be novelists, since novelists are more sensitive. Mr. Swiggett has written a leisurely romantic tale that only happens, apparently, to have a corporation's activities as its setting. There is no overt message about business, although the implications are shrewd. Mr. Hawley's book is more like a tract. He has heard the criticisms. He is reluctant to dignify them by open acknowledgement, but he sees to it they are answered in the raucously emotional speeches of his hero, Don Walling. The ground assumption of both books is that business is a serious activity. If a truly serious meaning is given to "serious," such as "appropriate to the dignity we believe possible to all men," then the books themselves prove the assumption to be mistaken. If the authors mean to suggest that business is the nearest arena in which a man

ALLAN SEAGER, novelist, teaches at the University of Michigan. His latest book is "Amos Berry."

can spend his energies and because it is the nearest, the most important, they are entirely correct.

IN "The Power and the Prize," Cleves Barwick, a bachelor of forty, vice-president of a metals corporation located at 30 Rockefeller Center, is in London working on a deal with a British firm. On a week-end he meets and falls violently in love with Rachel Linka, an Austrian, secretary of an organization providing employment for Continental refugees. He determines to marry her and bring her to America over the anticipated objections of his board chairman, George Salt. When Barwick first mentions his plans, Salt rejoices and says, "Now what's her name, how old is she, and did her father go to Yale?" Barwick says he met her in London. "An English girl: well, that's all right," Salt says. Then Barwick has to embark on a dreadful recital: Rachel is (a) a foreigner, (b) a Jewess—and later there are rumors that she may have been (c) a prostitute and, worse, (d) a Communist in Vienna. (The rumors turn out happily to be false.) Salt, who had regarded Barwick as almost a son, blows his stack and expects him to resign. Barwick refuses, and in the following struggle for power it is Salt who is jettisoned. Barwick succeeds him, puts off his wedding for a few days so he can conclude the deal with the British, and at last marries Rachel.

"Executive Suite" is the old tale of the death of a king and the choosing of his heir. We have no opportunity to see an executive doing his work. We are thrust into crisis immediately. On page one Avery Bullard, president of the Tredway Corporation (furniture), dies of a coronary occlusion at the age of fifty-six. An autocrat, he has appointed no executive vice-president, and for the next twenty-four hours a fight goes on among the vice-presidents, the controller, and the treasurer to see who will take his place. If you have never read a novel before, you may be puzzled and excited to the very end. If you *have* read a novel before, you will recognize Don Walling as the new king as soon as he is described. He is young, and it is one of the axioms of business lore that young men have the stuff. He is vice-president in charge of design, and hence his mind is "creative." After Walling becomes president

and prophesies that the Tredway Corporation will soon have 15 per cent of the total furniture business instead of 3 per cent, the book ends.

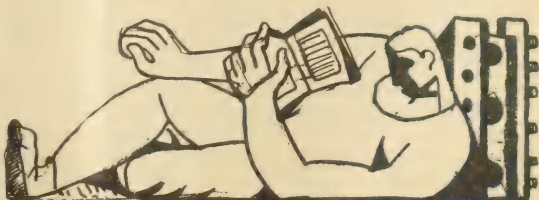
A reviewer for a business magazine said that the heroes of the two novels are "the smart young management men fighting for the dignity of their class," and I believe the authors intended to illuminate this aspect of the current changes in organizational structure. Both heroes are better than their predecessors. George Salt has committed the inevitable sin of growing old—he is having trouble with his Vision, and is hypocritical, dishonest, unkind to inferiors, and rotted with prejudice. Barwick has energy and a touch of culture—he likes Schumann—and he can match the suave good manners of his English counterparts. Mr. Swiggett is careful to show him as relatively honest. In London when he carries on a train of deception for a week he is troubled about it and does it only because Salt ordered him to.

It is harder for Walling to excel Bullard because Mr. Hawley has deliberately conceived Bullard as a king. His kingly qualities are the usual executive "drive," a fanatic dedication to the company's welfare, implied intelligence, and a mysterious ability to spot the false at a glance. The essence of his kingliness, however, is that he could light a spark in men's minds. This is big medicine, and I am not one to say it is impossible.

At the meeting to choose his successor, the directors line up three for Walling and three for Loren Shaw, the controller. Shaw makes a speech asserting that a corporation is an organization devoted to making profits for its stockholders. In spite of its stunning plausibility, his contention turns out to be dramatically ironic. That is not what a corporation is at all. A corporation is like a man, Walling replies. No man can work for money alone. A man has his pride. The force that kept Bullard going was his terrific pride in himself,

"the driving urge to do what no other man on earth could do." Bullard dwindled when he did not think about other men's pride. Walling will outdo him in that he will "never ask a man to do anything that will poison his pride in himself." This speech lands Walling the job, and it is also Mr. Hawley's chief defense of business. It is a dream wish, embarrassing as it stands and more so when we remember that the Tredway Corporation has an assembly line.

THESE books are depressing because they assume, blandly and solemnly, that the business world fits down exactly over the whole world with hardly a bay or valley to spare, as if the manufacture of material objects were the only field for the exercise of a man's best thinking and his finest impulses. There is something pathetic in Bullard's pride, the urge to do what no other man on earth could do, when the results would be only more bedroom suites, occasional chairs, and sofas. When Barwick "risks all for love," what is it he risks? Not life or limb like the older romantic heroes, not his sanity like the newer, not even a job, since a rival firm asks him to write his own ticket as soon as his quarrel with Salt leaks out. What, then? Not very much, really. For a few days his position as vice-president of Allied Materials is precarious, and this is important to Barwick because he has achieved the position only after years of strain and, presumably, fierce competition. Pride again, and to what end? If the reader will count the manufactured articles he uses every day that could sink under the sea without disturbing him in the least, I think the list will astonish him. Some things will remain, of course, but there are corporation executives who spend their whole stock of vital energy to supply him with chewing gum, cigarettes, outboard motors, and bug-deflectors for cars. The argument that such things contribute to our well-being and that mak-



ing them provides employment can be answered by a statement and a question. Well-being is a matter of the spirit as everyone knows in his heart; and are we to spend our lives using more or less valued articles in order to keep working-men off the dole? Yes, I guess we are.

Are there any other rewards? No one now can make enough to live in real magnificence like the elder Morgan and own a big black yacht. Because of the complexity of organization and the planned irresponsibility specialization begets, power tends to be limited and its enjoyment concealed; it can hardly be a life's goal to obtain the deference of headwaiters. There are perquisites—the two-hundred-dollar overcoats, the suites at Claridge's, the company airplanes—and these may offer satisfaction to a few born poor enough to be permanently im-

pressed. Do these men have any intellectual life aside from their work? None, apparently. Specialization has taken care of that. All of them have been "educated," but they seem to be densely ignorant. Except for Barwick, who likes music and is shown reading a book, the arts do not exist. History is what they can remember. Washington is a place to go to about taxes. Mr. Hawley seems to be right. The bale of hay must be pride.

Both Mr. Swiggett and Mr. Hawley had long careers in business. Like all novelists, they have let their memories shape their material, but they may have reached too far back. A quarter-century is a long time, and business has changed on them. Or it may be that a novel is the wrong medium to use for this kind of defense. Novels are customarily about people, and business tries to eliminate

the individual human being as much as it can. A corporation is not like a man; it is like a machine. Mr. Hawley notwithstanding. Indeed, there is a growing use of machines to make the really tough decisions, and executive function is constantly narrowed in the interests of efficiency. Yet both authors, caught by the formal demands of the novel, offer their characters as free individuals—Mr. Swiggett deliberately makes Barwick a rebel—and only in the past could such people move freely.

Mr. Hawley's cry for pride is as quaint as a scythe. The areas where pride can be displayed are shrinking every day. Mr. Hawley's heart, however, is in the right place. And I believe it is his insistence, muddled as it is, on the human rather than the mechanical that has made his book popular.

THE AMERICAN JEW

A Guide to Reading . . by Harold U. Ribalow

THE culture, the influence, and the accomplishments of a people are as accurately and comprehensively reflected in the books they produce as in their buildings, their industries, their cities. This is especially true of the Jews, who are now celebrating the tercentenary of their settlement in the United States.

Two few Jews—and too few educated non-Jewish Americans interested in minority groups and their accomplishments—are aware that there exists a limited body of writing which if read selectively by both Jew and Gentile would do much to explain the American Jew to his neighbor and to himself. There is only a handful of these volumes, but they define the Jew, outline his activities in America, explore his psyche, and discuss his problems. Most of the titles can be found in any fairly well-stocked public library.

HAROLD U. RIBALOW is the author of many books on Jewish subjects, including the forthcoming "Mid-Century," an anthology of contemporary Jewish writings.

The history books of course are of first importance. There is a plethora of one-volume Jewish histories and a surprisingly large number of American Jewish histories. Some are outdated; others are specialized studies or, like Oscar Handlin's recent "Adventure in Freedom," scholarly interpretative essays which require of the reader considerable prior knowledge. Rufus Lears's "The Jews in America: A History" is a fine formal account of the Jewish adventure on these shores. More limited in scope but eminently readable is Bertram W. Korn's "Eventful Years and Experiences," eight essays on American Jewish life in the nineteenth century.

A less formal but extraordinarily revealing work is "A Jewish Tourist's Guide to the United States," by Bernard Postal and Lionel Koppman. This is a wonderful piece of Jewish Americana, full of slivers, slices, and hunks of Jewish history in this country. State by state, town by town, the authors have dug up thousands of items of Jewish interest. Nothing relating to Jews in America seems to be omitted. Although Postal

and Koppman do not think of themselves as historians, they are, and their ambitious book is educational as well as entertaining.

There are dozens and dozens of biographies of prominent Jews, but few are distinguished and some of the autobiographies are peculiarly disappointing—for example, that of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, published posthumously. Wise's public career was distinguished and influential; his book only partially reflects his powerful personality and vast interests. Biographies of Supreme Court Justice Brandeis, Henrietta Szold, and Joseph Proskauer are worth the specialist's attention but not of particular interest to others.

Ludwig Lewisohn's "Up Stream" and "Mid-Channel" and Meyer Levin's "In Search" are searingly honest accounts of the spiritual odyssey of two sensitive Jewish writers. Lewisohn tells of his gradual painful return from assimilation to Judaism, touching in the process on the conditions which pressed on the nerve centers of an entire generation of uneasy American Jews. Levin, who wrote

his autobiography while still in his early forties, is shockingly candid. He lived through the Palestine experiment which led to the establishment of a state; he saw what happened to millions of European Jews in the Hitler era; and at the same time he was making his mark as an American novelist. Utilizing all three experiences, Levin shows how an American Jew like himself was affected by Israel and by Hitler and how he finally found a Judaism which, for him, is fulfilling.

In quite another vein is "The Worcester Account," by S. N. Behrman, eleven stories of a Jewish childhood by one of America's foremost playwrights. Here Behrman's usual sophistication is set aside for sentiment; the author writes with obvious affection for the Jewish milieu in which he passed his early days.

THREE other books have ably formulated some of the problems of the Jew in America—his cultural alienation, his reaction to anti-Semitism, his rejection of his religion, and his refusal to educate his children as Jews. One of these, Ludwig Lewisohn's "The American Jew," is written in anger, because to Lewisohn the American Jew is betraying his heritage: he does not live as a Jew should; he does not read Jewish books; he pays lip service to God and emulates the Gentile. Lewisohn writes with the passion of a prophet, and while his picture may be overdrawn it cannot be ignored. A more lucid and scholarly account of the same Jew is to be found in Mordecai M. Kaplan's "The Future of the American Jew." Dr. Kaplan is the founder of Reconstructionism, an offshoot of Conservative Judaism, which holds that Judaism is a civilization and not a faith alone. Drawing from his own experience and from contemporary theological and creative writing, he convinces the reader that the Jew in America has a great opportunity to develop a Judaism which, although quite different from that lived in Europe, is honest and useful.

The third title in this group, "The American Jew," a symposium edited by Oscar Janowsky, contains studies of Judaism and the synagogue, of the structure of the Jewish community, of current philosophies, of Zionism's impact on American Jewish life, of the historical background of Jewish living in this country, and of Jewish culture here. The



book was published in 1942 and is therefore no longer up to date, but it provides a pretty accurate portrait of the American Jew. It is less cynical than Maurice Samuel's out-of-print "Jews on Approval" and, one likes to think, closer to the present truth.

BUT no matter how comprehensive and well-documented these books are, they are less vivid and perhaps less true artistically than the novels dealing with American Jewish life by a handful of creative writers. Perhaps the best is one of the oldest—Abraham Cahan's "The Rise of David Levinsky," the story of a self-made giant of the garment industry. With a wealth of fascinating detail about the inner workings of an industry to which the American Jew has contributed so richly, the novel delineates the successful Jew who, on his way to wealth, sheds his piety and his European habits and thought processes. David Levinsky is typical of thousands of Americans—Jews among them—who have lost their souls, somehow, in winning financial success. Unlike Jerome Weidman and other novelists who have chosen the garment industry as their fictional domain, Cahan is never bitter. He brings a character, an era, and an industry to life and permits the reader to render his own verdict.

A group of novels, most of which are not "current" but can be found in libraries, set their scene in various sections of the United States but are concerned with the usual Jewish conflicts—between father and son, between Orthodox and Reform Judaism, between the Jew and the Gentile. Myron Brinig's "Singerman" describes Jewish life in Montana. Henry Roth's "Call It Sleep,"

is an unforgettable novel about a Jewish adolescent in the jungle of New York streets. Sidney Meller's "Roots in the Sky" tells an unusual story about an Orthodox rabbi and his family on the West Coast. Meyer Levin's minor classic, "The Old Bunch," is an account of Jewish life in Chicago in the vein of James T. Farrell's novels of Irish life. All these books are distinguished not only by their honesty but by the authors' firm control of their material.

If any better example is required, it can be found in the novels of Charles Angoff, who is embarked on a tetralogy which when completed will offer a finely rounded and authentic narrative of Jewish life in America. The two volumes thus far published are "Journey to the Dawn" and "In the Morning Light"; a third, "The Sun at Noon," is scheduled for this winter.

Charles Angoff does not laugh at Jews as Ben Hecht has done or hate them as Norman Katkov does. But neither does he exaggerate their virtues in the manner of many apologetic novelists. Nor does he dwell on just one facet of Jewish life. His novels touch on every important Jewish theme—intermarriage, Zionism, anti-Semitism, industrial progress, the conflict between parents and children. Here are the Jewish self-hatred that is found in Jo Sinclair's "Wasteland," the rise of the Jewish immigrant as depicted in Louis Zara's "Blessed Is the Man," the rich Jews of James Yaffe's "Poor Cousin Evelyn" and "What's the Big Hurry?"

Zara's novel and also his new historical work, "Blessed Is the Land," which deals with the earliest Jewish settlers in New York, belong on any list of recommended readings, as do the novels of Anzia Yezierska and her memoirs, "Red Ribbon on a White Horse." Louis Falstein's "Sole Survivor," a "chase" story with a moral, represents a change of literary pace and is exciting reading. As for short stories, few collections can compare with "A Treasury of Yiddish Stories" edited by Irving Howe and Eliezer Greenberg; not many of these stories, however, have an American background.

Read these volumes, together with the histories, the autobiographies, the symposiums, and you will gain a deep insight into the collective soul of the American Jew.

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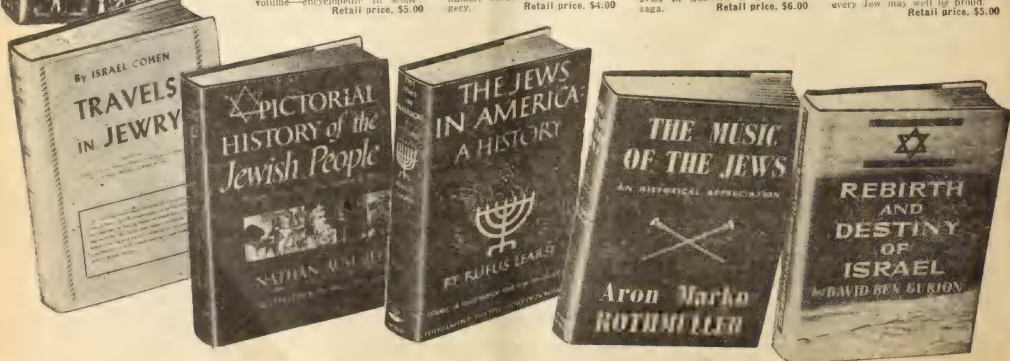
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BOOKS

On this and the following pages appear lists of books selected by Nation reviewers and editors as the most interesting published in 1954. We present them as a guide to Christmas buying. Additional lists will be published next week.

Faulkner and His Critics

THE PRIVATE WORLD OF WILLIAM FAULKNER. By Robert Coughlan. Harper. \$2.75.

WILLIAM FAULKNER: TWO DECADES OF CRITICISM. Edited by Frederick J. Hoffman and Olga W. Vickery. Michigan State College Press. \$3.75.

THE TANGLED FIRE OF WILLIAM FAULKNER. By William Van O'Connor. University of Minnesota Press. \$4.

By John R. Willingham

FAULKNER'S receipt of a Nobel prize in 1949 and the publication of "A Fable" in 1954 have perhaps justifiably unleashed a new spate of studies, exegeses, and apologetics, as well as some entertaining travel literature about Oxford, Mississippi, and its quaint people and ways. Much of Mr. Coughlan's material falls into the last category. Though he indicates by his subtitle, "The Man, the Legend, the Writer," that he is attempting a portrait of the novelist, Coughlan has obviously fallen under the spell of Oxford and Lafayette County—so completely in fact that Jefferson and Yoknapatawpha County too often seem remote, though Mr. Coughlan here and there speaks respectfully enough of Faulkner's work. The fact is that "The Private World of William Faulkner" is aimed at a popular audience which, to judge by the light sales of some of Faulkner's books, finds his work rather rough going. To that audience the well-written, interesting tidbits about Faulkner's life, his big house in Oxford, his friends and relatives, and the sketch of his ordeal with the critics will no doubt be welcome. For Faulkner and his strange canon are news, as Mr. Coughlan's articles in *Life* last year, on which this longer treatment is based, certainly made clear. There are

eight pages of good *Life*-like photographs about the public world of William Faulkner. Though the book's sprightly manner and its pleasant, if superficial, talk about an important writer may easily convince a hopeful club lady that she now "understands" Faulkner, both Mr. Faulkner's "private world" and his writing remain elusive.

Professor Hoffman and Mrs. Vickery have ably edited a book of a very different sort. Originally issued in 1951, their collection of essays by several persons is really designed to elucidate and to clarify matters for readers who have already made an honest effort to get at the shape of Faulkner's work. Important academic and literary names appear as authors—among them Malcolm Cowley,

Robert Penn Warren, Richard Chase, Jean-Paul Sartre, Conrad Aiken, and Andrew Lytle. The result of these combined efforts is an impressive and remarkably comprehensive treatment of the Faulkner canon from the beginnings through "Intruder in the Dust." Such critical essays, fragmentary in isolation, magically become a whole when brought together by such shrewd editorial insight as Mr. Hoffman and Mrs. Vickery possess. For example, Cowley's introductory essay written for "The Portable Faulkner" complements the admirable pioneer study of Faulkner's myth by George Marion O'Donnell, and Warren in turn complements Cowley. Hoffman's own introductory essay is a good examination of the shifting attitudes and emphases of Faulkner's critics.

William O'Connor attempts to correct some of the mistaken slants of earlier Faulkner criticism. In that effort he has the advantage of a better-unified one-man approach, although his book lacks the richness of the Hoffman-Vickery volume. He particularly deplores the "shockingly wrong-headed" studies which preceded the "Southern myth" evaluations of O'Donnell, Cowley, and Warren. And he frankly states that even these gentlemen have overlooked features of Faulkner's work which cannot be fitted so nicely into a Sartoris-Snopes or a Traditional-Past-vs.-an-Amoral-Present framework. The novels and stories seem largely to support O'Connor in his charge that the "Southern myth" bias is limited: the Civil War is almost completely absent from the important books, the setting of some of the fiction is not even northern Mississippi at all, and often Faulkner seems very dubious about the values of the Southern past. Therefore O'Connor turns to the "tangled" themes and methods of Faulkner—the aestheticism of the 1890's which crept into the early books, the search for a belief in "The Sound and the Fury," the necessity for involvement in "As I Lay Dying," the decay of values before the onslaught of the machine in "Sanctuary," the moral and ethical derangement of Southern Protestantism, and so on. O'Connor's approach to the master's work is singularly free of idolatry; he points out the failures along with the great achievements. Adequate biographical facts about Faulkner are included.

John W. Aldridge

The Literary Situation. By Malcolm Cowley. Viking. \$3.75.

A Study of History. Volumes VII-X. By Arnold J. Toynbee. Oxford. \$35.

A Fable. By William Faulkner. Random House. \$4.75.

The Collected Poems of Wallace Stevens. Knopf. \$7.50.

The Huge Season. By Wright Morris. Viking. \$3.75.

The Woman Within. By Ellen Glasgow. Harcourt, Brace. \$5.

Poems: 1923-1954. By E. E. Cummings. Harcourt, Brace. \$6.75.

Selected Plays of Sean O'Casey. Selected and with a Foreword by Sean O'Casey, and an Introduction by John Gassner. Braziller. \$5.

Selected Essays of William Carlos Williams. Random House. \$4.50.

Dialogues of Alfred North Whitehead as Recorded by Lucien Price. Atlantic-Little, Brown. \$5.

Individualism Reconsidered and Other Essays. By David Riesman. Free Press. \$6.

The Apprenticeship of Ernest Hemingway. By Charles A. Fenton. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$5.

Under Milk Wood. By Dylan Thomas. New Directions. \$3.

Pictures from an Institution. By Randall Jarrell. Knopf. \$3.50.

JOHN R. WILLINGHAM teaches English at Centenary College of Louisiana.

The Conspiracy Against Education

PUBLIC EDUCATION UNDER CRITICISM. Edited by C. Winfield Scott and Clyde M. Hill. Prentice-Hall, \$6.35.

THE DIMINISHED MIND. By Mortimer Smith. Henry Regnery Company. \$2.75.

By Frederick L. Redefer

THESE two books should be reviewed together. The first is a collection of criticisms of education that have appeared in various publications since 1941. The second is an "attack" on the "educational conspiracy" that is accused of destroying American elementary and secondary schools and teachers' colleges.

"Public Education Under Criticism" ought to serve a very useful purpose. It includes articles by such critics as Fuller, Bestor, Smith, Lynd, Hutchins, Barzun, and Crockett and such defenders as Trow, Bacon, Melby, Meyer, and Rugb. The editors have omitted free swingers like Zoll, Hart, and Crain but have come close to the border of wild punches with John T. Flynn. It might have been well to include more of these irresponsible critics so that readers could see how fantastic some of their charges against the public schools are. If this had been done, it would explain the organized concern of educators as revealed in the section on *How to Handle Criticisms*.

It is useful to have the charges made and also replied to within the covers of one book. But as one reads the articles by Fuller, Flynn, Bestor, and Smith in perspective, one questions their ability to judge, analyze, and think. Much of the writing is sheer nonsense, if not purposeful distortion.

Mortimer Smith in "The Diminished Mind" says that his new book is a "factual counterpart" to his earlier one, "And Madly Teach," and that he has tried to be "scrupulously fair and accurate in documenting his case as he goes along." After making this statement, he forgets his promise. Opinions and judgments tumble over one another with little regard for facts. He picks his authorities primarily to document his side

of the case. He does not analyze any serious refutation of his statements about how well the schools are teaching the three R's, but builds up certain writers to an undue influence and then tears down the straw men. He denounces some books without quoting a sentence or paragraph. He labels a commission on education "anti-intellectual" because it advocates for some youth courses in the graphic arts as well as verbal studies. He denounces the propagandists with all the writing tricks of a propagandist. He isolates the school in society and credits it with a non-existent power.

His particular targets are the "educationists" who have captured the public schools and teachers' colleges and are alleged to be destroying the minds of American youth. His remedy is the "humanities and sciences," but their effectiveness has to be taken on faith. Liberal-arts graduates must be dismayed that their champion is a man who gives such

H. H. Wilson

The Life of John Stuart Mill. By Michael St. John Packe. Macmillan. \$6.50.

A Collection of Essays. By George Orwell. Anchor Books, Doubleday. 95 cents.

Seduction of the Innocent. By Frederic Wertham. Rinehart. \$4.

Government and Science. By Don K. Price. New York University Press. \$3.75.

Harvard Guide to American History. By Oscar Handlin, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Samuel Eliot Morrison, Frederick Merk, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Paul H. Buck. Harvard. \$10.

Elisha Kent Kane and the Seafaring Frontier. By Jeannette Mirsky. Little, Brown. \$3.

Tomorrow Is Already Here. By Robert Jungk. Translated by Marguerite Waldman. Simon and Schuster. \$3.50.

The American President. By Sidney Hyman. Harper. \$4.

The Relaxed Sell. By Thomas Whiteside. Oxford. \$3.50.

Education of an American Liberal. By Lucille Milner. Horizon Press. \$3.95.

Hellenism and the Modern World. By Gilbert Murray. Beacon. Cloth, \$1.50; paper, 75 cents.

The Reason Why. By Cecil Woodham-Smith. McGraw-Hill. \$4.

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a poor example of critical thinking and makes so many unsupported statements.

Smith ends his book with a call to arms. He urges parents to make themselves heard in communities and in state capitals. He warns them not to believe any statements by educationists. Not once does he caution parents to study, to examine, to know what they are talking about before they talk. "Parents ought not to be bashful, for instance, about looking over textbooks and complaining if they think they are poor."

After Hill and Scott had read all the

material considered for inclusion in their anthology of criticism, they tried to determine what was the basis of the current outburst of critical writing about the schools. They found it in the fear and insecurity of society; and they believe that when fear and insecurity are relieved, criticism will diminish. I cannot help wondering whether this tells the whole story. Criticism of education is needed, and what is needed even more is scholarly critics who will examine carefully their own position. This the Flynn, Bestors, Lynds, and Smiths do not do.

The Best Is Still a Prison

ASSIGNMENT: PRISON RIOTS. By
Peg McGraw and Walter McGraw.
Henry Holt and Company. \$3.95.

By Alfred Hassler

THE successive riots that have put American prisons on the front pages repeatedly in the last few years have given rise to a growing concern with prisons and the effect of confinement on anti-social behavior. The riots themselves are the major interest of the authors of the book under review. The McGraws are radio journalists; judging from this book, they are first-rate ones. Assigned by the National Broadcasting Company to prepare a series of broadcasts on the riots, they visited a dozen state and federal penitentiaries and tape-interviewed hundreds of officials, guards, inmates, and ex-inmates. Out of all this they produced not only some excellent radio programs but an exciting and often penetrating book that includes a good deal that radio time limitations and taboos have kept off the air.

The bulk of the book is devoted to the riots at the New Jersey and Michigan state prisons. The igniting incidents reported are not novel. Overcrowded and understaffed prisons, poorly trained and incompetent personnel, tasteless food, and unimaginative and stifling rules—these are classic to the prison

scene. But the McGraws take these things out of the sociologist's textbook and turn them into vivid reality. Verbatim interviews with prison officials and riot leaders give a new and illuminating dimension to the facts.

The convicts themselves, however, with few exceptions come through as copies of the stereotyped creations of Hollywood and popular fiction. The authors claim to have discovered that "prisoners are people," but the mere

Frederick L. Schuman

A Study of History, Vols. VII-X. By Arnold J. Toynbee. Oxford. \$35.

Back of History. By William Howells. Doubleday. \$5.

The Story of Man. By Carleton S. Coon. Knopf. \$6.75.

Freedoms Against Itself. By Clarence K. Streit. Harper. \$3.75.

In the Name of Sanity. By Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace. \$3.50.

The Story of Our Civilization. By Philip Lee Ralph. Dutton. \$3.75.

Science and the Common Understanding. By J. Robert Oppenheimer. Simon and Schuster. \$2.75.

Call to Greatness. By Adlai E. Stevenson. Harper. \$2.25.

Realities of American Foreign Policy. By George F. Kennan. Princeton. \$2.75.

The United States in a Changing World. By James P. Warburg. Putnam's. \$5.75.

The Wilhelmstrasse. By Paul Seabury. California. \$3.

The Spoor of Spooks. By Bergen Evans. Knopf. \$4.50.

My Mission to Spain. By Claude G. Bowers. Simon and Schuster. \$6.

The Dancing Bear: Berlin de Profundis. By Frances Faviell. Norton. \$3.50.

ALFRED HASSLER, publications secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, served three years in the federal penitentiary for his refusal to accept assignment to a war-time civilian public-service camp. He is the author of "Diary of a Self-made Convict."

repetition of that threadbare phrase does not communicate effectively the reality behind it: that the men in prison differ as widely as people outside and react to stimuli in as many different ways. The McGraws come closest to making this clear in their very moving account of how they became emotionally involved to the extent of employing two ex-convicts to work in their own home. This is in many ways the best section of the book.

Their failure to realize completely the common humanity of criminals probably accounts for the McGraws' uncertainty about prison "reform" and their frequent admiring references to the federal prison system, with the implication that its use of the "new penology" points the way to a more effective future for the institution of prison. This reviewer has been an inmate of the "best" prison in the federal system and is willing to grant the genuinely good intentions of the men who run it, as well as the notable physical improvements they have made. The best of prisons, however, is still a prison.

The McGraws come closest to the question that underlies their whole book when they report their attempt to talk "morality" to one of their two ex-convict employees. Peter, responding tersely with some of the facts of life, concludes, "Don't give me that morality guff." "[We] had a tough time answering this one," write the McGraws. "Peter, as well as literally thousands of ex-cons and inmates, look around at our workaday world. They see politicians growing fat on crooked pay-offs. They see the police taking money under the table. They see the racketeer gorging himself at the expense of the little man. They see big business buttering itself with white-collar crime. And then we talk morality to them!"

They might have added that the criminal sees a society whose total culture is frankly materialistic, predatory, and acquisitive, which frequently draws an extremely tenuous line between the legitimate and the illegitimate, and whose criminal personality is therefore simply a slightly distorted reflection of its norm. Only as we grapple with the shortcomings in our own basic values shall we make any real progress toward the control and elimination of crime. In that progress, prison can have no part.

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Films

Robert Hatch

IT SEEMS probable that from now on we shall be receiving movies from Japan and elsewhere in the Orient at reasonably frequent intervals. Most of these, as the Daiei Studio in Tokyo announces of its program, will be "quality" films intended for the export market. "Rashomon," "Ugetsu," and now "The Gate of Hell" are all Daiei productions; it is evident that for export the firm will draw upon the folklore and traditions of Japanese culture.

This presents an exciting problem to the Western observer. Not only must he try to grasp the impulse behind the deeds of people with whose reactions and habits of logic he is unacquainted, not only must he resort to excerpts from a culture that is almost entirely closed to him; he must also try to gauge how much of what seems to him savage, archaic, or exotic would seem so also to an Oriental spectator.

Here are a few enigmatic items from "The Gate of Hell." A love scene early in the film opens with the hero repeatedly squirting water through his teeth into the face of the swooning heroine. He has a stream and a dipper handy, so why this particular restorative method? Perhaps it is a rough gesture that for a Japanese immediately evokes the olden days—like Lancelot tossing an ox bone under the banquet table; perhaps it has erotic overtones lost on Westerners. A more important point: the action of the picture, set in the twelfth century, develops from the intransigent passion of a Samurai warrior for the happily married wife of a fellow-officer. The Samurai, we suppose, are a class governed by an elaborate code of honor, but this dangerously inflamed gallant makes an absurd public nuisance of himself without seriously losing face in the corps. This clashes with our notion of how military aristocracies have governed themselves from Charlemagne to the Death's Head Hussars. Would it strike the Japanese as odd, or do they accept tantrums in the highest castes?

A final question, though the picture raises many more: the relationship between the heroine and her husband is of a yearning delicacy and shy respect rare-

ly if ever encountered in Occidental portrayals of domestic love. Obviously this is an idyl of marriage, but how far does it parallel the customary decencies of Japanese family life?

To an American audience the film will be more impressive for its visual details than for its narrative. The movie is awkwardly balanced—a too important prelude of plots and battles fades inconclusively to make way for what is essentially a story of private conflict—and it moves abruptly, as though each scene were the synopsis of a scene, with the motivation and rising tension omitted. In Japan the story may be so well known that people can fill it out for themselves.

It is the first Japanese film in color that we have seen, and it may be the best movie color we have ever seen. That is not because the Japanese have found some superior process—they are using Eastman color, which the producers went to Rochester to study—but because the people responsible for this picture had an exquisite sense of the fitness of color and took pains that nothing they photographed should offend it.

The settings have a similar unassertive perfection: there is an amateur horse race, there are the elegant ritual ceremonies.

Joseph Wood Krutch

The Challenge of Man's Future. By Harrison Brown. Viking. \$3.75.

The Natural History of Mammals. By François Bourlière. Translated from the French by H. M. Parshley. Knopf. \$5.

The Wilderness World of John Muir. With an Introduction and Interpretative Comment by Edwin Way Teale. Houghton Mifflin. \$4.50.

The Old Country Store. By Gerald Carson. Oxford. \$5.

God's Country and Mine. By Jacques Barzun. Atlantic Monthly Press Book; Little, Brown. \$5.

Company Manners. By Louis Kronenberger. Bobbs-Merrill. \$3.

The Theatre in Our Time. By John Gassner. Crown. \$5.

The Mating Instinct. By Lorus J. Milne and Margery J. Milne. Little, Brown. \$4.50.

Plain Words: Their ABC. By Sir Ernest Gowers. Knopf. \$2.50.

nies, there are fragments of countryside and seashore, a few interiors, household instruments and utensils—all chosen and placed and composed to seduce the eye. The houses glow with a warmer and stronger color than the model house on view at the Museum of Modern Art would lead you to expect; they seem more spacious when poised Japanese actors move through them than the museum house does when thronged with wide-gesturing Americans.

The acting in "The Gate of Hell" looks to be on two levels. Kazuo Hasegawa, the love-mad hero, and Machiko Kyo, the faithful wife, appear to be governed by stylized forms. He grimaces like a devil mask and moves with the abrupt square grace of a Kabuki dancer, which he once was. She, although playing a woman of both will and courage, sidles and trembles like a beaten deer, her only tokens of emotion being her begging eyes and the weak mumbling of her tiny mouth. These are perhaps Japanese ideals of masculine and feminine carriage, but they are not ours and the mannerisms mask the personalities. The other actors work in a more natural style: the husband bears himself with an honest, slow gravity and his face shows a quiet humor when it is not troubled. The military commander is an expansive good fellow, the attendants are conventionally bureaucratic, and the subsidiary Samurai officers are the arrogant, quick-gestured, loud-laughing mercenaries of a military society.

AT THIS stage in the theatrical history of J. B. Priestley's "An Inspector Calls" it cannot be revealing a condescendence to say that the official of the title is a rum sort of cop. He is the human conscience or the recording angel or some other extra-sensory arm of the law, and he provides Alastair Sim with a role of such exceedingly smug whimsicality that even that most smug and whimsical of actors can scarcely fill it.

Mr. Priestley is one of the gentler present-day moralists, and it is graceless to spurn him, but I object to having my leg pulled for the good of my soul. The message of "An Inspector Calls" is that it is very wrong to kick a fellow human being in the stomach and that if we go about doing that sort of thing we may one day be ashamed of ourselves. Mr. Priestley evidently feels that this is an

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abstruse ethical concept, for he erects a most elaborate structure of coincidence and mystification to prove it.

THE one important thing about the screen version of Odets's "The Country Girl" is that it presents Bing Crosby in a part other than that of the irresistible Bing. He not only plays someone else, he plays someone exceedingly unpleasant—a mean, self-pitying, hypocritical drunk—and that is a bold thing for him to do. He has received the highest prices ever paid for charm and insouciance, and it took courage to chuck

them. But it looks like the right move. Crosby's timing and stage sense have always been flawless, and he uses them now, not to project himself, but to make you forget him in your preoccupation with the not sensationally interesting character he plays. He engages your sympathy for an odious weakling, he makes you believe in this man's rather unconvincing reformation, he reads some perilous lines with more dignity than they deserve. Given good material, Crosby could become an accomplished actor after the longest and most successful vaudeville turn of our time.

Theater

Harold Clurman

IT SEEMS that in the building of one of the first tunnels under the North River a worker was blown through the river bed to the surface of the water without fatal injury. This extraordinary occurrence provides the dramatic core of "Sandhog," a ballad in three acts by Earl Robinson and Waldo Salt at the Phoenix Theater.

There is something lusty—almost gay—in the event itself, and the artistic purpose of "Sandhog" is to sing a song in praise of the hard work which goes into the epic task of constructing a tunnel, a bridge, a railroad, or a dam. These giant enterprises, the authors seem to be saying, are the fruits of the labor of sturdy men and the sacrifices of steadfast women, the virtually nameless heroes of our history—glorious history which we should recount with pride.

One wonders, then, why "Sandhog" fails to be inspiring, why its emphasis, which should be bold, hearty, Whitmanesque, remains predominantly gloomy and painful. That the authors and director did not wish it so is evident in Sophie Maslow's charming choreography for children, and in some of the songs, such as "Katie O'Sullivan" and "Johnny O." But there is no escaping the feeling that there is more masochism than majesty in "Sandhog."

Its forbear, Marc Blitzstein's "The Cradle Will Rock," written as "revolutionary theater" during the depression, had a more vigorous spirit and was actually cheerier in its effect. In "Sand-

hog," as one listens to the ominous opening number, "Come Down," and to such songs as the anatomical one describing the horror of the "bends" or the somewhat lighter one celebrating the amount of sweat poured out of the sandhog's body in performing his stint, one becomes aware of the sharp discrepancy between the purpose of this play and the temper in which it is executed.

The spirit would be the spirit of Jacob, but the body is the body of Esau. The authors find it difficult to be happy. For the fifties they need to be, if not exactly exultant, then at least pleasant, but theirs is the approach of the thirties—except that it is cramped by the fact that in the thirties there was enthusiasm in protest, while in the fifties, if protest is in one's heart and one has chosen a subject which does not call for protest, it is hard to be hale.

Even the setting by Howard Bay is contradictory. It is most striking—very fine in terms of abstract design—with its dome-like structure representing the great world of finance, government, and established religion supported, as it were, by a steel shaft tortuously descending from a great height to the stage floor, which may be taken to represent the bowls of the earth. The setting is cavernously somber, and conveys a message in itself. But besides making all expansiveness of mood impossible, it fails to be practical in the climactic dramatic moments, where the action instead of being almost natural-

istically convincing is thinned out through pantomime.

What I like best in "Sandhog" is the cast. Not only are the voices good—I speak particularly of the four leads: Alice Ghostley, Betty Oakes, David Brooks, and Jack Cassidy, with honorable mention for Gordon Dilworth as a bartender-politician—but the quality of these young actor-singers is warm, gen-

erous, loyal, and humble. They give the production the human touch to which one can wholeheartedly respond. And for all the strictures which I feel compelled to make I must confess that I ended the evening by applauding. Though there is stammering and confusion in the proceedings, there is also something I value very highly—dedication.

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE Prokofiev Sonata No. 2 on Concert Hall 1311 is a smaller-scale example of the early writing in which it is astonishing to hear the musical powers that are involved, the assurance—in addition to the engaging youthful freshness and creative energy—with which they operate, the fully developed style they achieve. In this sonata it is the Prokofiev piano style, now intricately percussive and toccata-like, now lyrical, and one which the Soviet Russian pianist Gilels realizes very effectively. The record also offers his excellent performances of three of Tchaikovsky's six pieces Op. 19—the Capriccioso, Nocturne, and Scherzo Humoristique—early salon pieces of little consequence, but of interest because the Nocturne and Scherzo turn out to be the sources of three bits of thematic material that Stravinsky used in the mill scene of "Le Baiser de la fée"; and one is astonished and impressed by the way he transformed and elaborated them. The reverse side is wasted on a Glazunov sonata.

B. H. Haggin

The New Oxford History of Music.
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Handel. A Symposium Edited by
Gerald Abraham. Oxford. \$6.

*The Bach Family: Seven Generations
of Creative Genius.* By Karl Geiringer. Oxford. \$7.50.

Mozart: The Man and His Works.
By W. J. Turner. Anchor Books,
Doubleday. 95 cents.

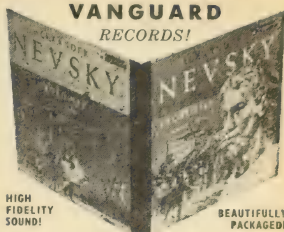
Pictures from an Institution. By Randall Jarrell. Knopf. \$3.50.

Epic 3065 offers Chopin's Etudes Opp. 10 and 25 played by Uninsky. In some of the pieces his speed is greater than Goldsand's on Concert Hall 1132/3; but Goldsand makes more of them as music. And others he plays without Uninsky's affectation—except Op. 25 No. 1, in which Goldsand's playing is highly mannered. In addition the Goldsand performances are much better reproduced.

Uninsky's performances of Chopin's great Sonatas Opp. 35 and 58 on Epic 3056 are also too affected for my taste; and I prefer the Nat performance of Op. 35 on Haydn Society 97, the Lipatti performance of Op. 58 on Columbia ML-4721.

Even less suitable for the music is Uninsky's affected performance of Musorgsky's "Pictures at an Exhibition" on Epic 3066. And no better is Pennario's often brutally percussive and insensitive performance of this work on Capitol LAL-8266. This version comes with an elaborately illustrated booklet by Alfred Frankenstein about the relation of Musorgsky's pictures to Hartmann's, which leads one to wonder how irrelevant can such material be. For it turns out that in one instance after another the Hartmann picture that was Musorgsky's point of departure has disappeared; and the few pictures Mr. Frankenstein is able to reproduce turn out to be an architect's typically academic, unimaginative, and mediocre products which account for nothing in Musorgsky's musical pictures beyond the titles: Mr. Frankenstein concedes that Hartmann's drawing of a bronze clock in the form of Baba Yaga's hut has little relation to the music concerned with her

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ride through the air; and Hartmann's feeble costume sketch for the ballet of chicks in their shells has as little relation to the wonderfully imaginative musical picture on that subject. Moreover, in the instances where the relevant pictures have disappeared Mr. Frankenstein introduces others by Hartmann that were not even Musorgsky's points of departure and are therefore entirely without relevance; thus, in place of the lost watercolor of Limoges market women chattering over their pushcarts he introduces a watercolor of an old woman seated in a chair and reading her Bible.

Concert Hall 1305 has provided an occasion to hear again Tchaikovsky's excellent music for "The Queen of Spades"—the melodious arias in the vocal style of his songs, the beautiful writing in which one hears the orchestra used with the same extraordinary mastery of its resources as in the ballets and symphonies, and with impressive dramatic effect. Melik-Pashejev conducts

the superb orchestra and chorus of the Bolshoi Theater and good soloists except for the tremulous soprano and tight-voiced tenor, in the parts of Lisa and Herman, who are indigenous to the Russian operatic stage. The performance is reproduced well except for violins that lack liveness.

And Concert Hall 1310 has provided a first hearing of Tchaikovsky's music for "Mazeppa," which is of the same character but not of the same quality. Nebolsin conducts the same orchestra and chorus but less good soloists—a tenor this time whose voice also is tremulous, and a soprano whose voice is nothing but tremolo. The recorded sound is muffled.

Cetra (Capitol) A-50167 offers highlights of the performance of "La Traviata" with Callas that I reviewed a couple of months ago. As I listened again to her singing, now so lovely and now so strident, I was more aware of the stridency being a result of reckless forcing of a voice not properly and securely produced, and of its being made worse by the recording—which is to say that the voice is more agreeable with treble reduced.

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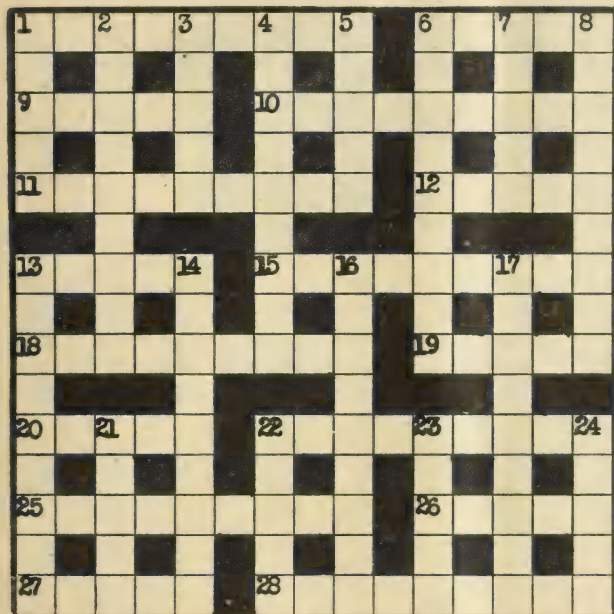
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THE American Opera Society, which devotes itself to operas outside of the standard repertory, opened its second season with Rossini's "Otello," and thus enabled a public which knows Rossini only as a composer of operatic comedy to hear some of his serious dramatic music—to be astonished right at the start by the power of the slow opening section of the overture, and to be impressed by the melodic beauty and the dramatic force of much of the vocal writing later on. The writing for Desdemona was sung with impressive style by Jennie Tourel; the florid writing for Otello and Rodrigo, some of it rising to sensational points in the high tenor range, was sung with remarkable vocal beauty, ease, and flexibility by Albert DaCosta, the Rodrigo, and without them by Thomas Hayward, the Otello. Arnold U. Gamson was very efficient in the business of holding singers and orchestra together; and I had the impression he would have produced a fine-sounding performance if he had had more strings, better winds, and more rehearsal. The society should now let the public hear the superb music Rossini wrote for "William Tell."

Crossword Puzzle No. 597

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Are, by the sound of it, connected with diagrams. (5, 4)
- 6 Drilled to the point of dullness? (5)
- 9 See 22 across.
- 10 The sort of pitch associated with craft? (9)
- 11 A cad and his mother know their place? (9)
- 12 Comparatively stern? (5)
- 13, 3 down, and 24 down. Implying some body has more than one spine. (5, 2, 3, 5)
- 15 Learning the hard way! (9)
- 18 Bring home the bacon, perhaps—in a partial sense. (4, 5)
- 19 See 13 down.
- 20 Finish vertically? (3, 2)
- 22 and 9. Ghosts, or when they walk. (3, 4, 2, 5)
- 25 Copious. (9)
- 26 Saw. (5)
- 27 Something about the first lady suggests an administrative officer. (5)
- 28 It went the way of the one which made the score. (9)

DOWN

- 1 Person or estate. (5)
- 2 Does the correct place to hang something suggest a ring? (5, 4)
- 3 See 13 across.
- 4 Evidently the boss isn't a square, even if Parliamentarian. (9)

- 5 Dooms to destruction, figuratively. (5)
- 6 A double deterrent to belief? (9)
- 7 This might be a British joint. (5)
- 8 Not where Macaroni is produced out west. (4, 5)
- 13 and 19 across. Reverse order. (2, 3, 4, 5)
- 14 Composition for flute a bec? (9)
- 16 Draw out something sharp, as a tune he has. (9)
- 17 Shed light upon. (9)
- 21 Fanatical person of some worth to the medicine man? (5)
- 22 The dry type is usually not drunk. (5)
- 23 Force payment—to be strictly accurate. (5)
- 24 See 13 across.

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 596

ACROSS:—1 REINFORCEMENT; 10 LEVATOE; 11 OXURISA; 12 PARNASSIS; 13 ESTOP; 14 RACKET; 16 HANKROOK; 19 PARAFIN; 20 HORN IN; 22 DELIHI; 23 TAILSPINS; 25 STARVES; 26 TREADLE; 27 HYDROELECTRIC.

DOWN:—2 ELVER; 3 NITRATE OF SILVER; 4 OXURISA; 5 CLASS DAY; 6 MOTHER KNOWS BEST; 7 NIGHTGOWN; 8 CLAPTRAP; 9 HARP; 13 COROLLARY; 17 KINGSLEY; 18 DISTASTE; 21 LITTLE; 22 DUSE; 24 ISDRI.

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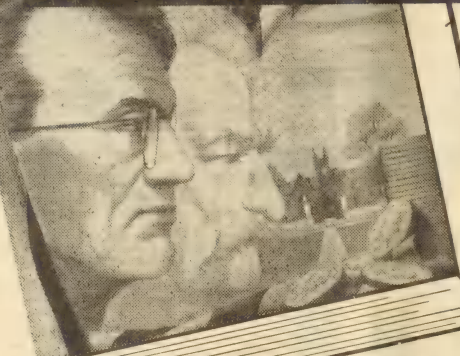
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THE *Nation*

December 18, 1954

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Henry Lee Moon

Desegregation At Work

Progress and Problems

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Commission for Peace

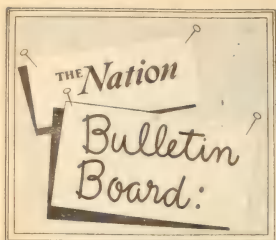
A New Approach to World Tensions

Guns and Butter Too *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

Human Rights in a Corporate State

A Review of A. A. Berle's New Book *Walton Hamilton*

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865



WHETHER OR NOT he planned it that way, Bertrand Russell's article on page 531 complements the essay he wrote for *The Nation* in the summer of 1953, *The World I Want*. Obviously, if Mr. Russell is to see the world of his dreams realized, the first prerequisite is peace. He presents here a provocative idea on what neutral nations can do about peace. Since the Nobel peace prize was not awarded this year, the committee might well consider setting aside the money as the beginning of a fund to be used to bring Mr. Russell's idea to reality.

THE PUBLICATION of *American Heritage*, edited by Bruce Catton, a contributing editor of *The Nation*, is an experiment worth watching. Uncertain whether to call it a book or a magazine, the publishers have solved the problem for the time being by calling it both.

American Heritage will appear six times yearly but will be bound in hard covers and sell for \$10 a year, or \$2.95 a copy. The first number is handsome in both format and typography. Excellent use is made of reproductions of old prints and paintings. Some of the articles are original; some are taken from books and records new and old. The content is varied—drawn, says Catton, from "anything that ever happened in America." Two of the best things in the issue are a long letter from Theodore Roosevelt describing his visit to England for the funeral of Edward VII and the transcript of a discourse by Albert J. Lasker on his experiences as a pioneer in mass advertising.

Obviously, the value of such a miscellany depends on the imagination and knowledge of those who edit it. In this, *American Heritage* is fortunate. Bruce Catton is not only a fine journalist but an eminent historian as well. His skill in making history come to life in terms of people and their acts and interests, evident in all his books, will undoubtedly be effectively applied to this new venture.

A PAGE of *The Nation* was made part of the court record in the trial of Carl Braden in Louisville, Kentucky. Braden was indicted following the investigation of an explosion at the home of Andrew Wade, a Negro. Braden, who had purchased the home for Wade, was charged

with "advocating sedition." The prosecutor, A. Scott Hamilton, alleges that the explosion was a Communist plot or a Communist-inspired plot designed to stir up trouble.

The Nation was brought into the proceedings during the interrogation of prosecution witness Manning Johnson by the defense. The defense attorney cited an article from this magazine which reproduced testimony given by Johnson at a previous hearing, where he said that under certain circumstances he would not hesitate to lie in court. When the prosecutor heard this he attacked *The Nation* for daring to print it—although he did not question its authenticity. The full story of this case is being prepared for us by Richard Harwood of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*.

WE HAVE HAD a number of demands for reprints of Professor D. F. Fleming's article "Ways to Coexist" (*The Nation* November 27, 1954), and I want to report that they are now available. Single copies cost 10 cents, 50 copies \$2.50, 100 copies \$4, 500 copies \$16, and 1,000 copies \$21. Order your copies, sent postpaid, from *The Nation's* Reprint Department, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14.

FROM INDIA come two cheering letters. One runs: "We have been getting stray copies of *The Nation* through the kindness of a friend in the United States. We find your magazine refreshingly different from others that come our way. Your fight against bigotry, intolerance, oppression and injustice—whether in America, Africa, or Asia—is very heartening to us in India, who until recently were ruled by aliens. You represent to us the true ideas of a democracy which Lincoln and Jefferson built, rather than present-day America with its Jim Crow, McCarthyism, and worship of the almighty dollar. Have the courage to be right, though in a minority. You are doing wonderful work." (Signed) C. S. Pillai.

The other: "It may interest you that I mean to read *The Nation* over a number of years in the future. It has helped me to develop an independent attitude toward life." (Signed) Prem Dutt Mohindra.

Incidentally, we have a small fund which we use to send *The Nation* overseas to students and universities. Readers interested in enlarging the circulation of this "Voice of America" can send a one-year subscription to a designated person in another country at a special gift rate of \$5. MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

Jim Crow—First Hand

Dear Sirs: On August 9, with the idea of spending a pleasant vacation in the South, I put my wife and two children in the car and took off from Detroit for Pensacola and New Orleans. Late that afternoon we reached Nashville and stayed overnight in a hotel recommended to us as the best in the city for colored. We were up early and looking for a place to eat breakfast but found that nowhere in the city could a touring Negro get a meal at that hour. So without eating we headed for Birmingham, 210 miles away.

In Alabama I became very thirsty. Stopping at a gas station in a village, I asked the attendant for gas and drinking water. After pumping the gas and collecting the money, he gave me a glass and pointed to a pipe to which was attached a hose for use in the outside toilets and for watering livestock. Disconnecting the hose, I drank and returned the glass. Over the doors of the toilets was a sign which said: "Rest rooms for white only."

Before we reached Birmingham my wife and children became very hungry. Each time we passed a restaurant, Loretta Ann, aged seven, would ask, "Daddy, why can't we eat there?" Telling her that the places were for white people only was rather a painful task.

As we approached a roadside restaurant on the outskirts of Decatur we stopped

near a state-police headquarters, and I asked an officer if the food in the restaurant was available to me. He told me to go to the side door and knock. A colored woman came to the door and on learning what I wanted directed me to the back door of the kitchen. Four hamburgers and two cups of coffee were prepared and handed me in a bag.

Somewhere between Birmingham and Montgomery we stopped for gas. My wife asked to use the rest room. She and Loretta were directed to one with a sign reading "Colored." There was no light, no paper, and no toilet seat, and the room was used by both men and women.

In Pensacola, while we were shopping for souvenirs and greeting cards in one of the large stores, I became thirsty and looked for a drinking fountain. In the rear of the store I found two, one with the sign "white," the other "colored." The difference was that the pressure for the white fountain was ample, but for the colored it was so low you could barely get the water.

When boarding a bus, if there are white people standing in the aisle, the Negro must pay his fare, get off, go around, and come to his section (it is always in the rear) through the back door. The customs mentioned are followed in Mississippi and Louisiana also.

Talking with various individuals and
(Continued on page 540)

The Shape of Things

That Not-So-Mad Irishman

Once again Senator McCarthy has the commentators guessing. Some say that Joe simply "blew his top" in bitterly attacking the President; others, noting that he waited until the Senate was in adjournment and selected December 7 as the day on which to launch his attack, regard it as an act of cold calculation. There could be truth in both theories. When McCarthy first entered the committee room "he seemed to be kind of excited" to Senator Mundt, an authority on his moods, who urged him to "take it easy." He did leave the room for a moment only to return muttering: "They're shooting at me and I've got to say something." Joe was mad, no doubt about it.

It is equally obvious that what he said was calculated but what were his calculations? Mr. Lippmann and others assure us that McCarthy now feels that the Democrats will win in 1956 and is therefore out to control the "hard core" Republicans as the best means of controlling the party. But control of a permanent minority party can hardly be Senator McCarthy's idea of a brilliant future; he calculates to win, not to lose. Were he to clarify his intentions, however, it would throw little light on his future, which is closely tied up with events which he can influence but not control. It will be recalled that Hitler's following dropped to a very low point on the eve of the 1929 depression. It is not so much McCarthy's intentions that one needs to know in order to predict his future; what is needed is a calculus of events and forces.

Points or Principles?

Talk of the split in the G. O. P. over foreign policy and McCarthy has diverted attention from divisions in the Cabinet. Of these, the running argument between Secretary of Commerce Weeks and James P. Mitchell, Secretary of Labor, has taken a new turn. Aided by the November 2 returns, Mr. Mitchell appears to have convinced some at least of the President's top political advisors that the Administration should make a few gestures in labor's direction. The contrast between Mr. Mitchell's pre-election speech to the A. F. of L. convention and his recent address to the C. I. O. is remarkable. The same contrast appears in the warm, friendly message from the President which Mr. Mitchell delivered.

In taking a firm stand against state right-to-work laws

—"I oppose such laws categorically"—Mr. Mitchell drew immediate fire from spokesmen for the N. A. M. and the United States Chamber of Commerce. And his stand on this issue is only one phase of a larger plan. The *Wall Street Journal* reported on December 3 that he intends to propose that the federally-fixed floor under industry's wages should be lifted by a dime or fifteen cents and extended to include several million additional workers. News of these developments must have made Mr. Weeks moan and groan and this despite the President's statement that the Secretary of Labor was expressing personal, not Administration, views.

Nevertheless, it remains to be seen whether Mr. Mitchell has won a round on principle or merely on political points. The issues he has emphasized suggest that his objective may be to disrupt labor's growing identification with the Democratic Party as much as to help labor chalk up significant gains. Labor's new interest in state right-to-work laws—in seventeen states now—is related to significant Democratic gains at the state level: eight new governors and 545 new state legislators. Formerly labor could see little chance of reversing the "anti-labor" trend in the state capitols; with these gains the situation has changed. It was with a clear eye on Mr. Mitchell's objective that Walter Reuther quickly challenged him to support amendments to Taft-Hartley which would invalidate state right-to-work acts.

Similarly in preparing plans to raise and extend the minimum-wage law, Mr. Mitchell must be deliciously aware of the fact that the South, as a region, would feel the greatest immediate impact; industries that have "gone South" in search of lower wage rates will not appreciate his proposal. The labor committees in both houses are chaired, of course, by Democrats. Hence if a proposal to raise and extend the minimum-wage law were sidetracked, it still might have the effect of upsetting labor's attitude toward the Democratic Party. Even so, it is significant that the Administration is giving Mr. Mitchell a chance to build support for his policies.

Secretary Humphrey Dissents

If the Weeks-Mitchell argument on labor policy marks one significant split in the Cabinet, the rapidly accumulating differences between Mr. Humphrey and some of his colleagues on fiscal policy mark still another. At the recent Rio conference, Mr. Humphrey was widely credited with being the most influential American spokes-

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man. His policy, reported Donald Grant in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, was simply one of "turning down coldly . . . all the demands of Latin American countries." Now the Administration has come around to the belief that some kind of economic-aid program must be projected for Southeast Asia but, as one might expect, Secretary Humphrey dissents.

Whether the issue relates to Latin-America, Asia, or domestic policy, Mr. Humphrey stands for stabilization, budget-balancing—although he concedes that a balanced budget is out of reach just now—and a hard-money policy. During the recent hearings of the Joint Economic Committee, he stoutly maintained that the hard-money program adopted by the Administration in the spring of 1953 was justified as an anti-inflation measure. "Inflation was checked before you, sir, came to the Treasury," commented Senator Ralph Flanders. Similar echoes of conflict over fiscal policy were audible in the sharp exchange between Federal Reserve Board Chairman William McChesney Martin, Jr., and Allen Sproul, President of the New York Federal Reserve Bank at these same hearings. Add to all these splits and differences, the divisions within the Republican Party on military policies and one can, with Mr. Truman, "feel sorry for poor old Ike."

Alvin Johnson at Eighty

The Nation's staff gladly joins the hundreds of friends of Alvin Johnson in celebrating this week his eightieth birthday and the imposing sum of accomplishments, scholarly and humane, the years have recorded. To us he will always be, first of all, the journalist; one who during the *New Republic's* early, most brilliant period, shared editorial honors with Herbert Croly, Walter Lippmann, Francis Hackett, and Walter Weyl. We recall too with gratitude his later help to this weekly as an editorial adviser—one of a group which included Heywood Brown and other able journalistic hands called together during the middle thirties by Maurice Wertheim, then owner of *The Nation*.

But of course it is Alvin Johnson's career as director—he was also one of the founders—of the New School for Social Research in New York that forms the heart of his achievement. For the New School remained "new" throughout his long term of leadership, a generator of fresh ideas and ways of teaching, of creative work and thought; a refuge for unconventional minds and, at all times, of free speech and free learning. Out of this unique educational experiment developed Alvin Johnson's most stirring single accomplishment—the rescue of more than two hundred European scholars and their families, bodily snatched from the fascist terror in Italy and particularly Germany, brought to America, and placed in the New School and other colleges.

For a multitude of obvious reasons, besides those of

friendship and personal admiration, we wish Dr. Johnson many more years of happy activity in the wide and varied fields of his interest.

Silence Means Dissent

Americans whose only source of information is their daily papers must have been surprised by the strong show of popular feeling against Franco in the recent municipal balloting in Spain. A private letter just received from Madrid gives some details that have not been reported here, showing how, under fascist electoral controls, this opposition made itself felt. To begin with the number of people entitled to vote was limited to heads of families—"padres de familia"—and excluded all persons who had ever been sentenced "for political reasons." These restrictions reduced the theoretical figure of seventeen million voters to seven million actually permitted to vote.

Generally the opponents of the regime could register dissent only by staying away from the polls. This is precisely what 40 per cent of the eligible voters did outside of Madrid. The capital was a special case; it was the only city where an opposition slate—the Monarchists—appeared on the ballot. And in Madrid participation in the vote reached 90 per cent. Monarchists denounced the pretense of a "secret vote" and "free elections" and formulated precise accusations of fraud and other abuses. Several local incidents took place, not reported in the American press, indicating that the Spanish people are gradually losing their temper. The letter bears out what American visitors just returned from Spain have reported—that suddenly one hears talk on all sides about a possible early return of the Monarchy.

Another indication of the weakening of the Madrid regime is the fact that last week Franco was forced to remove the Governor of Pamplona province to appease the Navarrese, jealous of their "sovereign" rights. The Navarrese, whether Monarchist or Republican, are the staunchest enemies of the Falange throughout Spain.

Bill of Whose Rights?

Henry Lee Moon's admirable totting up of the score to date on desegregation in the public schools (see page 526) strikes a consistently encouraging note—except for certain areas in the deep South. There, as Mr. Moon points out, the chief problem is to counteract the demagogues who play on prejudice for personal or political profit. Reports supplementing Mr. Moon's account indicate the inflammatory nature of white-supremacy tactics. In Georgia a gubernatorial candidate in the primary proposed to chase all Negroes out of the state; another, suggesting that special schools be set up for "mixed" pupils, as well as for Negroes and whites, said that any white who chose a "mixed" school should have his head examined by a state psychiatrist. In Mississippi state legislators

are participating in white "county councils" designed to keep Negroes out of white schools; one actually suggested that "a few killings" now might save more bloodshed later.

Mr. Moon tells how a group of Negro leaders stood up to Mississippi's Governor White. A recent incident in that state indicates that Negroes do better to stand up than to bow, which only invites kicks. An all-Negro community in Neshoba County, with 300 children and no school to send them to, sought help from school officials. The Negroes were told to borrow the money to build a school and were promised that a special tax would be levied to enable them to repay the loan. The county Board of Supervisors approved the plan but suggested that the Negroes make a contribution of their own. The Negroes collected \$4,200 and borrowed \$9,000 more from two white business men. The county school board donated \$1,800. But after the school was built, the supervisors refused to levy the tax which would have enabled the Negroes to repay the loan. The money lenders obtained a court judgment attaching the Negroes' property as security for their loan. In effect, the Negroes got their school at the cost of their homes.

These reports, together with Mr. Moon's article and the letter from Charles Morgan published elsewhere in this issue, make appropriate reading this week. Wednesday was Bill of Rights Day.

Frozen in Enmity

IT was five years ago to the month that what remained of the Chinese Nationalist government, after it had sustained one of the greatest military defeats in modern history, fled beaten to Formosa. Two and a half million Nationalist troops and 80 per cent of their good American equipment had been lost. None who had watched the Nationalists' precipitate decline after V-J Day could have imagined that half a decade later a great Western power might think it worth its political while to reach a formal alliance with the exile group that had won so little credit in its own country. But now the United States has chosen to negotiate a mutual defense pact with the refugee rump "government" we have taken under our wing.

A noxious miasma rising out of the marshes of the cold war chokes our Asia policy. American scholars and diplomats who know the Far East have been mostly shelved, or silenced. Ignorance of the area is deliberately fostered by a small group who flaunt their "patriotic anti-communism" as justification for advocating a foreign policy and strategy that runs contrary to those of our major potential supporters in Asia—Great Britain, Japan, and India—and contrary to our own evident best interests. Surely it is only in such an atmosphere that Mr. Dulles would dare ask a Democratic Senate to approve a treaty embodying the essence of the Knowland-Radford

concept of go-it-alone in Asia—even into World War III.

We should make no mistake about it: Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek can achieve their aims in Asia only through the United States going to war with China, and if need be with Soviet Russia. Rhee was candid enough to admit this to the United States Congress last July—though by turns he threatens to march north on his own. Chiang Kai-shek pretends that his beaten war machine will stage a comeback single-handed against the mainland power that South Korea and the U. N., only with difficulty, fought to a draw on the Korean Peninsula; but his "unleashing" in February, 1953, led to no such move. Far more impressive is the solemn warning from Premier Chou En-lai that the United States must "take upon itself all the grave consequences" if it fails to withdraw its forces from Formosa and the Strait.

The Washington *Post*, always well informed about Asia, has welcomed the Formosa pact as a safeguard against provocative moves on the part of Chiang which might embroil this country in war with China. While nothing in the agreement explicitly bars attacks on the mainland by the Nationalists, the *Post* assumes that Chiang has privately promised not to make any such move "without this country's consent." Arguing from this premise, it insists that only a treaty based on such a clear understanding can provide a curb on Chiang's "unrepudiated aim of involving this country in war with Communist China as his only hope of restoration on the mainland." The same view was expressed by Foreign Secretary Eden last week in Parliament.

This will undoubtedly be the hope and argument of "moderates" in the Senate who support the pact. But any such rationalization ignores the danger implicit in an agreement which, unnaturally and arbitrarily, freezes American policy for an indefinite period in a posture of enmity toward China and the Chinese, risking the alienation of British, Japanese, and Indian policies in Asia. Ratification of the alliance will both defer and complicate the problem of eventually regularizing relations with Peking. In view of all this the notion that we are putting Chiang "on leash" again seems a bit silly. By tying America's fate to that of our Formosa protectorate, Mr. Dulles seems instead to be catering to the unappeaseable Republican right-wing at the expense of the more realistic purpose of President Eisenhower to avoid provocations and thwart what the *Post* describes as the "impetuous plans of the interventionists." The treaty is bad politics as well as dangerous policy.

So conservative a man as Nicholas Roosevelt, in a letter to the New York *Times* of December 5, while arguing the strategic necessity of excluding the Chinese Reds from Formosa, insisted "that the support of Chiang Kai-shek as head of the so-called Nationalists is as futile as it is costly to American interests in Asia." The recognition of fundamental realities is the first essential for the formulation of an effective foreign policy. In respect to the Nationalist rump perched on Formosa the prime requisite at this stage is to take a clear look, to remark—like the child in the story—that the emperor really has nothing on at all.

GUNS AND BUTTER TOO

Bonn's Triumphant Comeback . . by J. A. del Vayo

IN TWO preceding articles I described the extraordinary vigor with which a revived German industry is penetrating into the underdeveloped areas of Asia and Latin America. It is doing the same thing in Africa. As long ago as September, 1952, Dr. Sepler, German delegate to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, elaborated a plan for creating an African metal industry, financed exclusively by European capital, which could reduce the European dollar deficit by selling to the United States whatever Europe itself could not absorb. The recent Franco-German agreement on the Saar, which in

M. Mendès-France's opinion opens vast opportunities for economic collaboration between the two countries, gives Dr. Semler's scheme a larger terrain in which to operate. German industrialists are already discussing ways to exploit France's African possessions—Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, French Equatorial Africa, and so on. Nor has the Belgian Congo been forgotten by the far-seeing Germans, who are seeking to play a part in an ambitious ten-year plan which has been drawn up for that area.

But Bonn's economic drive is not limited to the underdeveloped areas.

Conquest of the neighboring European markets is also a major objective. Until recently the Germans have been working in this area under certain self-imposed restraints to avoid frightening their West European competitors. Bonn saw how Lancashire mill owners shrank from the thought of cheap Japanese cloth on British counters and noted the strong reaction of the British automobile industry to the prospect of an invasion of the home market by the low-priced German Volkswagen. German diplomacy dictated caution: as long as British and West European support was needed

for German sovereignty and rearmament the sale of a few more cars could wait.

DESPITE these restraints West Germany's trade in Europe has been making giant strides; today 65 per cent of its exports go to other West European countries. The currency reform of 1948 was the first major post-war move to regain old markets; this enabled West Germany to break through the domestic obstacles to industrial expansion which had kept its economy in a "prisoner-of-war" camp, to use the expression of Minister of Economics Erhard. But even the currency reform could not remove the economic strait-jacket imposed by the occupation statute. This fact makes all the more impressive what the Germans have been able to accomplish in the last six years in their systematic preparations for the day when the strait-jacket would be removed. Here, for instance, are the figures for German trade with Belgium and the Netherlands (in thousands of dollars):

BELGIUM-LUXEMBOURG

	1949	1951	1952
Imports	142,489	181,898	274,541
Exports	112,742	242,661	298,208

NETHERLANDS

	1949	1951	1952
Imports	110,276	245,046	280,959
Exports	90,482	349,150	323,778

Until recently trade with France suffered as much from France's justifiable objections to strengthening its old enemy as from its financial troubles. Even so, German exports to France have doubled since 1949. Fear of German industrial competition lay behind the opposition of certain powerful French groups both to the extinct E. D. C. and to the very much alive Paris and London agreements. On this question the French capitalists are divided. Some look forward to strong Franco-German collaboration; others dread the invasion of German goods almost as much as a possible invasion by the resurrected Wehrmacht.

The Germans have found it easier to operate in Italy. There, as in Latin America, their terms have been generous, and they have accepted large quotas of Italy's fresh fruit and vegetables. For its part Bonn has conquered the Italian market for cutlery, china, and other goods in which labor costs predominate. Here are figures showing the growing trade with Italy (in thousands of dollars):



Courtesy London Daily Mirror

"You know, sometimes I'm haunted by the fear that we may win the next war."

ITALY

	1949	1951	1952
Imports	88,241	130,631	152,998
Exports	59,977	160,631	223,176

German trade with Italy's neighbor, Yugoslavia, has undergone a similar sensational expansion:

YUGOSLAVIA

	1949	1951	1952
Imports	8,557	38,216	61,883
Exports	15,024	43,845	76,362

Spain is naturally one of the Federated Republic's best customers. Even as a young officer in World War I, Franco was known as an ardent Germanophile. The Spanish civil war made the ties still closer. The last two years have witnessed a steady two-way flow of trade missions and business men between Bonn and Madrid. Last week the *New York Times* reported that Germany's Dornier Aircraft Manufacturing Company had "sidestepped Allied curbs on aviation activities in Germany by setting up a subsidiary company in Spain and building the first post-war aircraft there." In my article in *The Nation* of October 23 I predicted just such a development. I said then, and I repeat, that no assurances by Anthony Eden or anyone else that the London and Paris agreements will effectively control German rearmament can carry weight with those who know what happened after World War I.

The Madrid story is particularly interesting in connection with the current efforts of German industrialists to win Bonn support for the building of aircraft factories, about which little has appeared in the American press. The

industrialists know they cannot build anything larger than light planes and helicopters without help from abroad. For this aid they are counting on the United States. Their logic is unassailable: a strong military Germany is inseparable from a strong economic Germany. And in this case the American temptation to contribute to the defense of Christian civilization would be combined with good business—an investment in the German aircraft industry.

Scandinavia, because of the uniformly high quality of its goods, has offered the Germans more resistance than most other West European countries. But even there German quality, combined with moderate prices, has overtaken domestic and foreign competition; there has been a rapid increase in German exports to Scandinavia in the last two years.

Herr Erhard, in his recently published book, "Germany's Come-Back in the World Market," shows a great deal of optimism with regard to Germany's chances in the British Commonwealth. "The sterling area," he observes, "offers us one great economic advantage, that of saving dollars. The adherence of the sterling area to the European Payments Union keeps open overseas markets for us, since we are enabled to employ the surplus arising from our trade with Britain and the Continent to import sterling raw materials."

Even the United States has not been spared. For the last year Germans have been making a big play for West Coast markets. West German ships which previously delivered only to Atlantic and Gulf ports are now making regular calls

at California ports, giving German shippers opportunity to save on transportation costs. Simultaneously the pre-war pattern of interlocking German-American trusts, especially in chemicals, may be beginning to emerge. Monsanto Chemical Works and the Bayer Chemical Works, both offsprings of the decartelization of Germany's I. G. Farben, have recently joined to create the Mobay Chemical Company for the production of raw materials for the plastics industry. Here is a pattern which will bear close watching.

THE figures given in the foregoing tables stop at 1952 only because official statistics are as yet lacking for 1953. There is no question, however, that the last two years will show continuing German gains. Many factors have contributed to the success of Bonn's economic drive. Perhaps the most important has been American help; since 1945 this aid has amounted to more than three and one-half billion dollars. Herr Erhard himself has stressed "how much German reconstruction owes to the American Ad-

ministration's far-sighted policy of foreign aid and to the understanding and altruism of the American taxpayer who had to foot the bill." The altruism is the more marked in that, beginning January 1, under a tax-reform bill approved by Bonn last spring, the German taxpayer is going to enjoy a tax relief that his American counterpart will certainly envy.

United States aid has been extended, of course, primarily for military objectives. But it has helped Germany's gross national product to rise from an estimated twenty-one billion dollars in 1950 to an estimated thirty-four billion today.

Another factor in Germany's economic resurgence is the determination of German industrialists and business men, who take satisfaction not only in profits but in the emergence of their country out of the rubble of total defeat. They put their hope in a disciplined and cohesive economy. A British observer wrote recently: "The Germans believe that cartels will play their own part in the great come-back; Allied action in destroying the trusts was no more 'final'

than that of the child who knocks down his bricks only to build them up again." By one means or another the German cartel will be back in full strength within a few years at most. Moreover, German goods are high in quality and moderate in price. The Volkswagen sells in Finland for \$400; what American or European small-car manufacturer can beat that price?

The Germans are beginning to sense that in the end they will emerge as the real winners of World War II. This year their exports are likely to top the five-billion-dollar mark. If they have achieved this much as an occupied country, what will they be able to achieve as a sovereign nation with military power to back up their economic power? The idea of a united Western Europe, with its 200,000,000 buyers, the prospects for markets in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, excite their imagination. To Britain, France, and the United States the London and Paris agreements may seem like a great anti-Communist victory; to the Germans they represent the way back to their old place in the sun.

DESEGREGATION AT WORK

Progress and Problems . . by Henry Lee Moon

FOUR months after the United States Supreme Court handed down its historic decision on segregation in the public schools four major cities and more than two-score smaller cities and towns in seven states had begun the process of integrating their formerly segregated school systems. The success of most of these communities in effecting a peaceful transition has been largely obscured by the publicity given to the few instances in which resistance to the change has been expressed in demonstrations of defiance.

In four of the six communities direct-

HENRY LEE MOON, director of public relations of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is the author of "Balance of Power: The Negro Vote."

ly involved in the cases argued before the Supreme Court, Negro and white children were attending classes together by the opening of the school year in September. The two Delaware school districts had lowered the color bar two years earlier in compliance with a ruling of the state Supreme Court. In September, 1953, eight months before the federal court's May 17 ruling, the Topeka, Kansas, Board of Education had voted "to terminate segregation in the elementary grades as rapidly as practicable." The District of Columbia Board of Education promptly adopted a policy statement disavowing racial considerations in the operation of the school system. Then, on May 25, a plan developed by Superintendent Hobart M. Corning called for initiation of desegregation in September, 1954, and completion by

September, 1955. Opposed to this plan as a needlessly gradualist approach were Mrs. Margaret Just Butcher, one of the three Negro members of the board, and the Washington branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Mrs. Butcher and the N. A. A. C. P. asked for immediate desegregation. The school boards in the other two cases, Clarendon County, South Carolina, and Prince Edward County, Virginia, have taken no steps to comply with the court's ruling.

In addition to Washington, Baltimore, St. Louis, and Kansas City, Missouri, various cities, towns, and rural areas in Arkansas, Delaware, West Virginia, Missouri, Kansas, and New Mexico have initiated desegregation as a result of the decision, and many have successfully completed it. Nine of the

eleven cities in Kansas which were permitted to segregate have proceeded to integrate. In Missouri 110 of the 177 school districts reporting Negro school children have opened previously "white" schools to Negro pupils. Of the 44 West Virginia counties having Negro school-age children, 12 have completely integrated their public-school systems and 13 others have partially integrated. The May 17 decision sounded the death knell to Jim Crow schools in New Mexico and Arizona, in both of which states, as in Kansas and Wyoming, public-school segregation had been permissive. Wyoming, apparently, had never set up separate schools for the children of its small Negro population.

THE encouraging aspect of these desegregation moves is that they were essentially voluntary actions by the communities. In handing down the decision that segregation in public-school education was unconstitutional the court withheld formulation of decrees calling for further argument on how and when to require compliance. The new hearing, originally set for the week of December 6, has been postponed pending Senate confirmation of the President's nominee to fill the vacancy created by the death of Justice Jackson. In the strongholds of racial bias, mostly in the deep South, school authorities have assumed that no action is required until the court hands down its decrees. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, whose lawyers, headed by Thurgood Marshall, argued the cases in the courts, maintains that any local school board is free to desegregate immediately, state constitutions and statutes requiring segregation notwithstanding. In midsummer Attorney General John M. Dalton of Missouri announced that the decision voided all state constitutional and statutory requirements for segregation, thus leaving the local educational authorities free to integrate if they chose. He added, however, that they could not be required to act until the Supreme Court issued its decrees. Nevertheless, Missouri school districts accounting for 75 per cent of the state's Negro school children began integration without waiting for further court action.

While the vast majority of Negro children who had been attending Jim Crow schools before May 17 are still en-

rolled in them, the new democratic pattern in education has been accepted in many areas where segregation was previously required or permitted under state constitutions and laws. Although not



Thurgood Marshall

subject to the court's ruling, Roman Catholic parochial schools—and to a lesser extent the schools of other denominations—have begun desegregation in Arkansas, Missouri, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Virginia, North Carolina, Maryland, Texas, and Tennessee.

In general, white pupils have welcomed incoming Negro pupils. Negro athletes have made the teams in the high schools to which they have been admitted in Baltimore, West Virginia, and Missouri. Negroes have been elected to class offices in schools from which they were formerly excluded. Negro and white students are participating jointly in dramatics and debating as well as in sports. In Jackson, Missouri, a town of 3,700, "integration has been complete in both academic and sports fields," reports the superintendent of schools, R. O. Hawkins. "One of the varsity football players is colored, one substitute is colored, and the junior-high team has five colored players on the squad." The extent of voluntary desegregation by public and private schools and of the pupils' acceptance of the new pattern leads me to believe that harmonious integration of the entire American public-school system may be attained within the next year or two.

However, the Southern Education Reporting Service, established by the Ford Foundation to compile and publish information on the progress of desegrega-

tion, reports organized protests and demonstrations against integration in Sheridan, Arkansas; Clarkton, Missouri; Hobbs, New Mexico; Milford, Delaware; Baltimore; Washington; and five West Virginia communities—White Sulphur Springs and Rupert in Greenbrier County, Madison and Seth in Boone County, and Four States in Marion County. In only five of these was the order to desegregate rescinded—White Sulphur Springs, Sheridan, Rupert, Milford, and Clarkton. Elsewhere the authorities stood firm in insisting on compliance with the May 17 decision. Legal action is pending in Milford and under consideration in Greenbrier County. A forthright ruling by Judge J. Harper Meredith promptly quelled the "rebellion against the government" instigated by parents at Four States.

Although Harry S. Ashmore, in his study "The Negro and the Schools," contends that "segregation has not been an important factor in school costs," the expense of separate schools appears to have accelerated desegregation. Shortly after the decision was announced, Superintendent Virgil L. Flinn of Kanawha County, West Virginia, in which Charleston is located, declared that a saving of \$250,000 annually could be realized through the elimination of marginal schools and duplicate transportation services. In Fayetteville, Arkansas, the cost of sending Negro high-school students 60 miles to Fort Smith or 150 miles to Hot Springs amounted to \$5,000 a year, and it was partly to save this money that white citizens of Fayetteville moved to open the local high school to Negroes. Charleston, Arkansas, reported a saving of \$4,500 through desegregation. The Clarksburg, Missouri, school district estimated it would save \$8,600 a year by admitting Negroes to the high school and an additional sum by closing its unneeded Negro elementary school. Superintendent Corning of the District of Columbia reported that for the first time in a decade no funds were requested for additional classroom teachers in Negro schools at a time when the white schools were overstaffed because of declining attendance.

WHILE practically no office-holding white Southerners have acclaimed the Supreme Court decision, many have disavowed wild schemes to abandon the

public schools or to defy the court. Most of the official spokesmen of the region have adopted a wait-and-see attitude, marking time until the decrees are formulated.

The day after the decision Governor Francis Cherry of Arkansas announced: "Arkansas will obey the law. It always has." Governor Gordon Persons of Alabama refused to call a special session of the legislature to consider means of circumventing the ruling. James Folsom, elected to succeed him, has expressed a desire "to be included out of the school-segregation controversy." Within a week after the decision Governor J. Caleb Boggs of Delaware informed the state Board of Education that it would be "the policy of this administration to work toward adjustment to the United States constitutional requirements. I respectfully ask the state Board of Education to proceed toward this objective." In Florida, Senator Spessard Holland told the Kiwanians: "No matter how much we don't like it, we must not have false ideas of the seriousness. This is going to be the law." Representative Charles E. Bennett of Florida said: "I think the federal government should be required to take all necessary steps to make the states carry out the ruling."

Governor Theodore F. McKeldin of Maryland issued a statement asserting: "Maryland prides itself upon being a law-abiding state, and I am sure our citizens and our officials will accept readily the United States Supreme Court's interpretation of our fundamental law." Further, he expressed confidence that "the transition can be brought about in Maryland without confusion and without undue delay." Kentucky, said Governor Lawrence Wetherby, "will do whatever is necessary to comply with the law." He was supported in this attitude by Attorney General J. D. Buckman, Senators Earle C. Clements and John Sherman Cooper, and other state and local officials. In North Carolina the Greensboro school board voted six to one on May 18 to direct the superintendent to begin a study "regarding ways and means of complying with the court's decision." Said D. E. Higgins, chairman of the board, "We must not fight or attempt to circumvent this decision." While describing himself as "terribly disappointed," Governor William B. Umstead of North Carolina said: "This is no

time for rash statements or the proposal of impossible schemes."

Dr. Oliver Hodge, superintendent of public instruction in Oklahoma, declared: "If we don't have to do anything about it until a year after September 1 [1954], it will be all right." In Tennessee, Governor Frank Clement commented: "I must point out it is a decision handed down by a judicial body which we, the American people, under our Constitution and law recognize as supreme in matters of interpreting the law of the land." He noted that pending the final decrees "no change is anticipated in our school system." Backed by Governor William C. Marland, W. W. Trent, West Virginia's superintendent of schools, said on June 1: "As segregation is unconstitutional, boards should, in my opinion, begin immediately to reorganize and readjust their schools to comply with the Supreme Court decision." Later he added: "Complete desegregation will come to West Virginia's public schools in a reasonable time and in the absence of legal action."

Non-office-holding spokesmen in the South have been less restrained than the politicians. Many, through their churches, unions, and other associations, have called for compliance. Various Catholic dioceses have acted to end segregation in schools under their jurisdiction and have spoken up for general compliance. Not only the National Council of Churches but also some of its Southern constituent bodies have indorsed the decision. A resolution of the Southern Baptist Convention recognizes the decision as being "in harmony with the constitutional guaranty of equal freedom to all citizens." Southern units of the Episcopal, Methodist, Presbyterian, and other Protestant churches have approved it.

The Southern Regional Council with headquarters in Atlanta and the Southern Conference Educational Fund located in New Orleans have both called for implementation of the ruling. Even before the decision a convention of the Texas C. I. O. called for the abolition of Jim Crow in that state. Immediately after the decision was handed down, the Georgia Federation of Labor passed a resolution calling for compliance.

ON THE other hand, three Southern states—South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana—have taken steps to amend



Walt Partymiller in the York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily

A Lesson Yet to Be Learned

their constitutions to prevent integration in the public schools. The Louisiana amendment, supplementing a recently passed statute, authorizes the state to use its police powers to continue segregation. In addition, the Louisiana legislature has enacted a law empowering local superintendents to assign pupils to specific schools. Referendums in South Carolina and Georgia have ratified measures paving the way for abolition of the public schools in the event the states are unable to circumvent the court's decision. Mississippi will vote on a similar amendment on December 21. Meanwhile it has tightened registration and voting requirements in an effort to cut down the Negro vote; the state now has 22,000 qualified Negro voters.

In each of these states, however, there has been a measure of organized resistance to the proposed amendments. Governor Talmadge's "private-school plan" was opposed not only by the N. A. A. C. P. but by the Parent-Teachers Association, Federation of Labor, League of Women Voters, and United Church Women of Georgia. Some of the state's leading newspapers also came out against it. The plan was put over by the vote of the rural areas. The Louisiana plan was opposed by the N. A. A. C. P., the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the Bureau of Governmental Research, and the Roman Catholic church. The Mississippi proposal to abandon the public-school system is being resisted by the poorer hill counties in the northeastern part of the state, where the proportion of Negroes is less than in the rich Delta area.

Time and time again, Governor Byrnes, Governor Talmadge, and other

spokesmen for racial bias have declared that Negroes prefer segregation. Governor Hugh White of Mississippi was rash enough to test this theory. Last July he summoned 100 Mississippi Negro leaders to an interracial conference with the Legal Educational Advisory Committee set up by the state legislature. The Negroes were expected to ratify the Governor's proposal for a "voluntary" segregated school plan. Only one of the group spoke up for Jim Crow schools. The others issued a statement declaring themselves "unalterably opposed to any effort of either white or Negro citizens to attempt to circumvent the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States of America outlawing segregation in public schools." "I am stunned," cried Governor White after the conference. "I have believed that certain elements representing the vast majority of Negroes would go along. Now I am definitely of the opinion you can't put any faith in any one of them on this proposition." Considering the pressures to which Negroes are subject in a state like Mississippi their stand was heroic. Already economic reprisals have been organized against Negroes who support the N. A. A. C. P. fight against segregation.

Throughout the region Negro groups and leaders have been all but unanimous in calling for early compliance with the court's ruling. Aside from Percy Greene, the erstwhile militant editor of the Jackson (Mississippi) *Advocate*, and Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier, president of the all-Negro Texas Southern University and former United States Minister to Liberia, I cannot recall a single Negro of national repute who supports the "separate but equal" doctrine. Where fully free to express themselves, the rank and file are no less convinced that segregation must be ended.

Inevitably the court's ruling became a hot political issue in certain of the segregation states. The bigots pledged a fight to the end to preserve the Jim Crow system. Save for the gallant gesture of Mrs. Grace W. Thomas, a gubernatorial candidate in Georgia, none of the office-seekers openly demanded that the ruling be complied with. However, many refrained from urging defiance.

As a test of sentiment, the elections were inconclusive. Georgia elected a rabid segregationist governor. All the nine candidates in the Democratic pri-

mary except the amateur, Mrs. Thomas, were equally committed to continuing segregation. Alabama elected James Folsom, a liberal, who may not advocate integration but who certainly avoided the usual nonsense about the inviolability of segregation. In Tennessee, Governor Frank Clement, who adopted a wait-and-see attitude, easily won the Democratic primary, equivalent to election, over two candidates pledged to oppose desegregation to the bitter end; Senator Estes Kefauver received more than twice as many votes as his opponent, who campaigned on a pro-segregation platform. Maryland's liberal Republican Governor, Theodore R. McKeldin, was reelected over the Democratic candidate, Dr. Harry Clifton Byrd, president of Maryland University, who favored continued segregation. In Texas, Governor Allan Shivers won reelection on a platform calling for continued segregation in public schools. North Carolina elected former Governor Kerr Scott to the United States Senate in the face of the charge that he favored integration of the schools.

A SOUTH which has long neglected the Negro teacher, paying her as much as the white teacher only under compulsion of court edict, has suddenly become gravely concerned about her fate with the advent of integration. Newspapers, school officials, and individuals who never before showed any interest in her welfare are prematurely bemoaning her anticipated unemployment.

As a matter of fact, in the vast majority of newly desegregated communities there has been no wholesale firing of Negro teachers. In some localities with sparse Negro population, where the separate school was marginal, a few colored teachers have been displaced, but in middle-sized and larger cities the number of Negro teachers has not been reduced. Negro women and men are now teaching both white and Negro children in Missouri, West Virginia, and Delaware, as well as in Kansas, Arizona, and New Mexico, where segregation had been permissive. The full quota of 175 Negro teachers is being retained in Kansas City, Kansas, the superintendent reports. In many cities integration of schools has been accompanied by integration of teaching staffs. New Jersey, however, affords the classic example of

what desegregation does to Negro teachers. In 1945-46, before segregation was banned in the state, there were 479 Negro teachers, of whom 415 were assigned to all-Negro schools. In 1953-54 there were 645, teaching white children as well as colored in non-segregated schools.

With the present shortage of teachers, estimated as high as 150,000, the 113,000 Negro men and women now teaching in segregated public-school systems need not fear loss of employment when the schools are integrated. There simply will not be enough white teachers to replace them. Moreover, Southern whites have for generations intrusted their children, during their early formative years, to the care and training of Negroes. To hold that the relationship cannot be projected into the classroom is irrational.

The record clearly shows that American children of all races, colors, and faiths can go to school together with mutual respect and benefit. Obstacles of course remain, but they are not insurmountable. Peaceful desegregation requires planning and action by local leaders of both races. Success can be achieved if the following conditions are met.

- (1) There must be preparation of the community through full discussion of the meaning of the court's decision in forums sponsored by churches, civic organizations, fraternal orders, parent-teacher associations, trade unions, and other responsible groups.
- (2) A clear and straightforward statement of policy must be issued by the local school board.
- (3) This policy must be unwaveringly executed even if there is initial resistance.
- (4) Police and other law-enforcement officers must act promptly and effectively to restrain mob leaders and prevent violence.
- (5) Subtle or open attempts to delay, evade, or prevent desegregation must be exposed and crushed.
- (6) The community must realize that Jim Crow schools are not only illegal but wasteful of economic and human resources, offensive to our moral and political concepts of equality, and damaging to our national prestige and security.

Under these conditions, America's public schools can be expeditiously desegregated. It is a responsibility of citizenship to provide these conditions and to develop a democratic public-school system throughout the nation.

WORKERS' HEALTH

The I. L. W. U. Program . . by Louis Goldblatt

[This is the final article of a series on trade unions which have gone beyond their collective-bargaining function to service their members with welfare programs of great scope. Among the unions previously dealt with are the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (C. I. O.), the Retail Clerks' Union Local 770 of Los Angeles (A. F. of L.), and the United Mine Workers (Independent). Mr. Goldblatt is secretary-treasurer of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.]

San Francisco

WHEN the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union negotiated its first industry-wide welfare plan five years ago, its goal was complete health care for members and their families. Steady progress toward this end has been made.

Ever since the union and the employers' Pacific Maritime Association established a joint welfare fund in 1949, welfare has been a basic issue in I. L. W. U. collective bargaining. Today welfare programs, in the main administered by joint union-employer boards of trustees, cover the I. L. W. U. longshoremen and warehousemen on the West Coast, the Alaska dock workers, the Hawaii longshore, sugar, and pineapple workers, and members of some of the smaller locals in other industries. A first principle is coverage for wives and children as well as for the workers, since 80 per cent of workers' medical expenses, nation-wide, are for members of the family.

For many reasons the I. L. W. U. prefers the group-service type of health plan, which provides medical and hospital services directly to the families, to the insured type, which pays set amounts of money toward medical and hospital bills. The coverage in a service plan is much more comprehensive than that of even the more expensive indemnification plan; the services provided represent about 88 cents of each premium dollar as against about 65 cents in a typical insured plan; the emphasis in a service

plan is on the maintenance of good health—on the theory that it costs less to prevent illness than to treat it—while insured plans provide benefits only after illness occurs.

A continuing effort is made to insure that the service is the best possible. Administrators of the funds meet regularly to consider proposals for improvements—for example, the opening of night clinics—and to work out educational projects. The union believes that health education reaching into the members' homes is a prerequisite to a good welfare program. Members must know precisely what services they are entitled to and receive instruction on how to keep well in order to make the best use of their coverage.

Though convinced of the advantages of service plans, the I. L. W. U. recognizes that few of these plans allow the consumer of health services a voice in their policies; in fact, until the union or the welfare fund is in a position to operate its own health center, its members must accept what is provided. Some families always prefer to use a private physician. Yet when 15,000 West Coast dock workers were offered a choice this year between continuing their service coverage and shifting to an indemnification plan, only 500, or 3½ per cent, wanted to change. In one big warehousemen's local which at the start of the welfare program let its members

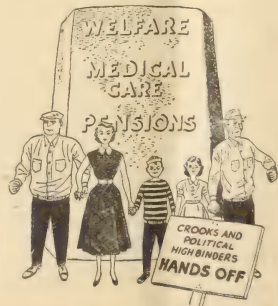
choose between service and money benefits the division was fifty-fifty. Apparently the appeal of a "free choice of doctors" lost its force after the workers had experienced the advantages of a service plan.

IN AREAS where no adequate service plan exists, the welfare fund provides insured benefits. It then does everything possible, both in writing the contracts and in administering them, to assure that the benefits are adequate to the needs. In order to eliminate out-of-pocket payments as a reason for putting off medical attention, the I. L. W. U. plan pioneered in providing reimbursement for a doctor's care, in the home or at his office, starting with the first visit.

In negotiating insured benefits the welfare-fund administrators look not only at the coverage available for the money but at the "retention" figure and the claims-handling arrangements. Retention is the percentage of the premiums kept by an insurance company for its administrative costs, taxes, and profits. In I. L. W. U. plans the average retention figure is well under 10 per cent.

Frequent spot checks on claims assure prompt payment and uniform interpretation of contracts. Comparison of reimbursements with the actual charges made by doctors and hospitals shows where needs are not being met and stimulates intelligent planning for expanded benefits. Sometimes doctors are persuaded, individually or through their organizations, to limit their charges to what the plan will pay for. Such prior-fee agreements have been reached in a number of communities.

An I. L. W. U. innovation in the welfare field is the development of new techniques for keeping people well. Seeing chronic illness as the major threat to health in the United States, the union in 1951 initiated for San Francisco longshoremen a multiple-health-test program aimed at early detection of serious chronic disease. The union service plan



Courtesy the Dispatcher

in San Francisco and a number of public and voluntary health agencies cooperated in conducting the tests. The program was unique in that the longshoremen were assured of the necessary follow-up treatment through their comprehensive coverage. Last summer a multiple-health test program was instituted in Stockton, California, where I. L. W. U. workers have insured-type benefits. The sponsors were the I. L. W. U.-P. M. A. Fund, the San Joaquin County Medical Society, and the Continental Casualty Company, underwriter of the workers' health insurance.

The I. L. W. U.-P. M. A. Fund is also breaking ground in the virtually unexplored field of prepaid dentistry. A program just getting under way in San Francisco and Wilmington, California, gives each family a choice between a service plan for children up to fifteen, with comprehensive care provided by a dental group, and an indemnification plan which pays the cost of services provided by a dentist selected by the family up to a maximum of \$75 a year. A similar dental program is scheduled to start soon in Portland, Oregon, and Seattle,

Washington. In each area the program has been worked out after consultation with the state dental association.

Behind all the I. L. W. U. welfare programs is the principle that the money available should go into benefits and not be diverted to paying high administrative costs or building up big reserves. Administrative costs of the I. L. W. U.-P. M. A. Fund have never run over 2 per cent of contributions; the joint union-employer board of trustees serves without salary from the fund. The union has been successful in persuading the employers that reserves amounting to three months' premiums are large enough and that any money collected over that might better be used than piled up. Thus the fund's reserves were used to institute the pilot dental program.

Pension plans negotiated by the I. L. W. U. are a story in themselves. One fact is pertinent here: pensioners retired from the West Coast docks and from Hawaii sugar plantations are provided continued health coverage not only for themselves, a benefit some other unions have gained, but for their families, a benefit others have yet to win.

Conservative Investors

Harry Bridges's militant I. L. W. U. is extremely conservative in handling its pension fund, according to *Business Week*. As of June of last year, the magazine reports, the union and the Pacific Maritime Association, the organization of employers which donates to the fund, had invested \$8,000,000 in "high-grade bonds, debentures, and rail-equipment trusts . . . National Steel, A. T. and T., Consolidated Edison, Aluminum Corporation of America, and more, all the fattest cats of Wall Street." Louis Goldblatt, author of the article which appears on these pages, is quoted as saying that the union, in choosing its investments, was concerned first with the security of the fund and second with its yield. "Our bonds," said Mr. Goldblatt, according to *Business Week*, "are strictly a mortgage on buildings and equipment, not a vote of confidence in the management."

COMMISSION FOR PEACE

A New Approach . . by Bertrand Russell

MANKIND at the present time is faced by dangers to the whole species so great that the avoidance of them ought to be the common aim of all the powers. The facts are known to everybody who chooses to know them, but for reasons of propaganda they are not adequately emphasized on either side of the Iron Curtain. It is true that they have been stated in Western countries but not in such a manner as to influence policy. They have been stated more clearly and forcibly in America than in any other country, but they do not seem to have made any impact upon the average Congressman or the average American voter.

The *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, month by month since Hiroshima, has published detailed and reasoned warnings, but this journal has a very small circulation since it appeals only to those who wish to know rather than to shout. It is true that some influential people who are not scientists have become aware of the situation brought about by the new methods of warfare. Ernest W. Weir, for example, who represents what is most intelligent in big business, has said at the end of an irrefutable piece of reasoning, "In short, even if we defeated Russia—communism would win."^{*}

The supreme fact that governments cannot bring themselves to face is that

their aims can no longer be achieved by war. This applies equally to Communist and anti-Communist powers. Perhaps Mr. Weir may be right in saying that if the United States were victorious in a great war communism would still win, but it should be added that there is no probability of anybody being victorious. Consider what is likely to happen in the first week of a world war. New York, Washington, London, and Moscow will probably be wiped out. A great deal of the Caucasus oil will be set a-baze, and communications will be disrupted both in Russia and in Western Europe. Such parts of the populations as survive the bombs will starve, and ordered government will be replaced by anarchic violence. All great states will disintegrate, as Rome disintegrated in the fifth cen-

^{*}In an article *Peace Must Be Pursued*, *U. S. News and World Report*, March 18, 1954.

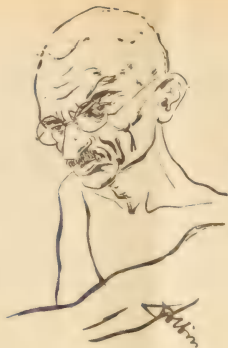
BERTRAND RUSSELL'S new book, "Human Society in Ethics and Politics," will be published next month.

tury. Communism and modern capitalism alike will disappear. The United States, Western Europe, Russia, and China will all suffer catastrophically, and nothing will emerge that any of these governments desire.

WHY is it that although this is obvious to anyone who takes even a little trouble to study the situation, governments and public alike continue to talk and think in terms of war? Among the Western powers this is largely due to the fact that any talk about the futility of war sounds like defeatism and may be regarded as an argument for appeasement. I suppose that the same considerations apply to the politically active part of the population of the Communist countries. It seems, on both sides, as if the only alternative to war were object surrender. There is, however, another alternative. It is that both sides should recognize, and should be known to recognize sincerely, that war has become futile. Neither side alone can be vigorous in urging the futility of war since to do so gives an impression of weakness. It is here that neutrals can, if they will, save both camps from destruction.

Neutrals have two advantages over the powers in either camp. The first advantage is that they can urge the destructiveness and futility of war without incurring the odium of seeming to advocate cowardly submission. The second advantage is that they can speak to governments on both sides without being thought to be actuated merely by bias. This is especially important as regards Communist countries, for in them public discussion and controversy play no part. While relations between East and West remain as strained as they are at present nothing that the Western democracies can say to Russia or China has any weight if it is an appeal to reason rather than to force. Neutral governments, on the contrary, can speak in identical terms to both Communist and non-Communist powers, and can avoid the suspicion that they are concerned to promote the success of either side.

If I belonged to one of the neutral countries, I should urge my government, and any other neutral government that might be willing to listen, to take very active steps to persuade both sides simultaneously to abandon the threat of war as an instrument of policy. The first



Gandhi

step should be to appoint a commission to investigate the probable effects upon neutrals of a world war. I should hope that a number of neutrals would join in this, but the work could be done by any one or two of them—for example, by India and Sweden, jointly or separately. Nobody can doubt that a world war would bring great hardships to neutrals, perhaps as great as those which would be suffered by belligerents. It would therefore be a rational act from a traditional point of view to investigate these possible hardships and to inquire whether they could be averted or mitigated by anything except the prevention of world war. I should hope that a commission, if appointed, would find that it could not confine its inquiries to the effects of war upon neutrals. I believe that it would very soon find the problems of neutrals inextricably bound up with those of potential belligerents, and that it would be forced into some kind of forecast of the course of war if one took place.

I do not mean that the neutrals should predict the victory of this side or that. I believe that a victory for either side is out of the question, and I think this would be evident to any intelligent neutral not blinded by the passions which are producing the East-West tension. The commission should preserve a most meticulous impartiality. Its inquiries should be technical and dispassionate. Its members should be few and should be eminent in various relevant directions. There would have to be military, naval, and air experts, a first-class nuclear physicist, a bacteriologist, an economist, and a man of experience in international politics. A body so composed could, I

am convinced, draw up a report which would make the futility of world war undeniable by anybody who studied it.

The report should be presented to all governments likely to be belligerents in a world war. These governments should be invited to express their opinion of the report. If they concurred in its findings—and it would surely be very difficult for them to do otherwise—the powers on each side would be so informed. I do not believe that at the present moment either side desires a great war; Malenkov has expressed the opinion that it would be a disaster. But on each side there is a suspicion that the other side is not sincere. Neither Russia nor the United States is convinced that the other will not start aggressive war at any moment. It is this mutual suspicion which must be allayed if war is not to break out sooner or later through some rashness or some inadvertence. I think that this mutual suspicion could be very much diminished if both sides simultaneously expressed agreement with the findings of the neutral commission.

IT MAY be feared that neutral governments will shrink from a task which is likely to offend the most powerful nations of the world, for there is one matter on which all the powerful nations appear to be agreed, and that is that neutrality is an offense against morality and decency. For this reason any neutral nation undertaking such a task will need courage. But courage is needed in order to stay alive. Passive poltroonery leads straight to death. Courage for war is common to the greater part of mankind. Is it utopian to hope that some neutral nation or nations may show a much smaller degree of courage in the interests of peace?

I have mentioned two nations which I think might possibly be induced to act in the sense that I have been advocating. They are Sweden and India. Neither is perhaps wholly neutral. Sweden's sympathies are Western and India's sympathies are Eastern; but both are legally neutral, and in cooperation they might display a genuine impartiality. I have encountered among Swedes a sentiment which, though irrational, is not unnatural. Sweden has not been at war since 1814, and there are not a few in Sweden who have a sort of shame in the thought that they have had no share in

the arduous heroisms of this turbulent century. But if Sweden were to undertake such a work for peace as the suggested commission could perform, it would appear at once in the very forefront of heroism, and of a heroism that would be constructive, non-violent, and in the service of humanity as a whole. I do not see that national self-respect could demand anything better.

The government of India, while not strictly pacifist, is profoundly affected by the doctrine of non-violence as preached by Mahatma Gandhi. To show to the world convincingly that war will not only be horrible and cruel and destructive but will also be futile from a governmental point of view would be a fitting tribute to the memory of Gandhi and one which would enhance the moral stature of India among the nations.

The scheme which I have been proposing, even if completely successful,

would be only a first step. If each side were convinced that the other side realized the uselessness of war from the point of view of its own aims and ambitions, it would become possible to negotiate with some hope of reaching solutions. I do not venture to suggest what these solutions should be. There are problems which, in the present temper of the world, appear insoluble. Perhaps the most intractable of these is the unification of Germany. But no problem is insoluble where there is mutual goodwill and where concessions are not regarded by one side as a triumph and by the other as a disgrace. The truth is so plain and simple that it seems as if governments must in time become aware of it: the Communist and non-Communist worlds can live together or die together. There is no other possibility. When both sides realize this, it may be hoped that they will choose to live rather than die.

Union and the People's Democracies and those who wanted to weaken and isolate Yugoslavia."

With respect to the recent overtures made by the Soviet Union toward "normalizing" Soviet-Yugoslav relations, Kraminov commented on the favorable response which these offers had met from the Yugoslav government and continued: "Trade between the two countries is now being developed, and there is a marked extension of cultural contacts. The two governments agree that friendly relations must be based on equal rights and non-interference in each other's internal affairs."

What followed, Kraminov said, was written more in sorrow than in anger. On November 13 the Soviet government proposed a conference of all European countries with a view to establishing a system of collective security. The peace-loving peoples of Europe warmly approved of this proposal, and "a number of European governments accepted." But unfortunately not Yugoslavia. While the Yugoslav government "welcomed and supported the idea of the conference" and considered that it would "contribute greatly to the diminution of international tension," it felt that since numerous European countries had refused the Soviet invitation, it might be best to postpone the conference till some later date. At this point the *Pravda* article, having previously sunk all past differences, changed its tone and insisted that to postpone the all-European conference till after the ratification of German rearmament would "make such a conference aimless."

The article did not mention Tito or any other Yugoslav leader. It was calculated to appeal especially to ex-Partisans, who are prominent in the Yugoslav Communist Party, and to industrial workers, many of whom were "Cominformist" in 1948 when the break with Russia occurred and have continued to be so on the quiet. Even Serb peasants have a feeling of anti-German Slav solidarity and a soft spot for Russia.

There is no doubt that the Kremlin is doing its best—and with considerable success—to strengthen the bonds between Russia and all other Slav peoples, who may not love Russia very much but who do not love Germany at all. Is the ultimate object of its overtures a Soviet-Yugoslav military alliance?

Moscow-Belgrade Reunion

by Alexander Werth

Paris

THE Moscow citizen, opening his *Pravda* of November 29, must have rubbed his eyes: here, on the foreign-news page, were two columns devoted to "The National Holiday of the Peoples of Yugoslavia." Of course there had been some warning of this sort of thing. A few months ago, under the headline "Statement by Tito, President of Yugoslavia," *Pravda* had reported Tito as saying in effect that Yugoslavia did not wish to play into the hands of people anxious to increase international tension and that it had no intention of joining the Atlantic Pact; Tito also welcomed the increasingly "normal" Soviet-Yugoslav relations.

But the November 29 article, which was written by a well-known Soviet war correspondent named Kraminov, went far beyond politely recording an official Yugoslav statement. The author recalled with warm emotion the happy days when Russia and Yugoslavia loved each other deeply and was sure that under the surface this feeling was still alive. Speaking

of the liberation of Yugoslavia from the Germans eleven years ago, he stressed the heroic struggle of the Partisans and referred with moderation to the aid given them by the Soviet forces.

The appearance of this story in *Pravda* is of greater significance than might appear to the uninitiated. The account of events in 1943 and 1944 was in agreement by and large with the official Yugoslav contention that the country was mainly liberated by the Yugoslavs themselves, even if the intervention of the Red Army was of decisive help in the final stages of the war. The suggestion that the Red Army was an "auxiliary force," and not the other way round, was calculated to be a sop to Yugoslav pride.

As to what happened later, Kraminov was discretion personified. Without going into any details he simply said that relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia suddenly became "unfriendly." And in recent years this unfriendliness had "played into the hands of the enemies of both countries—those who hoped to exploit the situation with a view to pursuing their policy from positions of strength against the Soviet

ALEXANDER WERTH is The Nation's Paris correspondent.

BOOKS

On this and the following pages lists of books selected by Nation reviewers and editors as the most interesting published in 1954 are presented as a guide to Christmas buying. Other lists were printed last week, and there are more to come.

Human Rights in a Corporate Society

THE 20th CENTURY CAPITALIST REVOLUTION. By A. A. Berle, Jr.
Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.

By Walton Hamilton

IT IS an anomaly of our culture that the most realistic picture of the national economy is emerging not from the halls of learning but from the workshops of the laity. While the professional economists are plotting indifference curves, setting traps for eternal principles, and inventing such jargon as "oligopoly" and "monopolistic competition," men of the law are occupied with the actual workings of the industrial system. It is not their intent or their task formally to explore the economic order or to make "contributions" to its understanding. Instead, their results are a by-product of everyday legal activities.

A complaint filed in a federal court starts a proceeding by the United States against major motion-picture producers—and beneath its legal exterior is to be found a clinical report upon the practices of the industry. In a lawyer's brief a section entitled *The Facts of the Case* exhibits the round of "acts and things done" to tobacco, from the planting of the seed to the discarding of the cigarette stub. Learned opinion from a high bench parades the economic pattern in milk or crude oil, electrical appliances or cement, table salt or waste paper. A great jurist in a dissenting opinion scribbles the most illuminating essay which has yet been written upon the problem of calculating depreciation. All of these and hundreds of their kind are mere fragments not yet woven into an articulate whole. Yet each of them tells its bit about the economy which is on its way,

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not the hypothetical one to be found only in books.

Such a contribution toward understanding is A. A. Berle's trenchant essay upon some trends of our own time. It derives its empiric character from the problems the author has had to handle as a high official of the federal government and as an attorney concerned with insistent public problems. It gets its articulate statement from the series of seminars which he has, over the years, conducted at the Columbia Law School.

His term "the capitalist revolution" will do at least in the absence of anything which is better, but capitalism is an amorphous—or, more accurately, a polymorphous—thing, too intricate and dynamic to be encompassed by any word. And the swift changes which Berle recites move even more fundamentally upon the levels of technology and opinion than upon that of finance. The intensity of the cultural movement warrants the word "revolution," but the continuity of the intense drive into an unknown future endows revolution with an evolutionary character. All through the book Berle is aware that he is dealing with a new economy in the making,

Freda Kirchwey

The Measure of Man. By Joseph Wood Krutch. Bobbs-Merrill. \$3.50.

My Mission to Spain. By Claude G. Bowers. Simon and Schuster. \$6.

The Challenge of Man's Future. By Harrison Brown. Viking. \$3.75.

Plain Words: Their ABC. By Sir Ernest Gowers. Knopf. \$2.50.

Dante's Inferno. Translated in Verse by John Ciardi. Rutgers. \$4.50. Mentor Books. 50 cents.

Adirondack Country. By William Chapman White, Duell, Sloan and Pearce-Little. Brown. \$4.50.

Worcester Account. By S. N. Behrman. Random House. \$3.50.

Education of an American Liberal. By Lucille Milner. Horizon Press. \$3.95.

with trends which have not run their course, with institutions which are still in midstream. The known has to be presented against the background of the great unknown.

The focus of Berle's inquiry is the modern corporation. He realizes clearly that the corporation is an instrument neither good nor bad in itself, an inert thing which takes character from the uses to which it is put. The structure of medieval society was corporate. It was then impossible to think of land as naked of labor, and men carried on as members of a corporate body—feudal or monastic or municipal—and their rights and responsibilities were fixed by corporate affiliations. In the great break-up of the ancient order men came to be individuals who, under the exercise of their free will, bound themselves together into the associations which served their needs. But now again the corpus is becoming dominant. The men who work seek to attain the conditions of the good life through their union, and in the modern corporations we witness the return of the "honorable company" of old.

THE pages of this book—and even more, the spirit of Berle himself—are concerned with how human rights are to be secured within a corporate society. He is keenly aware of the spiritual plight of the public servant and of our failure to effect a workable harmony between the values of national security and personal freedom. He is aware that, in the atmosphere of a great witch hunt, intellectual curiosity is at a heavy discount and sheer competence may be mistaken for sedition. He outlines an ingenious—and to me a convincing—argument for the use of the First Amendment as a defense of government-employment rights against arbitrary and irresponsible official action. He recognizes clearly the problem confronting the large corporation that is determined to deal justly with its own employees and yet is compelled to employ the security standards of the government whose defense orders it must fill. In such cases he holds that the act of unjust discharge is that of the government, not of the corporation, and that the injured party may invoke the due-process clause. Here the only flaw is that Berle's wisdom is probably superior to that of the majority of those who now sit on our highest judicial bench.

Carey McWilliams

A Single Pilgrim. By Norman Lewis. Rinehart, \$3.

From Missouri. By Thad Snow. Houghton Mifflin, \$4.

Asia and Western Dominance. By K. M. Panikkar. John Day, \$7.50.

Fear the Accuser. By Dan Gillmor. Abelard-Schuman, \$3.

In the Matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer. Transcript of Hearing Before the Personnel Security Board. Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, \$2.75.

The basic problem, however, is that of responsibility. The corporation exercises a far-flung dominion. Its decisions are a series of expediencies directed to the moment. Yet in their totality there is a policy which affects the lives and destinies of people over a vast area. A host of interests are affected which have no direct part in the stream of judgments. The direction of corporate affairs to public ends can no longer be left to the play of economic forces, nor has the regulatory power of the state been adequate to the gigantic task thrust upon it. In domain after domain of the economy there has arisen a private government which proclaims the "law of the industry" and in its distinctive way secures obedience from the members.

Here the dominant appeal of Berle is to conscience. It is among the oldest and most effective of sanctions, and our culture would be poor indeed without it. The pages of the book ring with the reiterated demand that conscience, not the acquisitive urge, be the corporate guide. But even in a simple and unsexed society conscience has never been able to stand alone, for conscience has always been a flexible thing, easily receptive to the values of personal interest. It has happened, too, that the man who felt the inner urge and the man who made the decisions were different persons—a separation which in days of old was overcome through the office of the Keeper of the King's Conscience. In headlong times like ours, when the small voice within cannot keep up with the course of events, conscience needs help over the hard places. Corporate officials are not regularly aware of the implications of their own decisions. They cannot be expected to give the proper weight to interests with which they do

not come into contact, nor can they easily drive to an objective of public interest which they know only by hearsay. A narrowness of experience does not equip conscience with an understanding of a tangled and dynamic culture within which the corporation must operate. If business policy falls short of its larger objective, the universal defense has been the personal integrity of those who sit in the seats of the mighty. From the days of Joseph's corner on wheat to those of the Dixon-Yates contract, the apologetic cry has always been "so are they all, all honorable men."

IN LAW and politics it is not enough that the exercise of power be by honorable men. The law holds that no man, however upright, is fit to try his own case. In politics from the days of the Fathers we have attempted to secure domestic tranquillity through a balance among the interests which make up the commonwealth. Berle is right in insisting that in business we cannot halt activities until policy decisions are subjected to a process of review to determine that they move toward the general welfare. He recognizes that corporate executives must exercise control over aggregates of wealth which are not their own. He would, therefore, impose upon them

the obligation of trusteeship. In industry the art of government is in its infancy and is badly in need of political invention. The task is to contrive a series of devices by means of which all the values that need to be served are represented by terms in the formula of decision. The book abounds in trails which are suggested but not explored, and it is hoped that in the forthcoming larger volume which Berle promises he will come to grips with a number of these problems in his own distinctive way.

In accepting the instrumental character of worldly goods Berle stands in a great tradition. As a neo-Augustinian, very properly he entitles his last chapter *The City of God*, but the goal which lies ahead is a practical hope rather than an assured reality. It may be that since we do not know the direction in which culture is moving, we cannot be sure of the goal, but if we choose our gods aright, the City need not be bleak and ordered and static. Life pulses at the full where problems sting with challenge, where there are more trails than can be followed, and where the journey ahead is into the great unknown. Mankind stands always at the crossroads even if the maze of trails which intertwine are forever new. And I suspect that Berle would not have it otherwise.

A Kafka of the Ancien Régime

THE PRIVATE DIARIES OF STENDHAL. Edited and Translated by Robert Sage. Doubleday and Company, \$7.50.

By Maxwell Geismar

THESE diaries are a brilliant record of society in the Napoleonic epoch, and of a very peculiar kind of sensibility. Young Marie-Henri Beyle had really no political convictions. An ardent republican at the outset, he became a slavish admirer of the "great man" who was plunging France and Europe into ruin; then he wanted but was not allowed to be a convert to the Bourbon restoration. He clung to relatives and friends who might advance his personal cause; he aspired only to love and fame—"the refinement and exaltation of the

passions"; and I have no idea what makes him a great artist.

This problem has always been present in Beyle's work. The present editor of the diaries remarks that he was almost the only French writer of talent who remained faithful to his vocation through the Revolution, the Consulate, and the Empire. But for the first five years of the nineteenth century Beyle was mainly interested in seducing women. He used the "scientific method" of the new philosophers, to be sure—observation and deduction and then a species of polite rape. He failed steadily—his "role" got in the way of his sensations—and "that bastard," his father, would not support him in the style of living which was essential to success.

During these years Beyle was infatuated with the stage and aimed to be a comic bard in a vein halfway between Shakespeare and Molière. The "Private

MAXWELL GEISMAR is a contributing editor of *The Nation*.

Maxwell Geismar

An Act of Love. By Ira Wolfert (Revised Version). Simon and Schuster. \$4.

The Woman Within. By Ellen Glasgow. Harcourt, Brace. \$5.

Selected Plays of Sean O'Casey. Selected and with a Foreword by Sean O'Casey and with an Introduction by John Gassner. Braziller. \$5.

A Spy in the House of Love. By Anais Nin. British Book Center. \$3.

Youth's Companion. Edited by Lovell Thompson, M. A. DeWolfe Howe, Arthur Stanwood Pier, and Harford Powell. Houghton Mifflin. \$6.

The Private Diaries of Stendhal. Edited and Translated by Robert Sage. Doubleday. \$7.50.

On Education and Freedom. By Harold Taylor. Abelard-Schuman. \$4.

In the Name of Sanity. By Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace. \$3.75.

Complete Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman. Edited by Malcolm Cowley. Garden City Books. \$3.95.

Diaries" are sometimes a travesty of the Napoleonic epoch, with the narrator appearing both as clown and as chorus. Yet the future novelist continued to stumble through a succession of débâcles and catastrophes with astonishing buoyancy. Settled in Paris around 1810, he became

de Beyle. He rented a luxurious flat, acquired a carriage and a mistress, pulled all his strings to become an auditor, and meanwhile borrowed the money to get the job which would repay his debts. He was the embodiment of that upstart Consular aristocracy which aspired to grandeur and lived on credit. He was a primitive capitalist who despised work, except in the arts.

But somewhere in here the tone of the diaries has been transformed before our eyes. Speaking of the little niece of Pierre Daru, Beyle wrote: "She hasn't much in the way of breasts and wit, two great wants!" But when it came to Daru's wife, whom Beyle loved, he could say: "I had need of laughing, for I felt a violent desire to weep." Always seeking pleasure, he had learned that passion was not happiness but anxiety. Even before this, in his first serious affair with a very mediocre actress whom he usually calls Louason, he had displayed a remarkable repertoire of fear, depression, and morbid jealousy. "It seems to me that at the moments when I need to go forward I hear a voice above me crying, 'You would like to fly and you haven't got wings, crawl!'" When he achieved victory over her and she became his, he was consumed by boredom and a desire to blow his brains out.

It is this Henri Beyle who glides furtively through the most intimate scenes of the diaries and who, partly unknown even to the amateur dandy who wrote them, was to become the future Stendhal. Beneath the various poses of the clumsy provincial, the noble pretender, the dominating egoist, there was indeed the analytical student of human behavior—and beneath this figure was something very much like a Kafka of the ancien régime. But the opening quarter of the nineteenth century was perhaps the last great period for the full expression of character and the passions, before we began to cling to our possessions and conventions. The morbid sensibility in Beyle was matched by the tremendous urge for life in his period; and this is what makes the diaries so invaluable today.

The present translation is in the colloquial modern idiom which the young diarist himself helped to originate—no rhetoric, no eloquence!—and Mr. Sage's editing job seems excellent. I have had no chance to mention Stendhal's intellectual life which was, in one word, prodigious.

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Early Netherlandish Painting. By Edwin Panofsky. 2 vols. Harvard. \$35.

Masters of Modern Art. Edited by Alfred H. Barr, Jr. Museum of Modern Art. Distributed by Simon and Schuster. \$15.

Aspects of Chinese Painting. By Alan Priest. Macmillan. \$7.50.

Architecture in Britain—1530 to 1830. By John Summerson. Penguin Books. \$8.50.

Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages. By Margaret Rickert. Penguin Books. \$8.50.

Art and Architecture in France—1500 to 1700. By Anthony Blunt. Penguin Books. \$8.50.

The Paintings of Zurbarán. By Martin S. Soria. Phaidon Publishers. Distributed by Garden City Books. \$12.50.

The Light of Distant Skies: American Painting, 1760-1835. By James Thomas Flexner. Harcourt, Brace. \$10.

Oceanic Art. 96 Photographs by Friedrich Hewicker. Text by Herbert Tischner. Pantheon. \$8.50.

Modern Prints and Drawings. Selected and with an Explanatory Text by Paul J. Sachs. Knopf. \$7.50.

YOU CAN STRIKE A BLOW...



YOU CAN HELP STRIKE a blow against the growing national menace of the runaway shop.

For more than 50 years the American Safety Razor Co. has been making Gem razors, blades and other products in New York City. On October 28 this company threw 1,400 men and women workers out into the street to join Brooklyn's unemployed. The company is running away to Staunton, Va., where wages are 75 cents an hour—\$30 a week—a no-union town.

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Many ASR workers have 30, 40 and as much as 50 years' service with the company. *They may never be able to get other jobs.*

The ASR workers' union, UE Local 475, had negotiated and signed an agreement for severance pay and pensions. The company went back on its agreement and is ruthlessly throwing its workers on the human scrap-heap, with no pensions or severance payments at all.

November 3, the day after Election Day, police clubbed pickets away from the plant gates, to make way for trucks to start moving the machinery South.

There is no economic necessity for the runaway. American Safety Razor's profits are steadily increasing. It has just reported a nine-month profit of \$1,413,396, as against \$972,992 for the same period in 1953 and \$596,771 in 1952.

UE does not oppose, but welcomes, the development of industry in underdeveloped areas, wherever it adds to the national production of useful goods or services and contributes to the income and well-being of the people.

REGISTER YOUR PROTESTS

But American Safety Razor's move perfectly fits the recent editorial comment of the Charlotte, N. C., *Observer*, which declared that the South "was selling its strength and vitality at less than cost price. Industrialization offers the hope of deliverance from economic duress but industry that expects favors to exploit poverty only prolongs it."

We urge you to register your protest against the inhuman abandonment of American Safety Razor's 1,400 workers by writing to the company at 315 Jay Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., urging them to grant severance pay and pensions to their employees.

In the meantime, please **don't buy:** Gem Razors and blades, Treet blades, Ever Ready brushes, Silver Star blades, Blue Star blades, Personna blades, Pal Hollowground blades, ASR Ascot lighters.



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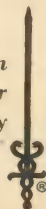
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Theater

Harold Clurman

EARTHA KITT is a dancer and a disuse of considerable attractiveness and ability. Guthrie McClintic is a director-producer who has made many handsome contributions to our stage, and Raoul Pené du Bois is a gifted scene designer. But their production of "Mrs. Patterson" (National Theater) is a sorry thing. Who is to blame for this I cannot tell: such accidents have befallen other excellent craftsmen. But the show looks as if it had been arranged by correspondence and mounted by an incompetent stage manager.

The script (with music) by Charles Seabee and Greer Johnson is the story of a colored girl who dreams, in Kentucky poverty, of wealth, glamour, and fine manners in some great city like Chicago. The play indulges itself in fantasy and in the poetics of adolescence. But it never gives out a spark; it remains throughout a thing of rags and patches, stage débris. As for Miss Kitt, either the director should not have attempted to instruct her how to play a fifteen-year-old girl or should not have permitted her to play it as she does—her performance is embarrassingly mannered.

OUR neglect of the past may be one of the signs of our fundamental disrespect for the living. One of the truest artists the American theater has known in our generation—Robert Edmond Jones—died on November 27. Too little has been said on the occasion of his passing.

The American theater can be said to have come of age in 1920—with the emergence of Eugene O'Neill as our only full-fledged playwright. But O'Neill was part of a movement which began to manifest itself shortly before the First World War. The Washington Square Players (1914) and to a greater extent the Provincetown Players (1916); of which Jones was one of the guiding spirits, were early expressions of that movement. Arthur Hopkins was the first "commercial" manager to bring Jones's work to the Broadway audience.

Technically, Jones's great contribution

was in the field of scenic design. There is hardly a designer practicing today who has not learned something from his example. He taught "that a stage setting is not a background; it is an environment. Players act *in* a setting, not *against* it." (I quote from Jones's book, "The Dramatic Imagination.") "A good scene [set]," he said, "is not a picture. It is something seen, but it is something conveyed as well, a feeling, an evocation... A stage setting has no independent life of its own... In the absence of the actor it does not exist."

Jones never tried to reproduce reality or to embellish it. He reduced stage design to its barest elements of significant and usable detail for the purpose of creating an atmosphere in which the actor's and the playwright's dramatic plan might most amply fulfil themselves. The set for "The Iceman Cometh" was not a saloon; it was the place where O'Neill's meaning could be most appropriately voiced.

But Jones was more than a scene designer or a director. He was a teacher and a seer. He stood for something greater than his own talent, greater than the name he made, the "credits" that

Waldo Frank

The Desert Music and other Poems. By William Carlos Williams. Random House. \$3.

A Treasury of Yiddish Tales. Edited by Irving Howe and Eliezer Greenberg. Viking. \$5.95.

In the Name of Sanity. By Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace. \$3.75.
Scenes and Portraits: Memories of Childhood and Youth. By Van Wyck Brooks. Dutton. \$4.50.

The Rebel. By Albert Camus. Knopf. \$4.

Apparitions. By G. N. M. Tyrrell. Pantheon Books. \$3.

Science and the Common Understanding. By J. Robert Oppenheimer. Simon and Schuster. \$2.75.

The Midnight Patient. A novel by Egon Hostovsky. Appleton-Century-Crofts. \$3.

The Pocket Book of Modern Verse. Edited by Oscar Williams. Pocket Books. 50 cents.

might be cited on his behalf. (Many of his imitators received more publicity and made themselves more prosperous.) When Jones said, "Keep in your souls some images of magnificence," he meant it and his work showed it. And magnificence did not signify for him mere opulence or expensiveness. (Today, scientifically speaking, we seem to put our faith in furniture.) He spoke of the theater as a House of Dreams. He embodied the poetic attitude. He never sought to astonish or dazzle. He took technique for granted: he sought to use it in all humility for noble ends.

As a young man in the theater I was often disturbed by his manner of address. He was not specific enough, not tough enough, or even sensuous enough.

He did not appear to take sufficient account of the theater's "kitchen"—its organizational, administrative, economic sides. But as I contemplate the theater of today I can only ask myself, "And what have we practical ones, the hard-headed boys, the thick-skinned ones, made of the theater?"

I do not believe there is less talent in our theater today than in Jones's best days, but there is a less consistent devotion to it. Jones and his associates made the theater count for more in our lives, gave it an excitement, a dignity, a force which are now greatly marred. It is not, to be sure, altogether our fault, but neither is it what is shrewd, clever, efficient in us that makes us, even to a slight degree, artists worthy of the theater.

Outstanding Records of 1954

B. H. Haggin

A: Angel; BG: Bach Guild; BO: Boston; C: Columbia; CA: Capitol; CE: Cetra; CH: Concert Hall; E: Epic; HS: Haydn Society; L: London; O: Overture; OL: Oiseau-Lyre; P: Period; R: Remington; T: Telefunken; U: Urania; V: Victor; VA: Vanguard; VO: Vox.

Bach: Suites; Prohaska and Vienna State Opera Orchestra (BG). Chaconne for unaccompanied violin; Grumiaux (BO; with Mozart sonatas). Fugues and Chorale-Preludes; Demessieux (L). Sonata No. 3 for violin and clavier; Stern and Zakin (C; with other sonatas).

Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 4; Schnabel and Philharmonia O. under Dobrowen (V). Bagatelles for piano; Johannesen (CH). Sonatas for cello and piano; Casals and Serkin (crude playing by Serkin) (C).

Bellini: "I Puritani"; Callas, di Stefano, Serafin (A).

Berlioz: "L'Enfance du Christ"; Little Orchestra Society under Scherman (fussing by Scherman; poor singing by two of the soloists) (C). "Benvenuto Cellini" and "Roman Carnival" Overtures; Trojan March, three excerpts from "Damnation of Faust," *Romeo Alone* etc., from "Romeo and Juliet"; van Otterloo and Lamoureux O. (E). Suite from "The Trojans"; Martinon and Lamoureux O. (MGM; with uninteresting excerpts from Glinka's "Russian and Ludmilla").

Blach: String Quartet No. 2; Musical Arts Quartet (VA).

Blow: "Venus and Adonis"; Ritchie, etc., under Anthony Lewis (OL).

Boccherini: Quartets Opp. 39 No. 3 and 58 No. 3; Quartetto Italiano (A).

Brahms: Variations on a theme of Paganini; Rosen (L).

Britten: Sea Interludes from "Peter Grimes"; van Beinum and Concertgebouw O. (L; with "Young Person's Guide"). Serenade for tenor, horn, and strings; Lloyd, Stagliano, Boston Symphony strings (BO).

Byrd: Masses for four and five voices; Pro Musica Antiqua (EMS).

Chabrier: Suite Pastorale; Lindenberg and Paris Conservatory Concerts O. (L; with Bizet's "Jeux d'enfants" and "La Jolie Fille de Perth").

Chopin: Concerto No. 1; Guld and London Philharmonic under Boult (L; some bad details from Boult). Sonata Op. 35, Fantasia Op. 49, Barcarolle; Nat (HS; defectively reproduced).

Copland: "Music for the Theater"; orchestra under Izler Solomon (MGM; with excerpts from Weill's "Dreigroschenoper"). Suite from "Billy the Kid"; Ballet Theater O. under Levine (CA; with William Schuman's dreadful music for "Undertow").

Debussy: "Estampes," "Images," and "Pour le piano"; Gieseking (playing insufficiently robust) (A).

Dowland: Songs; Fuller (EMS).

Handel: "Messiah"; London Philharmonic Choir and O. and soloists under Boult (L). Concerti Grossi Op. 6 Nos. 11 and 12; Boyd Neel O. (L). Sonata in D; Szigeti (C; with Tartini Concerto in D minor, etc.).

Haydn: Quartets Opp. 33 and 76; Schneider Quartet (HS). Symphonies Nos.

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96 and 97; van Beinum and Concertgebouw O. (L; violins dry). Sonatas Nos. 1 and 7; Hambro (R; with Mozart's Sonata K.331).

Loeillet: Sonatas; Alès, violin, Coddée, cello (OL).

Mendelssohn: "Italian" Symphony; Krips and London Symphony (L; with Schumann's Fourth).

Monteverdi: Vespers of 1610; Ritchie, etc., under Anthony Lewis (OL); Italian group under Ephraïm (P).

Mozart: Clarinet Concerto K. 622; Lancelotti and orchestra under de Froment (OL; with Sinfonia Concertante K. Anh. 9). Sonata K.448 for two pianos; Luboshutz and Nemenoff (R; with less consequential pieces). Sonatas K.301, 304, 378, 379 for piano and violin; Heksch and de Klijn (E). Quartets K.499 and 575; Juilliard Quartet (C; recorded sound muffled, violins wiry). Serenade K.361; winds of Berlin RIAS O. (T). Divertimento K.334; Prohaska and Vienna State Opera O. (VA). "A Musical Joke" K.522; Lange and Berlin Radio Chamber O. (U; with Mehul

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Symphony (L; violins a little dry). Sym-
phonies K.338, 385 ("Haffner") and
425 ("Linz"); Beecham and London
Philharmonic (C). Arias; Schwarzkopf
(some poorly sung) (A).

Prokofiev: Piano Concerto No. 1; Richter
and Moscow Symphony under Kon-
drashin (P; with less interesting Con-
certo No. 5 and Sonata No. 5). Piano
Concerto No. 3; Uninsky with Hague
Philharmonic under van Otterloo (E;
with undistinguished performances of
"Classical" Symphony and Suite from
"The Love for Three Oranges"). Suite
from "Chout"; Golschmann and St.
Louis Symphony (CA; with dances
from Falla's "Tricorne"); Sonata Op.
80 for violin and piano; Oistrakh and
Oborin (VA; with Franck Sonata).

Puccini: Excerpts from "The Fairy
Queen" and "Masque of Timon of
Athens"; Ritchie and orchestra under
Lewis (OL).

Rameau: Concerts en Sextuor; Hewitt
Chamber O. (HS).

Scheidt: "Tabalatura Nova" for organ;
Noss (O).

Schubert: Piano Sonata in B flat (posth.);
Demus (R). Quartets Opp. 29 and 161
and "Death and the Maiden"; Buda-
pest Q. (C; Op. 161 better reproduced
than the others). "Trout" Quintet;
Amsterdam Piano Quintet (E). Octet
Op. 166; Vienna Octet (L). Songs;
Schwarzkopf and Fischer (A).

Schumann: Fantasy Op. 17 and "Kinder-
szenen"; Curzon (L). Fantasy Op. 17
and Symphonic Etudes; Nat (HS; de-
fectively reproduced). Piano Concerto;
Haskil and Hague Philharmonic (poor
woodwinds) under van Otterloo (E).
"Carnaval"; Gieseking (C; with Mozart
sonatas). "Dichterliebe"; Souzay (L).

Shapero, Harold: Symphony; orchestra
under Bernstein (C).

Strauss: "Don Quixote"; Krauss and
Vienna Philharmonic with Fournier
(performance clear but slack) (L).
"Salome"; Vienna State Opera (L).

Stravinsky: "The Rake's Progress"; Met-
ropolitan Opera soloists, etc., under
Stravinsky (C). "Pulcinella"; Cleve-
land O. under Stravinsky (C). Sym-
phony in C; Cleveland O. under Stra-
vinsky (C; with Cantata).

Tchaikovsky: "Nutcracker" Suite; Tosca-
ni and NBC Symphony (V; with
"William Tell" Overture and "The
Skaters" Waltz).

Verdi: "La Traviata"; Callas (CE; re-
corded sound harsh).

Vivaldi: Concertos; Vienna State Opera
Chamber O. and soloists (BG). Con-
certos; I Musici (A).

Wagner: Sachs's solos from "Die Meister-
singer"; Edelmann with Vienna Sym-
phony under Loibner (E; with other
Wagner excerpts).

Collections: Old vocal music performed
by the Collegium Musicum of Yale's

School of Music under Hindemith (O).
French Masters of the Harpsichord;
Nef (OL). Old French Airs; Souzay
(L). Song Recital; Mattiwilda Dobbs
(A). Song Recital; Schwarzkopf (some
poor performances) (A).

Letters

(Continued from inside front cover)

groups, we discussed the recent ruling of
the Supreme Court in the school segrega-
tion cases, Jim Crowism, and communism.
The ruling of the court had solid support,
but a few said, "It is O.K. but will never
be put in practice." The subject of Jim
Crowism brought a clenching of fists from
all. One man said: "You never get used
to Jim Crow because you are always feel-
ing the pain of it and bleeding from your
wounds." Few people were willing to dis-
cuss communism, but one said, "If
through communism I can become an
American citizen with all the privileges
granted to the white man, I gladly wel-
come it."

CHARLES E. MORGAN

Detroit, Mich.

Back to the Movies

Dear Sirs: After peering at television for
a solid week, it has slowly dawned on me
that there is more to Lester Cole's pre-
mise of Hollywood in his letter in the Novem-
ber 27 issue than first meets the exhausted
eye. There can be little doubt that Ameri-
can writing has reached its nadir in the
TV dramas, and compared to this little
cabinet of horrors Hollywood is a pillar
of creative art. The B picture that once
was the curse of the business has re-
appeared as the teleplay, shrunken but un-
mistakable.

When I leave my set and journey down
the street to the movie theater, I find that
no matter what is playing it is a wonder-
ful work of art compared to the revolting
images on the screen of the little cabinet.
And I have a feeling that the resurgence
of the movie business can be so explained
—that television is driving the people
back to the movies. Perhaps the best proof
of this dreadful inadequacy is the fact
that it is losing its customers even when
it gives the product away. Anybody with
this experience in any kind of business
should begin looking for another trade.

Los Angeles

FRANK FENTON

Force and Violence

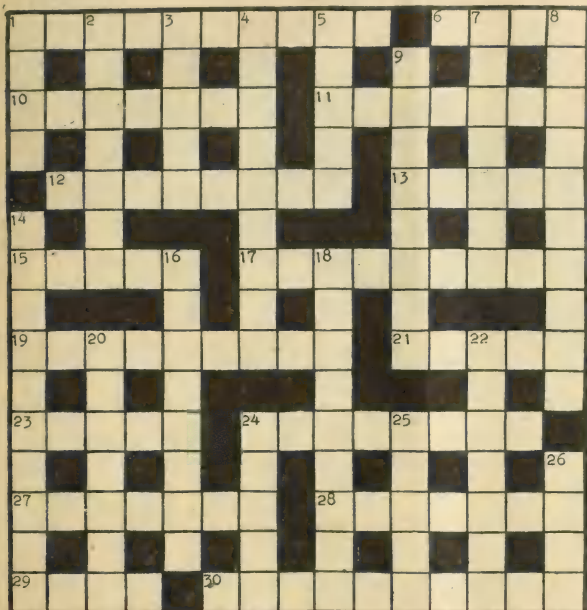
Dear Sirs: In these United States the
Communist Party has been outlawed on
the ground that it seeks to overthrow the
government by force and violence. Re-
cently in Guatemala the government
elected by the people of Guatemala was
overthrown by force and violence with the
connivance and aid of the United States.
Seems a bit inconsistent.

New York

SAMUEL BUCK

Crossword Puzzle No. 598

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Dirty work at Madison Square? (6, 4)
- 6 They go around in Japan with nothing on the second time. (4)
- 10 All in vain, but not in extract. (7)
- 11 Some distance before the era of modern transportation. (7)
- 12 Is his speech conventional? (8)
- 13 See 4 down.
- 15 With our interest in things, we should observe it here. (5)
- 17 and 27. Smoke tender. 9, 7)
- 19 Measure a friend by this, without exaggeration. (9)
- 21 and 25 down. One thing and another you might connect with the place referred to in 1 across. (10)
- 23 Bird (one or two feet above the ground, by implication). (5)
- 24 Caused by an electric current. (8)
- 27 See 17 across.
- 28 Go to sleep, or make a bluff of it? (4, 3)
- 29 Seldom done—in fact hardly done at all. (4)
- 30 Primary course, in part? (5, 5)

DOWN

- 1 Resiliency. (4)
- 2 Poem that sounds like a movement. (7)
- 3 Was Nellie brought up to be unselfish? (5)

- 4 and 13. He may think himself a card, but some have no use for him despite the connotation. (9, 5)
- 5 A gesture to 1 down. (5)
- 7 Extended coverage. (7)
- 8 Press ahead, and give the bosses some points. (10)
- 9 He evidently studied his spelling lessons. (8)
- 14 An all-tar product, by the sound of it, but one probably handles lots of things. (10)
- 16 Ruffle. (8)
- 18 Begs a lady to have bright runners. (3, 6)
- 20 Pulled under the arms sometimes. (7)
- 22 Small credit union, in a way. (7)
- 24 Maxim of literature. (5)
- 25 See 21 across.
- 26 The safari is not up to making such a distance. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 597

ACROSS:—1 MARDI GRAS; 6 BORED; 10 UNDERHAND; 11 ROTTERDAM; 12 AFTER; 13 3 down and 24 down THORN IN THE FLESH; 15 ERUDITION; 18 TAKE SIDES; 20 END UP; 22 and 9 THE DEAD OF NIGHT; 25 EXTERMINATE; 26 ADAGE; 27 REVEAL; 28 TWENTYFIFTH.
DOWN:—1 MANOR; 2 RIGHT HOOK; 4 ROUNDHEAD; 5 SODOM; 6 BARBARISM; 7 ROAST; 8 DUDE RANCH; 13 and 19 TO THE REAR MARCH; 14 NOSEPIECE; 15 UNSHATED; 17 RADIANTE; 21 DRESE; 22 TOAST; 23 EXACT.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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EVERY
WEEK
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1865



THE SPIKE is heavy with clips this week. Who financed the last-minute smear campaign against Democratic Senatorial nominees in the Western states? H. R. Cullen, the Texas oil tycoon (see page 552), and his wife gave \$2,500 each to the National Republican Senatorial Committee. Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Marshall gave \$2,500 each. Mrs. Marshall is Cullen's daughter. Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Arnold gave \$2,500 each. Mrs. Arnold is another Cullen daughter. Mr. and Mrs. Corbin J. Robertson gave \$2,500 each. Mrs. Robertson is still another daughter. Mr. and Mrs. Roy H. Cullen gave \$2,500 each. Roy is H. R.'s grandson. In Colorado alone the committee spent more than \$20,000 in the smear campaign directed against John Carroll. The campaign director of the National Republican Senatorial Committee is Harold E. Rainville, administrative assistant to Senator Dirksen, chairman of the committee. Other members are Senators Mundt, Bridges, Cordon, Case, Welker, Hickenlooper, Dworshak, and Schoepel. In the last ten days of the campaign this right-wing clique garnered in \$78,879, most of which was spent in Operation Smear in the West under the direction of Vice-President Nixon and Victor A. Johnston, who managed McCarthy's 1946 campaign in Wisconsin.

■ Mention of Mr. Cullen suggests the rather arresting fact that while less than 1 per cent of the population of the United States amassed \$20,000 or more income for the year 1950—the Bureau of Internal Revenue has just released its Statistics of Income for that year—eight individuals reported an adjusted gross income of \$5,000,000 or more. Two were from New York, two from Pennsylvania, and one each from California, Florida, Michigan, and Delaware—not one from Texas. That Texas is so shy of million-dollar incomes is an eloquent comment on the effect of the 27½ per cent depletion allowance, which enables oil tycoons to "write off" the major portion of their annual earnings.

■ Syngman Rhee continues to direct "typhoons of abuse" against the United States, accusing us of "misrepresentation" and contending that he is entitled to spend the billion-dollar

aid fund as he sees fit, since it is "at least part conscience money." Every day more and more Koreans find Dr. Rhee about as hard to take as the American personnel have found him. Rhee's Liberal Party's strength has dropped from 135 to 120 seats in the 203-seat National Assembly. In the recent fight over a constitutional amendment to allow the good Dr. Rhee to run for reelection as often as he wishes, the amendment received 135 votes—this was before the latest purge—one less than the required two-thirds' majority. But the Liberal Party announced that 135 votes were sufficient and that was that.

■ Our contention (December 4, page 473) that the Department of Justice would clamp down on any news about the circumstances leading up to the murder of William Remington in the Lewisburg penitentiary is amply confirmed by an AP dispatch of December 13 headlined in the press: "Justice Department Won't Talk on Remington."

■ Excitement over close races in the election led some readers to think we had overemphasized the factor of apathy. Now Dr. Gallup reports that a majority of adults stayed home on November 2. With an increase of about 4,500,000 in the adult population, relatively more voters avoided the polls than in the mid-term election of 1950. In Los Angeles County 695,822 registered voters failed to vote, a disastrous falling off.

■ Can documents and other evidence in the possession of a Senate committee be subpoenaed by a plaintiff who charges the existence of a conspiracy between an employer and the committee's staff to violate his rights under a collective-bargaining agreement? District Judge Charles F. McLaughlin says no, in a ruling made in a suit brought by John Nelson, president of U. E. Local No. 506, in Erie, New York, against General Electric and certain members of the staff of Senator McCarthy's committee. The judge relies on a resolution adopted by a Senate judiciary subcommittee stating that records could not be taken to court. If the ruling stands, the courts will have surrendered still more of the judicial function to Congressional committees.

■ Trouble is brewing in California for the K Senators, Knowland and Kuchel, who voted against censuring Senator McCarthy. Top G. O. P. officials there are already extremely worried, fearing that Kuchel, who must run again in 1956, has given the Democrats a winning issue. Even the Los Angeles *Times*, which has consistently supported McCarthy, now speaks loftily of his "sin of pride" and refers to him in the political past tense. Quick to recognize his mistake, Senator Kuchel recently told the *Times* that "Senator McCarthy is 100 per cent wrong."

The San Francisco *Chronicle*, next to the *Times* the most important Republican paper in the state, continues to be critical of Senator Knowland.

■ Red-baiting is not quite so effective as it used to be if items on this week's spike are any indication. When the Cudahy Packing Company closed down its plant in Sioux City, an imaginative bank teller, sounding off before the Iowa convention of the American Institute of Banking, said it was all the work of a "Communist-inspired" union. The C. I. O. Packinghouse Workers, speaking through Regional Director Russell Bird, threatened to withdraw the accounts of several locals unless the charge were retracted. The teller came through with a handsome apology, published in the local press and carried by the wire services, withdrawing the remark "without reservation." In New York, Marion Edwards was acquitted by a jury of a charge of perjury based on a denial of membership in the Communist Party. Edwards was a key witness in the suit in which Armand Scala was awarded damages of \$5,000 against the Hearst Corporation because of Paul Crouch's libelous charges. The prosecution of Edwards was an obvious attempt to improve Crouch's standing as a professional witness and informer, but curiously enough, the Department of Justice failed to call Crouch as a witness. In Wisconsin an excited lady told the For America Club that Madison was a "hotbed of Communist agents," that every department at the university was honeycombed with agents, and that the *Progressive* magazine followed the "Communist line." Morris Rubin, editor of the *Progressive*, luckily in the audience, promptly wanted to know if he was being called a Communist. "I will call you a leftist," was the prim rejoinder. At the same meeting another excited lady charged that Red agents were responsible for the fact that her car, part of the Wisconsin caravan that traveled to Washington to stand by Joe McCarthy, stalled en route: "I'll always believe the comrades tampered with it." Nor is this all. A replica of a schoolhouse that Senator McCarthy once attended which was being carted to Washington in a truck mysteriously disappeared in Ft. Wayne, Indiana; and who was it that said people no longer believe in witches?

C. McW.

Colonialism

The story of millions of people in the world today who still have no country of their own but who will not long be denied their aspirations to independence.

In a Special Issue next week

Arthur Garfield Hays

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

HOW we shall miss Art Hays! Here was one liberal on whom the tag "wishy-washy" could never be pinned. Neither was he cautious, or ambiguous. He gave the idea of liberalism warmth, vitality, élan, even fun when possible. In his political beliefs—or rather his inclinations, for he was agnostic about politics and religion both—he avoided extreme positions. He said, "I would accept for the time being the 'general structure of capitalism,' but I would modify it gradually—I would follow the path of gradualness to mold and transform, not violently to uproot. I would insist 'that gradualness implies action, and is not a polite name for standing still.' " He said this, but he would defend to the last appeal the right of a man to expound a doctrine of revolution, of violent uprooting, for the one thing he would not compromise was his commitment to freedom. At the end of his book "Democracy Works" he wrote, "I shall continue to fight for free speech, free press, free assemblage, and democratic rights with the fervent conviction that progress and civilization demand a society in which men are free to inquire and to differ. . . . Liberty is an end in itself. . . ."

So Art Hays defended the right of Communists to be Communists as firmly as he did the rights of Tennesseans to learn about evolution. And if, as a consequence, he was called a Communist himself, the slander bounced off the armor of self-confidence that was the old-fashioned liberal's best defense against scoundrels and idiots. But he had complete understanding of the situation of those with thinner armor. He knew how the methods of political inquisition could trap, confuse, and bring to ruin innocent people whose past record or economic position or nerves made them vulnerable. As general counsel of the American-Civil Liberties Union he devoted his immense skill as a defender to the safeguarding of their rights, and thus of the democracy he loved so stubbornly.

He had another characteristic that should be mentioned if only because it is less than common in an area of political action cross-hatched with factional and personal rivalries. He was magnanimous. He did not try to monopolize headlines, honors, credit. He knew how to accept help and counsel, how to turn responsibility over to others. He could not be petty or vindictive in any relationship. This quality sprang, it can be assumed, from the merger of modesty and humor with total self-confidence

that gave Art Hays's personality its particular savor. But with all this he was a tough and supple fighter, as his opponents knew. The list of his battles for civil rights includes the most important of the last quarter-century—the Scopes evolution trial, the Scottsboro boys, Sacco-Vanzetti, the Reichstag Fire trial. But for each of these historic cases were dozens that never made news and to which he gave equality of his skill and attention.

The Nation's editors have every reason, public and private, to grieve at his going. He was a part of our life for a generation—never did he fail to rally to our side when a clear and strong gesture of support was called for. In a time when hate-and-fear vendors cry their wares down all the streets and along all the air waves of the land, Arthur Hays can be badly spared. It remains for us who knew him to bring to the fight for freedom some share of the high-hearted valor it has lost with his going.

The Shape of Things

The President's a Piker

The only items in the President's proposed domestic legislative program that seem designed to bolster the economy are suggestions for a continuance of the public-housing schedule (70,000 additional units in a two-year period) and a ten-year-long national highway program. By any reckoning this is a meager program. Nowadays it is generally agreed that output should expand 3 per cent per annum—some economists say 5 or 6 per cent—if we are to avoid economic stagnation. With 800,000 new recruits entering the labor market each year and with labor productivity continuing to expand, nearly two million new jobs must be provided each year if unemployment is not to increase. And there is, of course, another aspect to the matter. In failing to provide full employment last year, Walter Reuther assures us, the Administration wasted approximately \$30,000,000,000. If all unemployment had been eliminated, enough additional income would have been provided to permit federal social-security payments of \$200 a month and the construction of 500,000 more homes and of hospitals with 250,000 beds, not to mention a doubling of the public outlay for education. The President's economic advisors must have a good deal more daring than they have shown to date if we are to reach the President's goal of a 500-billion-dollar national output by 1964.

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Justice or Efficiency?

The main conclusions and recommendations of the recent statement of the American Association for the Advancement of Science on the necessity for revising the security program will be widely applauded, as they deserve to be, but in some respects the report is disappointing. In its main recommendation—that emphasis should be shifted from attempting to conceal scientific secrets to creating "the most favorable circumstances for the advancement of science"—the A. A. S. has adopted the measuring devices and values of the efficiency expert or cost accountant. We can "afford the time that goes into the investigatory process itself," we can even justify the "money costs," but "can we afford to have government service become less desirable"? The assumption is made throughout that the test of a security program must be: Does it afford the government the largest measure of return from scientists that is possible without endangering the nation's security? But this is not the basic test. Government owes certain obligations to the individual, whether he is a brilliant, indispensable scientist, a janitor, or a Broadway confidence man. In the last analysis the security of a democratic regime consists in the extent to which its key institutions recognize the basic value of such a society: the worth and dignity of the individual. The A. A. S. report ignores this aspect of the problem and accepts without qualification the proposition that "disloyalty," undefined, "is not to be tolerated."

Science and Social Responsibility

Among the distinguished scientists who signed the report one notes the name of Dr. Edward U. Condon, retiring president and chairman of the board of the A. A. S. Three days after the statement was issued Dr. Condon resigned as director of research for the Corning Glass Works rather than submit to another security check. Cleared four times, he announced his unwillingness "to continue a potentially indefinite series of reviews and re-reviews" and expressed his lack of confidence in the possibility of "securing a fair and independent judgment" in any review of his latest clearance. Obviously Dr. Condon must have grave doubts concerning the standards by which security is nowadays measured, or he questions the impartiality of the reviewing panel or the fairness of the procedures followed. Whatever his specific reasons, Dr. Condon's remarks point up the serious omissions in the A. A. S. statement. Does the board of the A. A. S. really believe that the harassment of Dr. Condon and Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer is unrelated to partisan politics? The Atomic Scientists of Chicago cite Dr. Condon's case as an example of "political interference" with the security program.

On the same day that Dr. Condon issued his statement the A. A. S. refused to accept as an affiliate the Society

for the Social Responsibility of Science, which includes among its members three Nobel Prize physicists—Dr. Einstein, Dr. Max Born, Dr. Hideki Yukawa. The refusal prompted Dr. Victor Paschke, a founder, to remark: "It is a comment on the times that a society dedicated to fostering the social responsibility of scientists has no place in the over-all organization of science."

Curing or Creating Hysteria?

At the request of the Los Angeles County Medical Association, the California Senate Committee on Un-American Activities held hearings earlier this month ostensibly to uncover "Communist infiltration in the medical profession." But it soon became clear that the real reasons were to lay the groundwork for a bill making the licensing of physicians dependent upon a loyalty oath, similar to legislation now being drawn up for lawyers, and to aid the medical association's ultra-

conservative leadership in its fight against prepaid medical-group insurance. The main target at the hearings was the Community Medical Center, which under the presidency of Stephen H. Fritchman, minister of the First Unitarian Church, has for years been providing good medical care for low-income people. Most of the dozen or so witnesses called—practically all of them doctors or nurses—refused to cooperate with what Dr. Thomas L. Perry, a pediatrician, termed the committee's attempt to introduce "politics into the field of medicine." Dr. Frederick Reynolds pointedly remarked that "doctors should cure hysteria rather than create it."

The Citizens' Committee to Defend American Freedoms is helping to mobilize public opinion against the planned legislation, which would deprive many people not only of high-quality medical care at low prices but also of their free choice of a doctor. The latter, ironically, is precisely what the medical association's reactionary leadership maintains it is fighting for.

Ninth-Session Highlights . . by J. Alvarez del Vayo

United Nations

LAST week the General Assembly closed its ninth session, one of the liveliest in recent years. Its highlights—both good and bad—may be summarized as follows:

1. *The adoption of President Eisenhower's atoms-for-peace plan.* While it is true that the resolution finally adopted by the Assembly did not entirely fulfill the hopes aroused by the President's imaginative idea as presented to the U. N. a year ago, nevertheless the results accomplished were more than merely procedural. The final answer to the threat of atomic war lies in making the word "coexistence" a practical political reality instead of a pious attitude. But it must be reckoned as progress that under the resolution nations will contribute fissionable material to an international pool, and scientists and technicians of many nations will cooperate on the peaceful uses of atomic energy instead of putting their talents exclusively at the service of the policy of "mass retaliation."

2. *The increase of cooperation between East and West in certain directions.* This was perhaps most dramatically shown in the later stages of the atoms-for-peace debate and in the final unanimous vote. Andrei Vishinsky,

whose death saddened many at the Assembly, was able to meet a number of Western concessions with concessions of his own. Nor was Soviet conciliation limited to the atomic-energy and disarmament questions; it was also evident in the Kremlin's new disposition to participate in the work of the U. N.'s specialized agencies, including UNESCO and the International Labor Office. That the Soviet Union intends increasingly to concentrate its diplomacy in the U. N., as indicated by Mr. Molotov at the Berlin conference, was amply confirmed at the Assembly's ninth session.

3. *Solidifying of the position of the "neutrals."* The aversion of certain countries—notably India, Indonesia, Burma, the Arab states, a few Latin American republics, and occasionally the Scandinavian nations—to taking sides in the ideological war was again a significant factor. This explains the number of abstentions on some of the more controversial issues which came before the Assembly—Korea, the question of new members, and China's imprisonment of the American fliers.

4. *Solidifying of the common front among the Western Big Three.* Contrary to expectations in some quarters, Britain and France gave impressive demonstrations of solidarity with the

United States on certain issues. Anthony Nutting, successor to Selwyn Lloyd as chief British delegate, defended the American point of view with such eloquence that Assembly President van Kleffens had difficulty in restraining the appreciative public gallery. It was generally agreed that Mr. Nutting even outdid Ambassador Lodge. Another important demonstration of Western solidarity was made by Premier Mendes-France, whose appearance before the General Assembly was one of the sensations of the session. The French Premier denounced as "not serious" the Soviet call for an all-European conference on security, and he left no doubt that he would do all in his power to obtain French ratification of the London and Paris accords on the rearmament of Germany.

5. *The victory of the colonial powers on all colonial and trusteeship questions.* Neither West New Guinea, Morocco, Tunisia, nor Cyprus got very far in its demands for independence or self-determination. Yet while the colonial powers won the votes, the anti-colonials could boast of eloquent spokesmen for a stiffening opposition that will increasingly make itself felt in the U. N. When Sir Percy Spender, in the course of the debate on West New Guinea, cited the

need for taking into account Western military strategy and anti-Communist defense, Krishna Menon of India spoke for most of his fellow-Asians when he said that Eastern areas had too long been regarded "as blockhouses to guard trade routes." No doubt Menon anticipated the position India will take at the meeting of the Colombo powers later this month. One of the main points on the Colombo agenda is the question of an Asia-Africa conference which, if it materializes, may profoundly alter the calculations of the Pentagon, the State Department, and the European colonial powers.

6. *The continued pressure by underdeveloped countries for international aid.* Despite the opposition of the United States and Britain—an opposition that

was sometimes open, sometimes under cover—minute but measurable progress was made toward the setting up of an international fund from which underdeveloped countries could draw for the construction of "non-profit" projects. A report on the principles involved in creating such a fund will be ready for the next session. Notable in this connection was the resentment expressed by many normally pro-American delegations at the indifference with which the United States treated not only the fund proposal but most other proposals dealing with economic and social problems, including international treaties dealing with human rights and the covenant on the freedom of information. In the corridors if not on the debating floor these delegates were quick to point out the

contrast between the Americans' apathy on such issues and their fighting spirit on issues involving condemnation of the Communist bloc.

THE ninth session opened in an atmosphere of confidence and hope. Some of the hopes were realized; undoubtedly more would have been had not the final weeks of debate fallen under the shadow of the London and Paris agreements. A particularly disturbing note at the session's end was Moscow's inevitable warning to Paris that ratification of the agreements on Germany would mean the automatic cancelation of the Franco-Russian Treaty of Friendship of 1944. It was not with unalloyed joy that the delegates departed for their homes to celebrate Christmas.

NATIONAL SECURITY

And Our Foreign Service . . by O. Edmund Clubb

GRAVE doubts have been cast in recent years on the integrity and capacity of our foreign-affairs machinery. The summary discharge of John P. Davies from the Foreign Service—under charges initiated in 1951 during a Democratic Administration and found insufficient by eight hearing boards—on the ground that he lacked "judgment, discretion, and reliability" some four Secretaries of State ago, raises those doubts once more. Is something fundamentally wrong with the United States Foreign Service? Or is it the innocent victim of circumstances?

When it is so obviously an easy stumble from a patch of earth like Dienbienphu or Quemoy to H-bomb warfare, all can appreciate the importance of the Foreign Service's role. Its officers represent the government abroad and are charged with keeping it informed of developments "speedily, accurately, and with absolute impartiality"—to use the words of Cordell Hull. This function

now stands impaired. Five distinguished American diplomats in January wrote to Secretary of State Dulles that attacks on the loyalty and morals of Foreign Service personnel had led to "sinister results," and that the situation had become "a threat to national security." They asserted further that, given the present approach to the problem of security in the Foreign Service, "it is relevant to inquire whether we are not laying the foundations of a Foreign Service competent to serve a totalitarian government rather than the government of the United States as we have heretofore known it."

What kind of Foreign Service do we want? The history of the question helps clarify the matter. It was President Theodore Roosevelt who began the arduous work of removing the diplomatic and consular services from politics and the spoils system. After a prolonged patching process, the 1924 Rogers Act thoroughly reconstructed the two branches and welded them into a single career Foreign Service. Thereafter Foreign Service officers comprised all permanent officers below the grade of

Minister, "all of whom are subject to promotion on merit"; and all appointments to the service were to "be made by and with the consent of the Senate."

Only after successfully passing through a stringent selection procedure did the Foreign Service candidate receive a Presidential commission which, "reposing special trust and confidence in [his] Integrity, Prudence, and Ability," authorized and empowered him to have and to hold his office, "and to exercise and enjoy all the rights, privileges, and immunities thereunto appertaining, during the pleasure of the President of the United States." The Foreign Service did not offer big money. The rewards lay in a career of service, interest, and prestige.

But things changed after the Coolidge Administration. The State Department of 1928 had an annual budget of some \$10,000,000 for itself and the Foreign Service together. Under the international stresses of the 1930's and World War II, however, the department particularly underwent a rapid growth, as noted in the Hoover Commission's report of 1949: "The State Department itself in terms of appropriations is twelve

O. EDMUND CLUBB became a Foreign Service officer in 1928 and served the government in that capacity for more than twenty-three years.

times larger and in terms of personnel almost five times larger in 1948 than it was in 1938." In the nature of things, an organizational colossus develops mechanical responses to both external situations and its own personnel administration. The unbalanced growth of the State Department led both to structural weaknesses that were the subject of concern to the Hoover Commission and to fractures in personnel relations.

A POLITICAL danger hovered in the offing. The Hoover Commission noted as regards cooperation between the federal executive and legislative branches that "one particular obstacle which should be frankly faced is the traditionally suspicious attitude of the Congress toward foreign affairs and toward the segment of the executive branch concerned with it." One of the reasons adduced by the commission for this suspicion was that the State Department, being a channel for foreign relations, in a sense represents foreigners; another was that the conduct of foreign affairs is of necessity on a confidential or secret basis—a circumstance resented by Congress.

Post-war events conspired to stir up that suspicion. American policies of 1944-45 had been predicated upon the comfortable assumption that a period of international peace and cooperation would follow victory. After V-J Day, it was discovered that international conflicts were still with us—and that, more particularly, international communism was spying on cherished American secrets. The Canadian spy case of 1945 was an alert to subversion from within. Although that same case demonstrated that disloyalty was a phenomenon not necessarily restricted to one section of the population and might even involve legislators, Congressional suspicion focused on the government's executive branch.

President Truman duly issued his initial loyalty order of March 21, 1947. It was carefully worded, providing that for debarment from federal employment "all the evidence" must show "reasonable grounds . . . for belief that the person involved is disloyal to the government of the United States." (By Public Law 733 of 1950, the new order of things was made to embrace security as well.) But foreign developments further

worked on domestic fears. The Communist seizure of power in China dispelled a fond American dream of an ever-friendly China. The alliance between a stridently anti-American "New China" and the U. S. S. R. caused real apprehension, which was aggravated by a dawning realization that we had been overhasty in our "crash" demobilization.

In January, 1950, there occurred one of those unforeseeable events that sometimes prove so fateful. Former State Department official Alger Hiss was convicted of perjury. Beyond the technicality, Hiss had in effect stood in the dock of American opinion charged with treason. On trial with him had been the loyalty of all State Department and Foreign Service officers of whatever rank, according to the inescapable theorem that "if Alger Hiss, with his background and his friends, could betray, *anybody* might be a traitor." On February 4, 1950, it was disclosed in addition that the naturalized British subject Klaus Fuchs had long been delivering atomic secrets to Soviet agents. The U. S. S. R.'s 1949 A-bomb blast acquired a sinister significance;

hidden machinations seemed to become a possible explanation of the "incomprehensible" upset in far-off China.

IT WAS perceived in various quarters that politically useful deductions could possibly be drawn from the concatenation of jarring international developments and the furor of controversy blowing up about "spies in government." On February 9, 1950, "McCarthyism" was born, in the Wisconsin Senator's Wheeling speech in which he alleged that there were 205 "members of the Communist Party" in the State Department, "still working and shaping policy." Afterward McCarthy juggled the original number to read 81, 57, "over 200," and then 26, but he did not swerve from the sensational course fixed on that memorable day—not even when a committee of his peers held that he had been guilty of a "fraud and a hoax." The seeds of distrust had in any event been widely sown, and the integrity of the United States foreign-affairs agencies brought into question.

If anything, the 1950 election cam-



"I hear there's something wrong with your morale."



Walt Partymiller in the York (Pa.)
Gazette and Daily

Meaning of the Davies Case?

paign entangled foreign affairs even more with domestic politics. Political passions were exacerbated rather than calmed by the MacArthur hearing of the following spring. And on April 7, 1951, McCarthy laid down a new standard for measuring disloyalty when he asserted that "it is high treason to refuse MacArthur permission to use Chinese Nationalist troops." On June 14 McCarthy charged former Secretary of State George C. Marshall with conspiracy, at the same time propounding the witch-hunter's ritualistic question: "How can we account for our present situation unless we believe that men high in this government are concerted to deliver us to disaster?" He adhered to pattern in his answer to the staggering conundrum: "The President is not master in his own house. Those who are master there not only have a desire to protect the sappers and miners. They could not do otherwise. They themselves are not free. They belong to a larger conspiracy, the worldwide web of which has been spun from Moscow."

This was the old, twisted ratiocination that has always led the primitive-minded to offer up a scapegoat in sacrifice for unpalatable events. A handful of American Far Eastern experts by this tortured thought process were found guilty of the latest Chinese revolution. There have been no charges—to date—that American diplomats betrayed the British Conservative government to the Labor Party in 1945, Czar Nicholas II to Lenin and Trotsky in 1917, or the Manchu throne to the Chinese rebels in 1911. But problems relating to contemporary China be-

came inextricably bound up with extravagant fears of Communist agents in high places in government. It was no accident that the Foreign Service officers hit hardest at the beginning of the anti-State Department campaign belonged to the China service.

WITH popular distrust of public servants whipped to a high pitch, President Truman on April 28, 1951, issued a new Executive Order changing the original standard for loyalty judgments. No longer was it necessary to establish *dis*-loyalty; instead, it had only to be shown "that, on all the evidence, there is reasonable doubt as to the loyalty of the person involved." The security standard was unaltered, but President Eisenhower's Executive Order of April 27, 1953, extended the principle to its logical conclusion. Thereafter induction and retention in federal employment were dependent upon its being determined and periodically reestablished that such employment was "clearly consistent with the interests of national security."

From the inception of the loyalty program in 1947 the employee lacked the democratic privilege of confronting his accusers or even of learning their identity. Nor could he demand to know on what evidence the loyalty board based its case against him. Thus "faceless informers" of any persuasion or motives could attack the public official with impunity. Since April, 1953, the employee's situation has been even worse. He no longer possesses the right to a hearing or to appeal to an independent review board. He may be found unsuitable if investigations disclose information relating to "any behavior, activities, or associations which tend to show that the individual is not reliable or trustworthy." The possibility that some sin is left unlisted is provided for by the qualification that information developed through investigations—going back to school days—"shall not be limited" to the specific areas that were covered in the order.

The existing procedures work special hardship on the Foreign Service, which perforce operates in foreign countries and "un-American" political climates. The Foreign Service officer, not cast originally as a plaster saint, suddenly finds himself accountable for an undefined orthodoxy to new police and secu-

rity officers who are alike ignorant of his functions. When the world is the stage, a meeting of minds is rendered doubly difficult, and it is all too easy for the investigator obsessed with "total security" to suspect, when baffled by a complicated personality, that danger *might* lurk in unpenetrated areas. Changes in the foreign or domestic scene may at any time endanger a personal status that seemed before to stand like a rock. Nor does the ban on double jeopardy protect: the employee must be cleared periodically to the end of his career—possibly even of the same changes. The ultimate in uncertainty and instability has been introduced into a "career" service.

In a prize-winning essay on The Utility of a Trained and Permanent Foreign Service, Foreign Service officer George V. Allen observed in 1936 that "without this [permanent] basis as an incentive, the Foreign Service would not often attract men endowed by nature with the ability to succeed in life and therefore able to choose their own careers. No matter how alluring the opportunities of the service might be for the achievement of glory and fame, few young men would desire to enter it if their careers might be blasted at any moment by a dismissal having no con-

Mr. Davies Speaks

That sense of personal security is pretty far gone, I think, in the Foreign Service. One [reason] is that the Foreign Service, along with the State Department, has in recent years been reorganized so many times that the individual is not sure what his position is going to be next year. The second problem grows out of the rise of the Communist threat and subversion within the government. [This] became a political issue, and the Foreign Service came under very unjustified attack . . . [which] was extremely damaging to the morale of loyal members. In our experimental approach to dealing with this menace we have had to take measures which in my opinion are dubiously grounded in the American tradition . . . a man is constantly under the compulsion to demonstrate that he is innocent. . . . I think a prudent young man would enter the Foreign Service knowing another trade.—*John Paton Davies on the N. B. C.-TV show "Background," broadcast December 12.*

nection with efficiency and depending merely upon the capricious winds of politics."

The same concept is present in the Hoover Commission's recommendation that one of the State Department's principal duties under Presidential direction should be to "recruit and maintain personnel adequate for its tasks at home and abroad, protected as a career service by tradition as well as law from invasion by political or other demoralizing influence." But the Foreign Service has not in fact been protected against "invasion by political or other demoralizing influence." The Foreign Service officer lacks the support due him as one who has made a vital service his career; the government does not show him the special "trust and confidence" voiced in his commission. Top-to-bottom loyalty has failed him.

WE NOW face the cumulated consequences. Walter Lippmann on May 24 of this year spoke pungently on the subject. Existing errors in our foreign policy go uncorrected, he asserted, because "the State Department is a paralyzed instrument of policy. It is a bureaucracy intimidated by demagogues." The Wriston committee, which had been charged with studying *inter alia* "public confidence

and personnel morale" in respect to the Foreign Service, in its June report listed the government's security program as one cause of declining morale and observed that "if the security program is to achieve its true purpose of protecting the government and the American way of life, it must be so administered that it does not impair the things it is designed to preserve." The Sixth American Assembly, meeting at Arden House, New York, declared in a report of October 10 that "above all, the loyalty-security program must be taken out of partisan politics."

The Wriston committee cited the absence of strong administrative leadership and conflicting "and often inequitable" personnel policies as other causes of low service morale—a reference to the executive branch's primary responsibility for maintaining an effective Foreign Service. But there is another aspect. Congress formulated the laws governing the creation, growth, and functioning of the Foreign Service; through the Senate it has approved the appointment of every officer; and yet it has not acted to curb the recent embroilment of the service in politics in contravention of the spirit of the Rogers Act.

Two of the American Assembly's recommendations for the protection of

the federal career service from involvement in partisanship met this issue as follows: department heads should assume full responsibility for voicing departmental policies before Congressional committees; and "members of Congress should assist in establishing the position of the higher civil servants by directing their questions on policies and the formulation of policies to political policymaking officials and by respecting the role of the higher civil servants."

The American Assembly warns that "as a people we can no longer afford the luxury of uninformed and unreasoning depreciation of public employees." From the ousting of General Joseph W. Stilwell to the sacking of John P. Davies wrangles regarding the "China question" have wasted experienced, loyal personnel who should have been apart from domestic controversy. A foreign service should be in condition to act as a country's first line of defense. The United States Foreign Service today stands with its lines breached, from the rear. It is evident that it will require the combined efforts of the legislative and executive branches to restore confidence and order and thus safeguard a career Foreign Service from "the capricious winds of politics" and from a dangerous, sterile mediocrity besides.

A GREAT AMERICAN SIN

The Society of "Nomadmass" . . by J. B. Priestley

BUT what is *Nomadmass*? First, you must understand that my private name for the new society we have created, out of mass production, mass communication, mass values, high-pressure salesmanship and advertising, is *Admass*. That part of *Admass* which appears to be entirely dominated by the internal-combustion engine I call *Nomadmass*. It is the land of the new nomads. It con-

sists of roads lined with gas stations, motels, trailer courts, shops filled with packaged goods, eating places called Pig 'n' Loaf or Chuck Wagon, all serving the same tired food, drive-in restaurants, drive-in movie theaters, drive-in banks, drive-in everything. Once in *Nomadmass* you hardly ever get out of your car. The tuneless gipsies of the machine age go wandering there, month after month, year after year. They can go where they please, but nothing except the temperature can change very much, for they are always in *Nomadmass*, eating and drinking the

same things, watching the same television programs that tell them to eat and drink those things. A man is free at last of the office or warehouse, draws his pension, and off he goes, with his smiling wife, into *Nomadmass*. His grandparents left their homes to break the prairie. He goes to break the monotony. But always he arrives in *Nomadmass*.

There is a fine stretch of it, I noticed, between Dallas and Fort Worth. But there you find some little chapels among the gas stations and trailer courts, some Bible texts among the advertisements. One of the largest of these reminded us

J. B. PRIESTLEY, noted British novelist and playwright, has just spent several weeks wandering through the United States.



that "The Wages of Sin is Death but the Gift of God is Eternal Life." And let no reader imagine, at this point, that I have quoted that text in order to jeer at it. I believe it to be true, and I was glad to see it there. I felt that it might well have been repeated, perhaps in larger and larger lettering, every mile or two. Even outside *Nomadmass* we need that sharp reminder. In *Nomadmass* it is as urgent as a fire alarm. But of course you must understand what it means. And I doubt if the people who put up that bold notice did know what it meant. They were ready to preach a sermon at me, it seems; so now I will preach one at them.

It is possible, as I am sure they believe, that the "sin" means murder, theft, fornication, drunkenness, playing cards on Sunday—or playing cards at all. But the context, I suggest, indicates that something else might be meant. The sin that leads to death might be outside the familiar category of offenses. This is all the more likely when it is placed in such contrast to God's gift of "eternal life." For what is this "eternal life"? It is not simply everlasting life—time running on and on and on. Could an unending existence in *Nomadmass*, perhaps with millions of miles of gas stations and trailer courts and drive-in movies, be God's gift? Certainly not. Eternity is outside time. It involves another dimension of things. Eternal life is life outside the three dimensions of space and the fourth dimension that we call time, that one-way track from the cradle to the grave. All noble living, the ecstasy of love, the compassion and understanding that enter into every genuine personal relationship, the creation and rapt

appreciation of great art, the adventures of the mind among significant ideas demand this unknown dimension, this timeless being. Every heightened state of consciousness involves eternity. The more we are enslaved by time, behaving like a hen hypnotized by a straight line drawn before it, the farther we are from eternal life. We are in fact rejecting God's gift.

The "sin" therefore may be something more than breaking the familiar code of ethics. A man may directly hurt nobody and yet be guilty of this sin. It may represent a diminishing and blunting of consciousness. The sinner here may be a man who has a dull and cloudy mind and makes no attempt to clear it, to think for himself, to feel keenly and freshly, to enlarge his experience. The death which is the wages of this sin does not necessarily mean the grave. Men who respond less and less to life, behaving more like automata than living spirits, are dying every day and may be dead, in the spirit, long before the earth is shoveled on their coffins. Even to reply more and more feebly and grudgingly to the challenge of the senses is a form of dying. This does not apply to the deliberate ascetic, who is most sharply aware of his senses while doing battle with them. A hermit in the desert, tortured by visions of women, feasts, and wine, is more vitally sensuous than the average man, lost in a glum routine of sensuality. It is the man whose sensibility, on all levels, is becoming more and more blunted who is on his way to death. No longer sharply aware of real life, the slave of automatic reactions, lost in duller and duller routine, incapable of a new thought or fresh feeling, such a man exists in a world that is rapidly diminishing and growing grayer and dustier. He might almost be said to be walling himself up. He is paying himself the wages of this sin, which may indeed be the mysterious sin against the Holy Ghost. A spirit must not turn itself into a machine: this is the great betrayal.

NOW let us look at *Nomadmass*, where we found this text so prominently displayed, in the light of our interpretation of its meaning. Would what he found in *Nomadmass* encourage a man to avoid this "sin" and to welcome God's gift of "eternal life"? Between

these endless friezes of filling stations, motels, trailer courts, supermarkets, jukebox bars, drive-in restaurants and movie theaters, radio and television sets, always the same everywhere, will a man be inspired to live adventurously and nobly in the spirit, in the timeless part of himself, or will he become the slave of time and routine and take the wages that are death? This is a question I can pose but cannot answer with any certainty, for I am a stranger to this way of living and do not know intimately anybody who is familiar with it. I can only guess. And my guess is that it is useless to spend time and money putting up such reminders of ancient wisdom unless they are accompanied by warnings against *Nomadmass* itself, and indeed against the *Admass*, the form of society we are now all so busy creating, of which this internal-combustion-engine style of living is a part. It seems to me that you can enjoy *Admass*, for what it is worth, or you can turn to religion, but that you cannot possibly do both at the same time. If "Genesis" is right, then the Tower of Babel is wrong.

For this reason I regard with the profoundest skepticism those so-called religious personalities who have made themselves so much at home in *Admass* and know how to make use of all its devices. Those prophets who have elaborate public-relations organizations, a fine microphone manner, a television program, a useful tie-in with the popular press and the films, seem to me false prophets. The religion that comes out of ballyhoo is not true religion at all, merely so much sentimental juggling with symbols that have lost their real meaning and force. Eternal life cannot be found in or through *Admass*, which is essentially irreligious, rooted in the belief that God has no gift for men.

Time is the master of *Admass*. The timeless soul has no status there. Every man recognized as a noble spirit—and, thank heaven, we are not yet entirely beyond such recognition—has refused to accept *Admass*, is forever rebelling against it. On the other hand, men who do accept it, with the intellect if not with the heart and the whole mind, pile up in secret such frustration and despair that no enterprise is too menacing, lunatic, desperately irreligious, for them. Hence the hydrogen bomb and the plans for biological warfare, which could only be

conceived in a society like *Admass*. Here again, in a fashion that the most foolish can understand, the wages of sin is death, the suicide of a whole society. Let us agree that such wholesale self-

destruction may be avoided, that we have still time to escape turning the world of Western man into a smoking ruin. There still remains the death by inches that comes from the refusal of

God's Gift of Eternal Life. And now, dear brethren of *Nomadmass*, you may drive in or drive on, my sermon on the text you showed me being at an end.

CHINESE IN MALAYA

Anti-Colonialism Comes First . . by T. H. Tan

[With the emergence of Communist China as a world power, the problem of the "overseas" Chinese—the huge Chinese minorities in many areas of the world, particularly in Southeast Asia—assumes new importance. This is the first of a series of articles on the subject. The author, a distinguished Malayan journalist, is secretary of the Malayan Chinese Association. In an early issue of The Nation a long-time European resident of Thailand will deal with the Chinese community in that country.]

Kuala Lumpur, Malaya
TIME was when Malaya, southeastern appendage of the continent of Asia, was at peace—with itself and the rest of the world. Its tranquillity was not disturbed even when the great revolutionary leader, Sun Yat-sen, sought refuge and help in Singapore in the early years of this century.

The first political stirrings in Singapore were expressed in anti-Japanese slogans; later, when the Japanese invaded China in 1937, there was dirt-smearing and ear-cutting. The Kuomintang Party was then practically the only political organization in Malaya. The stirrings were of course put down when the Japanese invaded the peninsula, and Kuomintang members were savagely punished. Such interest in politics as persisted went completely underground during the occupation; yet it was the presence of the invaders and their maltreatment of the population that roused the Malays' national spirit. Since the war the success of nationalism in Indonesia, Burma, the Philippines, India, and Ceylon has fostered this spirit. Today, Malaysians feel keenly their inferior position in the midst of neighbors that were once

the colonies of Britain, the United States, and Holland but are now independent.

Politics in the peninsula today are concerned less with specific ideologies—all parties subscribe to democratic principles—than with winning independence. Most parties are organized on communal lines. In the Federation the two leading parties are the Malayan Chinese Association (M. C. A.) with a membership of 230,000 Chinese, and the United Malay National Organization (U. M. N. O.), with a membership of 150,000 Malays. In Singapore the Progressives are the major party. Being non-communal they have no more than 10,000 members in a city of over a million people. The non-communal Party Negara (National Party) of the Federation of Malaya cannot count on the support of even this number in a country of 5,000,000. Party Negara will apparently supersede the Independence of Malaya Party, another non-communal party that has seen better days.

TO understand the Malayan political situation one should know the history of the leading parties. The U. M. N. O. came into being in 1946 when the Malays felt it necessary to rally public opinion against the creation of the Malayan Union immediately after the Japanese surrender. The M. C. A. was formed soon after the outbreak of Communist violence in the Federation for the purpose of organizing the Chinese against the Communist bandits in the jungle. Since the two parties have the common objective of saving the country from communism, they have now merged in a so-called Alliance and are demanding national elections as the first step toward the promised goal of independ-

ence. (The Federation of Malaya Agreement of 1948 states: "Whereas it is the desire of His Majesty and Their Highnesses that progress should be made toward eventual self-government, and as a first step to that end, His Majesty and Their Highnesses have agreed that, as soon as circumstances and local conditions will permit, legislation should be introduced for the election of members to the several legislatures to be established pursuant to this agreement.")

The parties have been cooperating so successfully that they recently sent a joint delegation to London to negotiate for what would amount to the "first instalment of self-government." The delegation asked that the people of the Federation be given proper representation in the legislature through being permitted to elect three-fifths of the members of the Federal Legislative Council. That the Alliance is prepared to accept a partially elected legislature shows how moderate are its demands.

Unfortunately, its fight for self-government is being carried on against a backdrop of intrigue. Just when Malays and Chinese were cooperating earnestly in the political field, a secret meeting of high British officials and a "prime minister" (*Mentri Besar*, a Malay word meaning literally big minister) of Perak took place aboard a launch in the Perak River. What agreements were made are the secret of those present. But one thing emerged: the same minister became first leader of the National Conference sponsored by the "prime ministers" of all the federated Malay states. The conference was described as a "unity" conference, but it was boycotted by the U. M. N. O. and the M. C. A. as having been called to forestall their own National Conven-

tion. Its alleged aim was to work for the political independence of the Federation, but its blueprint for "independence" included a wholly appointed, not an elected, Legislative Council.

Adding confusion to intrigue, other political parties—the Malayan Indian Congress, which is the biggest Indian party, and the Labor Party of Malaya, which is not strictly labor in make-up—while joining the Alliance in demanding that at least three-fifths of the members of the Legislative Council be elected, have their own objectives. The Malayan Indian Congress has asked that ten seats in the Council be reserved for Indians; the Labor Party wants a fully elected Council at once.

Party Negara, offspring of the National Conference, instead of subscribing to its blueprint for a wholly appointed Council, first backed a proposal for an elected minority in the Council and then supported the British government's plan for an elected majority of only six members. This seems to prove that Party Negara is led by government stooges.

The Alliance has fought on relentlessly. When its negotiations in London and in Kuala Lumpur, the Federation's capital, broke down, it ordered all its members to withdraw from participation in the government at any level, from the Federal Council to town boards. This action so affected administrative efficiency that the government offered a

compromise which would virtually mean a three-fifths-elected Council. This was accepted by the Alliance.

The Alliance is now concentrating on a program on which to contest the next national elections, to be held probably in June, 1955. In elections already held it has won nearly 90 per cent of the seats and is expected to repeat this feat. In Singapore, where 75 per cent of the seats in the Legislative Council will be voted on, the Progressive Party, up to now cock of the walk in Singapore politics, is likely to be seriously challenged by the U. M. N. O.—M. C. A. Alliance. Internal dissension has weakened the Labor Party, and it cannot offer serious opposition to the Progressives.

ANTI WHICH TRUSTS?

The Little Men Suffer . . . by Leland E. Traywick

SOME of the most penetrating analyses of the economic health of the nation are to be found in the unpublicized reports of the Federal Trade Commission dealing with the growing concentration of economic power. The 1947 report, however, fell on the deaf ears of the "do nothing" Eightieth Congress. The one published this year seems destined to be similarly ignored. Mr. Brownell is apparently not interested. The Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice has its own methods of dealing with the problem of monopoly. One is to use a series of consent decrees instead of divorce, divestiture, and dissolution proceedings; a second is to resurrect the old rule of reason as a basis for legal decisions; a third is to prosecute only the "hard-core violators." We are told there are to be no "borderline" cases or "ideological excursions" against big business because it is big.

Since the beginning of the Eisenhower Administration through July, 1954, the courts have handed down only seventeen final anti-trust decisions. In

addition there have been fifty-eight consent and *nolo contendere* decisions, which means that so far the government has sued in 22 per cent of the seventy-five cases and agreed with the law's violators in 78 per cent. Earlier this year the head of the Anti-Trust Division argued that such a percentage was reasonable. Perhaps it was for the giants of industry who were allowed to sign the consent decrees—General Electric, Westinghouse, the A. and P., Montgomery Ward, the Aluminum Company of America, the Celanese Corporation, Servel, American Lead, and the big pencil companies. They have been able to escape conviction for their violations in return for little more than a promise to be good in the future and meanwhile can reap the rewards of their past behavior.

In March of this year the big meat-packers—Armour, Swift, Wilson, and Cudahy—who had been charged with a continuing conspiracy beginning in 1893, learned that their case had been dismissed completely without prejudice by the Department of Justice. In the preceding January the Attorney General had spoken proudly of the cases brought by the department against the big lead

producers and Panagra (Pan American World Airways and Grace Airways), but one awaits the final outcome with misgivings. It should surprise no one that the action brought against duPont—General Motors—U. S. Rubber, as in the earlier cases of the A. and P., the meat-packers, the investment bankers, and others, failed to bring divorce, divestiture, or dissolution, the court declaring the government had failed to prove its case. Mr. Brownell has promised the scalps of the "hard-core" violators, but these do not seem to include the big fellows.

PERHAPS a new anti-trust policy is in the making. At any rate, in July, 1953, Mr. Brownell announced the appointment of Judge Stanley N. Barnes, head of the Anti-Trust Division, and Professor S. Chesterfield Oppenheim, of the University of Michigan Law School, as co-chairmen of his National Committee to Study the Anti-Trust Laws. Although this committee has some sixty members, important policy decisions will be made by a select few. Their report is due in the near future.

Perhaps a clue to their probable recommendations can be gleaned from Pro-

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fessor Oppenheim's monumental work, "Federal Anti-Trust Legislation," in which he suggests that the rule of reason be substituted for what is called *per se* doctrine, under which certain acts are by their very nature considered illegal. The rule of reason says that a violation of the law is permissible under certain circumstances or if the violation is not very extensive. The *per se* rule says all violations are illegal.

The justification offered for a return to the rule of reason is that at present there is a great deal of uncertainty about anti-trust procedures. William Howard Taft, however, refused to adopt the rule of reason because it would make him "set sail on a sea of doubt." He felt that as federal judge he could not assume the power of saying "how much restraint of competition is in the public interest and how much is not." He wisely commented that "the manifest danger in the administration of justice according to so shifting, vague, and indeterminate a standard would seem to be a strong reason against adopting it." Since then the courts, upholding the *per se* doctrine, have held clearly that price-fixing agreements, whether good or bad, are illegal, that the Sherman Act does not condone good trusts and condemn bad ones but forbids all trusts.

Pertinent to the attempt to substitute a rule of reasonable business men for a *per se* rule of law is the much earlier statement of Chief Justice White, who when asked what the rule meant replied that "it is what a reasonable man would think reasonable." By that standard, competition would no longer serve as a regulator of the economy. Prices could be fixed by big business, provided of course the prices were "reasonable." Like the German cartel law of 1923, the rule of reason would be an instrument, not for "workable competition," as is claimed, but for workable monopoly.

AT THE heart of this "workable competition" concept is the belief that a big economy with a big technology requires big business if it is to function efficiently. Yet in certain industry studies made recently the theory of big business's efficiency has not fared too well. The United States Tariff Commission found that the largest of the oil companies, Standard Oil of New Jersey, definitely did not have the lowest cost of produc-

tion in the industry. The F. T. C., in a study of mixed fertilizer and superphosphate companies, found that the cost of production for those with gross sales of over \$10,000,000 was \$16.41 a ton for mixed fertilizer and \$8.30 for superphosphates, while it was \$15.96



Walt Partymiller in the York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily

Should Be Interesting!

and \$8.12, respectively, for those with gross sales of around \$1,000,000. In a Bureau of Mines study of forty-five cement companies the cost of production was found to range from \$.91 to \$2.17 per barrel. For the most efficient of the three largest firms the figure was \$1.18, and no matter what type of averaging was used the largest firms were nowhere near the most economical producers. Further evidence that size does not make for efficiency is found in the tendency of the giants to build comparatively small new plants. This is the present practice of General Electric, General Motors, duPont, U. S. Rubber, Aluminum, Philco, Pittsburgh Plate Glass, and U. S. Steel. Contrary to what the Administration apparently believes, giant size is not a twentieth-century necessity or a product of modern technology. It is a product of industrial feudalism and lax anti-trust enforcement.

Nevertheless, Mr. Brownell intends to attack giant business empires only if they have "abused" their monopoly. This theory of abuse fails to recognize that when a dominant position in the market is acquired, restraint of trade necessarily follows. Thomas Nixon Carver likened this to the growth of a corner house cat to the size of a tiger. The argument that its nature had not changed would not impress the family who must live with the beast. In the business world giant size is a clear warn-

ing to others not to compete. Unless our market structure of a few dominating giants is changed, monopolistic practices will continue. This is the real objection to "no attack on size alone."

And what of the "hard-core violators"? Have they been prosecuted? According to the evidence, it is not the giant concerns which have suffered under this dictum. Fines totaling \$9,000 were imposed on the Louisiana Fruit and Vegetable Producers' Union, Local 312 (A. F. of L.), in April of this year. Put this against the fines imposed on corporations in recent years. In a thirteen-year period General Motors, which grossed over ten billion dollars in 1953, was fined five times in anti-trust cases for an aggregate sum of only \$11,000. DuPont was fined \$5,000 in 1943, \$7,500 in 1944, and \$5,000 in 1945. More recently American Can was fined \$5,000, American Tobacco \$15,000, A. and P. \$10,000, Kroger \$5,000, Standard Oil of New Jersey \$5,000. Such fines mean nothing to big business, which regards them as hardly more than a hunting-license fee. And why was the little Louisiana local given a fine that broke its back? For fixing the price of strawberries!

WITHOUT realizing it Mr. Brownell and company are seriously endangering American capitalism. One is reminded of the words of Eric Johnston, former president of the United States Chamber of Commerce: "British voters had to make a choice between monopoly and cartels versus nationalization. Monopoly has been the great curse of British industry for many years. Like upper-crust titles, it was handed down from father to son, permeating every phase of industry. That is why I say that European business men must bear the lion's share [of the blame] for socialism's sweep over Europe. Capitalism did not fail. The business men failed capitalism."

While there is yet time the Department of Justice should issue a clear policy statement upholding the *per se* principle instead of the rule of reason and promising to seek dissolution of the giants instead of consent decrees. The choice between competitive capitalism and monopoly capitalism must be made. The reaction to creeping concentration of industry is socialism. Which way do we go, Mr. Brownell?

BOOKS

Lists of books selected by Nation reviewers and editors as the most interesting published in 1954 are presented on the following pages as a guide to Christmas buying. Other lists have appeared in the preceding two issues.

Troglodyte, Genus Tejana

HUGH ROY CULLEN. A Story of American Opportunity. By Ed Kilman and Theon Wright. Prentice-Hall. \$4.

By Stanley Walker

THERE is a distressing, progressively dangerous ailment in Texas which has been named Cullen's Syndrome, after the subject of this book. Its concurrent symptoms are these:

The patient is almost always an oil man, not a cotton man or a banker or a cowman or a merchant.

He believes his riches were in no way the result of luck but of his own foresight, courage, and initiative—all made possible by the American Way of Life.

He thinks one way of showing his appreciation for America is to chip in with like-minded patriots and buy Joe McCarthy an automobile.

Although he may never have got as far as high school, he is an authority on textbooks, the tariff, winning football formations, the Constitution, geophysics, currency inflation, and how to get rid of warts.

He is fond of writing letters to office-holders and potential office-holders advising and/or threatening them about the course they should follow.

Given half a chance, he will, out of his accumulated wisdom, drop homilies, maxims, aphorisms, texts, proverbs, and parables for the benefit of his fellowman, whom he professes to love dearly.

There are other signs, but the foregoing make Cullen's Syndrome easily recognizable even to a layman. The real causes of the ailment are mysterious, buried deep in the inscrutable foggy brushland of the human psyche; there is no known cure, and the end is death.

Hugh Roy Cullen, the Texas oil millionaire and philanthropist, occupies a position, politically and economically, a little bit to the left of the late "Divine

Right" Baer of Pennsylvania and a little to the right of his favorite statesman, Joe Martin of Massachusetts. He is often a source of embarrassment to us old-fashioned, traditional right-wingers—that is, those who are well-informed, well-meaning, but not very well-heeled. Thus we find him mighty handy if he's with us during a campaign, but the rest of the time we are inclined to smile and look the other way.

Mr. Cullen has a great many excellent points: from his own viewpoint there is nothing ridiculous, or arrogant, or unreasonable, or out of order in anything he has done or said. His benefactions to hospitals and schools have been tremendous—they may add up to almost a quarter of a billion dollars. He has a great deal of courage and probably is the sort of man who would have guts even if he didn't have a cent. He takes a drink, and he is not sanctimonious. He is proud of his family. His word is good. He had the sense and the innate decency in 1952 to recognize for what it was the attempt of the Taft forces to steal the Texas delegation to the Republican National Convention; his fight

against this shabby trick helped put Eisenhower in the White House.

The man has solid qualities, good qualities; he is, in addition, a fine-looking old boy. This book, a masterpiece of adulation, will do him little good. The report was printed the other day that Mr. Cullen is distributing 70,000 copies to libraries and newspapers. They might as well be used as fill to stop erosion in Texas gullies. From reading this book, one might think the only mistake Mr. Cullen ever made was long ago when he failed to lease the Ira Yates ranch for fifteen cents an acre; he would have been just twice as rich if he had leased it. The man is worth an intelligent, critical, full study; this job is too obviously authorized. It omits much—including Cullen's crack about his being tired of having Houston run "by Jesse Jones and a bunch of New York Jews"—which would have made the old boy a better-rounded figure and a little less of a bayou saint.

Don't get us wrong: Mr. Cullen is not a bad man, and it is an awful thing to say, as one critic did, that he represents "ignorance on the march." He made his money honestly. He wants to spend it as he pleases and not be told how. When he is trapped by some preacher—they always want dough from Cullen—into joining in prayer, he does his praying standing up. He's not going to bend a knee even to the Lord God Almighty. The man has something. And, as noted, we'll be cuddling up to him when campaign time comes around.

"Sound of Laughter"

QUITE EARLY ONE MORNING. By Dylan Thomas. New Directions. \$3.50.

By Jacob Korg

UNLIKE most miscellanies of chips and shavings from writers' workshops swept into posthumous volumes by sedulous editors, this collection of Dylan Thomas's prose has a distinct entertainment value of its own. The short pieces it contains, most of them written as radio talks for the B. B. C., are the work of a man who loved humor, people, and bars and hated affectation. They are not easily associated with the visionary poetry which is

Thomas's greatest work, for he was a poet who looked for a decisive change of scene when he went off duty. In this prescription for comic writing he says a great deal about himself: "I want, without boisterous backslapping, without the hail-fellow guffaw of the tweedy pipe-sucking tankard-quaffing professional literary comedian, without nudge and twitter, without the reedy neigh of the reviewer, I want laughter in books: the sight, and smell, and sound of laughter."

Nothing in Thomas's poetry suggests the gusto and uproarious wicked fun of "Quite Early One Morning," which has more in common with "Under Milk

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Jacob Korg

The Golden Horizon. Edited by Cyril Connolly. British Book Center. \$5.50.

The Identity of Yeats. By Richard Ellmann. Oxford. \$6.

Under Milk Wood. By Dylan Thomas. New Directions. \$3.

The Emperor's Clothes. By Kathleen Nott. Indiana. \$4.

Turgenev. By David Magarshack. Grove Press. \$6.

George Herbert: His Religion and Art. By Joseph H. Summers. Harvard. \$4.25.

The Burning Fountain. By Philip Wheelwright. Indiana. \$6.

Wood" than anything else he wrote. While his poetry is about inner experience and the few landscapes and characters which become, in his treatment of them, aspects of that experience, Thomas's prose deals with the most tangible and dizzying sensations of the external world. The two spheres seemed equally real to him, for in each of them he found and communicated something genuine.

The first part of "Quite Early One Morning" consists of a number of sketches celebrating the theme of Everybody's Childhood. In them Thomas describes the scenes of his Welsh boyhood in rollicking, rambunctious prose that somersaults along, throwing off bravura sound effects and delightfully venturesome similes calculated to stop the reader dead in his tracks. With unsparing perception Thomas recalls the noises, tastes, and smells of city streets, the tangled squalor of summer beaches, and the feverish glamour of carnivals. The result is a classic realization of the cats, sand castles, sweet treats, and uncles' waistcoats that form the overwhelming world of a child's experiences. Often the exciting bric-à-brac of daily life is heaped together into untidy catalogues, as though Thomas's appetite for details were too fierce to allow him to stop to put them in order. In his description of the visitors to the 1951 Festival Exhibition he lists "men with their deer-stalker caps tied with rope to their lapels, who carry dried nut sandwiches and little containers of yoghurt in hairy green knapsacks labeled 'glass with care'; fat, flustered women in as many layers of coats as an onion or a cab-

driver, hunting in a fever through fifty fluffed pockets to find a lost packet of birdseed they are going to give to the parrots who are not there; old scaly sneezing men, born of lizards in a snuffbin, who read, wherever they go, from books in tiny print, and who never look up."

As a magnificent reader of poetry Thomas used to read and comment on the work of well-known poets over the B. B. C., and the talks published here show him to have been a reverent and sympathetic critic. He was especially attracted to men who, like Wilfred Owen or Sir Philip Sidney, showed themselves to be humanitarians in their writings or actions.

His attitude toward his contemporaries was another matter. Thomas hated the business of being a poet—although he carried on the trade briskly for a

time himself—and in some of these essays he satirizes the commercial aspect of literature with murderous effect. In his accounts of his own reading tour in America and the hypothetical careers of two typical British poets he surveys his field with the visual acuity and bloodlust of a bird of prey. Great satire is seldom achieved, because it requires a mixture of passion, intelligence, and humor, qualities which tend to cancel each other out. But as his sketch *How to Be a Poet* shows, Thomas had all of them; he hated vigorously, but his hatred did not dim his perception of mannerisms and affectations; and although he felt deeply, he did not allow his feeling to dull the edges of his wit.

JACOB KORG is a member of the English Department of the City College of New York.

McCarthy Carved to Taste

JOE MUST GO. By Leroy Gore. Julian Messner. \$2.95.

TRIAL BY TELEVISION. By Michael Straight. The Beacon Press. \$3.50.

MCCARTHY AND THE COMMUNISTS. By James Rorty and Moshe Decter. The Beacon Press. \$2 cloth, \$1 paper.

By Dan Gillmor

THE more carnivorous of the reading public may now select their McCarthy fare according to preference—rare, medium, or well-done. In that order we have the recent books of Leroy Gore, editor of the *Sauk City* (Wisconsin) *Star*; Michael Straight, editor of the *New Republic*; and collaborators James Rorty, a free lance, and Moshe Decter, a political scientist. All four authors have a mordant, a consuming interest in the gentleman from Wisconsin.

Mr. Gore's book is, pure and simple, the account of the Wisconsin movement to recall the state's noisy junior Senator. Although more than 400,000 angry signatures were obtained, the number of legal petitioners fell short by some tens of thousands of the number required within a sixty-day period. Mr. Gore

promises another attempt, now that the reduced voting in a non-Presidential-election year has lowered the proportional requirement.

The story of the first effort is told light-heartedly but interestingly. The *Sauk City* editor is untroubled by either the complexities of party politics or the demands of scholarship. To him the Senator is a disgrace to Wisconsin and Washington, a political hoodlum, a bar

Keith Hutchison

The American President. By Sidney Hyman. Harper. \$4.

The Founding Fathers. By Nathan Schachner. Putnam's. \$6.

U. S. Grant and the American Military Tradition. By Bruce Catton. Little, Brown. \$3.

The Reason Why. By Cecil Woodham-Smith. McGraw-Hill. \$4.

Beyond the Hundredth Meridian: John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the West. By Wallace Stegner. Houghton Mifflin. \$6.

Melbourne. By Lord David Cecil. Bobbs-Merrill. \$5.

The Hedgehog and the Fox. By Isaiah Berlin. Simon and Schuster. \$2.50.

Bhowani Junction. By John Masters. Viking. \$3.75.

My Diary, North and South. By William Howard Russell. Edited by Fletcher Pratt. Harper. \$4.

DAN GILLMOR is the author of "Fear, the Accuser."

Mark Gayn

The Prophet Armed: Trotsky. By Isaac Deutscher. Oxford. \$6.

The Interregnum. Volume IV of "A History of Soviet Russia." By Edward Hallett Carr. Macmillan. \$5.

Art Under a Dictatorship. By Hellmuth Lehmann-Haupt. Oxford. \$5.50.

The Struggle for Indo-China. By Ellen J. Hammer. Stanford. \$5.

Call to Greatness. By Adlai Stevenson. Harper. \$2.25.

The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes. Volume II. The Inside Struggle. Simon and Schuster. \$6.

Seduction of the Innocent. By Fredric Wertham. Rinehart. \$4.

The Second Tree from the Corner. By E. B. White. Harper. \$3.

—if not sinister, much worse—on the honorable Republican coat of arms.

From Michael Straight's account of the army-McCarthy televised dog fight the Senator emerges no more and no less scarred than from the hearings themselves. Other participants appear hardly more presentable. To the mere words of testimony preserved in Congressional transcripts are added the all-important sights and sounds: the bland moon-face of Francis Carr; the patent-medicine voice of Senator Dirksen; Joseph Welch, Boston's elegant, forensic Peter Pan; the baffled obsequiousness of Secretary of the Army Stevens. Mr. Straight evidently admires Senator McClellan and, to a lesser extent, Senators Jackson and Symington, but even they are mirrored as in the original electronic version. Historians will be grateful to Mr. Straight. Into the dull words of the official transcripts he has blown the breath of what passes for life in Washington. The image projected is one of bully and bluster on one side, of a worm that had turned but was withal a worm on the other.

The Rorty-Decter opus is tough, remorseless, brilliant dissection. It is beyond a doubt the most thoroughly documented examination of the McCarthy record available, better even than the excellent special issue of the *Progressive*, from which, I suppose, no little material was adapted. Like Messrs. Straight and Gore, the authors see Senator McCarthy as a threat to conservatism. "Unprincipled, unscrupulous political ambition perverts the purposes of a conservative

political system because it undermines the restraints imposed by that system," they write, using their own emphasis. "In this sense, Senator McCarthy is a radical rather than a conservative, for he poses a threat to the conservative legal and moral values of our society."

Fundamentally, however, their quarrel with the Senator seems to be that he is a barrier to a united American red hunt. The "real issue," they proclaim in the concluding chapter, is "how to combat communism responsibly." Responsibility in this respect somehow fails to restrain them from regreeding some of McCarthyism's favorite grist: "Fellow-travelers and Communist-fronters," for instance, are among those righteously abhorred and condemned. Although these heretics are abjured without benefit of definition, we may infer the territory intended to be covered. The conviction of Alger Hiss for perjury is presented as carrying, with the authors' approval, the implicit brand of "proven traitor to

the United States." Owen Lattimore is described as a "skilful, effective, and influential party-lining propagandist" and "a clever apologist for the Soviet Union, a faithful propagandist and follower of the party line." Numerous other former government servants are pictured as beyond the pale of "conservative restraint."

The authors do not trouble to give us, as they do in examining McCarthy, the proof of these assertions. They seem to feel documentation is less necessary here. They rely heavily and wholeheartedly, however, on the records of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, as if that body somehow were touched by the sweet light of reason and justice. The conclusion is irresistible that the authors—and the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, which sponsored the research—would like to see McCarthy eliminated so that the shade of McCarran or the Democratic *alter ego* of Jenner could carry on.

Hadrian's Rome

HADRIAN'S MEMOIRS. By Marguerite Yourcenar. Translated from the French by Grace Frick. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$4.

By Stanley Cooperman

HADRIAN'S MEMOIRS is historical fiction at its best. Marguerite Yourcenar has avoided the usual hack plot and romantic baubles and produced a moving and scholarly recreation of a fascinating scene and epoch—Hadrian's Rome.

Coming after Trajan's reign of military adventures, Hadrian ruled the Roman Empire as a philosopher king, reforming its political and economic structure. Under his hand the Pax Romana flowered. The very slogan of his reign, stamped on money and carved on marble, was "Humanity, Liberty, Happiness." In Miss Yourcenar's novel, however, Hadrian emerges as a much more full-bodied character than the ideal ruler envisioned by Plato. Writing in the difficult memoir form, and placing the reader directly within the mind of

Hadrian himself, the author takes us through the doubts as well as the decisions, the private jealousies and pleasures as well as the public life, of an emperor. The illusion is completely captivating; not since Robert Graves's "I, Claudius" or Thornton Wilder's "The Ides of March" has a volume of fiction reached so deeply into the blend of humanism and cruelty, decadence and power, art and economics referred to inadequately as "pagan Rome."

Miss Yourcenar recreates paganism without judging it, and many readers will find the results not altogether comfortable. Judaism and Christianity, examined entirely from Hadrian's point of view, appear as rather bloodthirsty barbarisms, hurling anathemas not so much against Roman policy, which was based on theological self-determination, as against the existence of Rome itself. But the fascination of "Hadrian's Memoirs" does not depend entirely on the impressive historical scholarship of its author. Miss Yourcenar writes beautifully as well as authoritatively, and the translation by Grace Frick is a superb performance. As a result, the novel retains much of the crystal texture, wit, and sensitivity of classic prose.

STANLEY COOPERMAN is a freelance writer specializing in criticism of modern fiction.

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.,

ANOTHER section of the Metropolitan Museum of Art has reopened, with results which may on this occasion be hailed as magnificent. On the ground floor to the rear several period rooms have been installed, and they are connected by displays of related furniture, decorative arts, and second-line paintings which belong in period settings but do not stand out from them by force of sheer quality. This last point is worth making because of a current trend, eloquently opposed by Malraux, which holds that the value of a work of art lies in its mirroring of history alone. The "period pieces" do that much better than the major works.

Even in the field of interior decoration this difference can be observed. Thus the Louis XV alcove, superb as it is, is one of a good many such achievements; but the dining-room of Lansdowne House, designed by Robert Adam in the 1760's, is a great masterpiece which in its time altered more than it passively mirrored cultural history.

In the basement of this same part of the building what used to be storage area is now given over to the decorative arts, arranged with great taste in vitrines by series. The lighting could hardly be improved upon, and the collections themselves are princely.

Visitors to the great exhibition of Dutch painting, which is moving from the Metropolitan to Toledo, may now wish to inspect the Dutch drawings and prints in the gallery above the entrance hall, which will remain on view indefinitely. To study these as well as the paintings in a single visit would be entirely too much, and it is safe to say that they did not receive the attention they deserve. A smaller but very choice selection of pen-and-wash drawings by Rembrandt and his circle is on view at the Schaeffer Galleries (52 East Fifty-eighth Street, through Christmas).

From Rembrandt to Peter Blume may seem an unlikely transition, but Blume's ink-and-wash drawings (Durlacher Galleries, through December 24) struck me as absolute masterpieces. Some of the

smallest, involving a few vertical and horizontal lines in an extension of infinite space, belong to Rembrandt's world, though Blume does not imitate him. Others suggest Van Gogh in the complex repertory of abstract forms employed to construct a landscape. An air of fantasy is suggested without ever be-

coming merely exotic. All these landscape sketches were made during a recent sojourn in the South Seas; in one respect they impress me as Peter Blume has not impressed me before: they show the artist in strict control of his own fantastic invention. The paintings developed in part from these drawings seem dry and labored and bogged down in their own contents, and even spuriously primitive.

These are masterpieces, however, in comparison to what the Carstairs Gallery is showing across the hall (through

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December). The artist is Salvador Dali. On an earlier occasion I tried to explain why I thought his projections are artistic junk. This time I will leave out the explanations; and if there is another show in the same vein I will leave out the notice altogether. What makes this display particularly futile is the sheer waste of technical skill.

Frederick Franck (Passedoit Gallery, through January 8) is certainly no avant-garde artist, but his conservatism is hard won. He has integrity and style and range, although vitality is not his chief asset. His canvases are low-keyed, with perhaps too little play of value and texture to lift them sharply above the level of monotony. I find sensitivity here, great intelligence, and every evidence of a serious purpose. I can also imagine that inspiration was closely approached though not achieved.

Though my taste in contemporary painting runs to non-objective expression, I try not to rule out any painter on principle. Mr. Franck's principles, as expressed in the exhibition brochure, are admirable: "Yes, I believe in subject matter. Characteristically we do not say object matter. Only where we become identified with what is seen, where it becomes 'subject'—yet remains itself—it becomes fitting subject for art." In many ways Spider Web and Landscape (No. 17) provides a key to what Mr. Franck offers. The landscape is seen

through the web, and the web is, so to speak, the painter's consciousness through which nature is observed. Many Cézanne water colors have something of this effect, though it should be added that Cézanne's web is part of the texture of planes that intersect and not something described for itself.

Long study and residence in Europe have borne fruit in Franck's style. This is not the first time I have insisted that the hue and cry raised by some avant-garde American painters about being American is as illusionary as it is tiresome. Moods brought on by weather, winter tracery of trees seen as monochromatic stained glass, the slash of a white birch against the geometry of fields: these are not national matters. Franck understands them.

John Ciardi

Poems: A Selection. By Léonie Adams. Funk and Wagnalls. \$3.

Lysistrata. By Aristophanes. Translated by Dudley Fitts. Harcourt, Brace. \$3.50.

Collected Poems: 1923-53. By Louise Bogan. Noonday Press. \$3.

Poems: 1923-1954. By E. E. Cummings. Harcourt, Brace. \$6.75.

An Armada of Thirty Whales. By Daniel G. Hoffman. Yale Series of Younger Poets. \$2.50.

Songs for Eve. By Archibald MacLeish. Houghton Mifflin. \$3.

The Classic Anthology Defined by Confucius. Translated by Ezra Pound. Harvard. \$5.

Collected Poems. By James Stephens. Macmillan. \$5.

Collected Poems. By Wallace Stevens. Knopf. \$7.50.

The Desert Music. By William Carlos Williams. Random House. \$5.

Poets of Today. Three first books in one by Harry Duncan, Murray Noss, and May Swenson. Critical Introduction by John Hall Wheelock. Scribner's. \$3.50.

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Theater

Harold Clurman

ORDINARILY I would have very little to say about such a play as "The Bad Seed." Maxwell Anderson's adaptation of William March's novel (Forty-sixth Street Theater). Mr. Anderson has charmingly confessed that it is a pot-boiler. (It goes without saying that a pot-boiler may prove a masterpiece, and a work of more exalted intention a dud.) The fact that Mr. Anderson has succeeded in making the pot boil would not normally stir me to prolonged comment, for "The Bad Seed" is the kind of play that rouses no enthusiasm in me—even when it is good. I take no pleasure in being harrowed to no purpose.

What makes the occasion critically special is that, beside being the first "dramatic smash" of the season, "The Bad Seed" strikes one as a play which, so to speak, makes a comment on its audience. The tale it tells is of a girl of eight who has committed a murder before the play has begun, then kills a little boy because she covets his medal for penmanship, which she had hoped to win, and finally kills the handyman who threatens to expose her. All this killing is done without the slightest tremor—the child, it appears, is congenitally without any feeling of right or wrong, though she was born of respectable and fond parents. The explanation? The

mother—unknown to herself—is the adopted daughter of an accomplished murderer of great renown. The little monster's mother attempts to do away with her, daughter but fails, though she succeeds in killing herself. The bad seed will thus be perpetuated for the benefit of other melodramas.

In view of the author's usual gift for dialogue, the writing of this play must be set down as mediocre—literate television language. The characters are stereotypes; the plotting is schematic—as clear as a road map. There is a touch of comedy relief from a foolish lady who talks penny psychoanalysis all the time, and in such lines as that of an unsuspecting neighbor speaking of the little girl, "She is going to make some man very happy." There is no atmosphere or mood, and very little real suspense. Once the situation is prepared for, the play progresses evenly to its end—except for a clever device at the final curtain—till there is hardly anyone left in the cast fit to kill.

The acting is generally competent. Nancy Kelly as the mother is comely, conscientious, and at moments touching. Patty McCormack as the baby-doll is an excellent vehicle for the story that is being told through her. Evelyn Varden as the lady who spouts Freudian boners

Van Wyck Brooks

In the Name of Sanity. By Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace. \$3.50.
The Literary Situation. By Malcolm Cowley. Viking. \$3.75.

The Literature of the United States. By Marcus Cunliffe. Penguin. 85 cents.

The French Revolution. By Gaetano Salvemini. Translated from the Italian by I. M. Rawson. Holt. \$5.

Seeing and Knowing. By Bernard Berenson. Macmillan. \$3.50.

The Emperor's Clothes. By Kathleen Nott. Indiana. \$4.

The Measure of Man. By Joseph Wood Krutch. Bobbs-Merrill. \$3.50.

The Uses of the Past. By Herbert J. Muller. Mentor Books. 50 cents.

is an expert comedienne, and Eileen Heckart, as a simple inebriate woman whose little son was our heroine's victim, plays the same sob scene twice with its effectiveness showing. The direction is slick stage management; the set is as handsomely inexpressive as a department-store display of furniture.

If the play has little real quality—with practically none of the "psychological" fascination of "Angel Street" or the intriguing complications of "Dial M"—how explain its success?

It is "good theater," you may say. But

I have taken some pains to indicate that it is not at all good theater. (How one comes to detest the phrase when it is repeatedly used to praise the trivial, the sham, the hollow!) The play is as flat and cold as a plate on the shelf. It is essentially incredible and almost entirely pointless. And its emotional after-effect is virtually nil.

It is just this combination of theatrical veneer with meaningless murder which somehow gratifies the audience or flatters it into applauding what it is unashamed to think of as a "swell show."

The audience is anesthetized by the standard material bequeathed by the movies, radio, television but more smoothly fabricated here, and then hypnotized as by a snake's eye by the inflated spot of senseless killing in the midst of it all, a spot which in the circumstances has been made decorative.

In a way the play communicates no horror. The idea of murder with little motive or meaning, murder as an undecipherable X or as a sheer token of human irrationality and misconduct, murder that is abstracted from all reality, has been converted into something reassuring, almost sedative.

So I came from the theater trembling, not because of the play—which, for my part, you can take or leave according to your disposition—but for the audience.

Films

Robert Hatch

THE GAME OF LOVE is a French picture made from Colette's novel "Lé Blé en Herbe," and directed by Claude Autant-Lara. Its theme is first love, and its merit is that it treats this theme—a great favorite among jokesters and sentimentalists—frankly, compassionately, and with respect.

The story centers upon a boy and a girl in their late teens and a woman in her late thirties. What occurs among these three during a few summer days at the seashore is going to shock some people, who will claim to be outraged by the events but who will really be offended because no one is punished for them. The picture is sad but not tragic—just the sadness of growing and learning. The cold cynicism of the English

title is all wrong—the children and the woman come through their adventure safely precisely because they all understand that love is no game.

Colette's plot is exceedingly thin ice for the screen; it could easily have become lurid or ridiculous. Autant-Lara succeeds with it because he treats the events without comment or the slightest leering evasion. The tone he sets is quite matter-of-fact; romantic only in that lovers are not often so generous and so lucky as the people of this tale.

The actors follow Autant-Lara's lead with remarkable perspicacity and taste. Edwige Feuillère, who plays the older woman, has the most difficult task—she must make love to a boy without appearing either depraved or foolish. She car-

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Stanley Cooperman

The Long Ships. By Frans G. Bergson. Translated from the Swedish by Michael Meyer. Knopf. \$4.50.

More Stories. By Frank O'Connor. Knopf. \$5.

A Fable. By William Faulkner. Random House. \$4.75.

The Goose on the Grave. By John Hawkes. New Directions. \$3.

The Blackboard Jungle. By Evan Hunter. Simon and Schuster. \$3.50.

The Eternal Mistle and Other Stories. By Pär Lagerkvist. Random House. \$4.50.

The Lion at Morning. By Stephen Longstreet. Simon and Schuster. \$4.95.

The Ramayana. As told by Aubrey Menen. Scribner's. \$3.50.

The Huge Season. By Wright Morris. Viking. \$3.75.

Museum Pieces. By William Plomer. Noonday Press. \$3.50.

Modern Italian Short Stories. Edited by Marc Slonim. Simon and Schuster. \$5.

Hadrian's Memoirs. By Marguerite Yourcenar. Translated from the French by Grace Frick. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$4.

ries it off by being both clear-headed and unrepentant; she expects to hurt herself but makes quite sure she does not hurt her partner. The young couple—playmates who become lovers—are played by Nicole Berger and Pierre-Michel Beck, who are in fact approximately the age of the characters they impersonate. The trick of directing children is to have them act themselves, since obviously they have not the experience to act anyone else. But at adolescence this becomes very difficult, because the misery of adolescence is that you do not know yourself. Consequently, one rarely sees that age well performed. These two young actors are an exception, however, for they portray really beautifully the fierce desire to understand and to be honest that characterizes the coming of age of good adults. Adolescence is the period of one's life that is most difficult to remember; "The Game of Life" is an exceptional picture because it recalls so vividly what it was like to be sixteen.

EVERY now and then, remembering that movies are an art, Hollywood turns out an arty movie. An extreme example of this cinematic toininess is "The Track

of the Cat," made by Warner Brothers from a novel by Walter Van Tilburg Clark. Since Clark is a writer of action stories that appear regularly in the academic quarterlies, he is a natural choice for a "think" Western. What he was thinking about on this particular occasion is not revealed in the picture, but it appears to have been something baleful in the Old Testament line, and the Warners clearly want us to take the proceedings with a good deal of solemn headshaking.

"The Track of the Cat" is set on a remote mountain ranch in dead of winter and is performed by actors, including Robert Mitchum, Teresa Wright, and Beulah Bondi, who appear to be illustrating the precepts of some theater workshop in slow motion. They all look to be in need of strong black coffee. The scenery is very cold and very beautiful; every snow-and-hemlock sequence, the shots of the farm buildings in varying lights, are fussed over and "displayed" as though the camera man hoped we would take them home and hang them on the wall. At one point he gets down into a grave and shoots the obsequies from the viewpoint of the corpse. This was very modish photography twenty years ago, when the avant-garde was experimenting with bizarre ends.

The ranch family consists of three brothers—one strong but mean, one strong but spiritual, one strong but wet behind the ears—a Cassandra sister, a Bible-embittered mother, a drink-besotted father, and an ancient Indian

handyman who hears things when the first snow flies. This group, ill-fitted for solitary living on the high plateau, is all stirred up by a visiting girl in the house and a visiting mountain lion in the pasture. Ugly violence threatens and ugly words are spoken, but everyone moves so extremely adagio that only the cat and the cold do any real damage.

The picture is stuffed with allegory and allusion, but I am not going to bother with what the cat, the Indian, the cave in the high ravine, the beacon fire, or the bestiary bed quilt stand for. When a story is dead at the action level, it cannot be revived by appeal to its implications.

A MORE honest picture about cowboys in cold weather is "The Far Country," in which James Stewart conveys a parcel of eating cows from Seattle to Dawson, via Skagway, in the gold-rush days. In this tale Stewart plays that quiet dangerous man whose motto is, I take care of myself, and whose reputation for fancy shooting precedes him from one community to the next. He is a hard, selfish fellow, but in the end a gang of claim jumpers and a pair of appetizing girls (Ruth Roman and Corinne Calvert) teach him the advantages of mutual aid. This is a routine outdoor picture, but at least it goes briskly about its job of popular entertainment with no pauses for meditation and prayer. And its scenery is just an eye-filling spectacle; it doesn't try to flatten you with aesthetic hay-makers.

Music

B. H. Haggin

THE Quartetto Italiano couldn't fill Town Hall for the Concert Society; but Elisabeth Schwarzkopf did. And the additional people appeared to be those who used to pack Town Hall for Lotte Lehmann's recitals, and who now come to Schwarzkopf's because she now puts on the sort of performances for them that Lehmann used to. Let it be understood that Schwarzkopf is, like Lehmann, a very gifted woman. She is, for one thing, a very gifted singer, with a beautiful voice and the capacity for exquisite musical phrasing; and at her re-

citals, as at Lehmann's, one is every now and then held spellbound by a piece of flawless sustained singing. She is also, like Lehmann, a singer with a gift of dramatic projection; and one is, as one was at Lehmann's recitals, often moved or charmed by that. But unfortunately these gifts, like Lehmann's, serve an inclination to ham; and Schwarzkopf's hamming—her exaggerated pouting and pertness and archness, her gasps and whispers—all this delights her audience as Lehmann's used to. Exaggeration means lack of a controlling sense of

measure, fitness—what is summed up in the word taste; and Schwarzkopf is capable of lapses of taste even worse than Lehmann's—for example, her singing and miming of "In dem Schatten meiner Locken," at this recent Hugo Wolf recital, in the style of Marlene Dietrich for the patrons of "Der blaue Engel," which especially delighted the people who filled Town Hall.

Schwarzkopf's program included a number of the Wolf songs that are remarkable in their relation to the poems—the way the words are placed for verbal articulation and emphasis in the musical progression, and the way this progression follows and points up every turn of meaning and emotion—and a number of the ones in which the progression is in addition a moving or attractive piece of music. The songs that Hans Hotter sings in his Wolf recital on Angel 35057—the final Michelangelo songs; the "Coptisches Lied" 1 and 2, "Grenzen der Menschheit," "Prometheus," and three "Hartenspieler" songs to poems of Goethe; and "Geselle, woll'n wir uns in Kütten hüllen"—are almost all of the first kind. But the record is worth having for the vocal beauty and expressive point of Hotter's performances with Gerald Moore at the piano. Angel provides the German texts that are so important with these songs, but with errors that a little care could prevent; and English translations in verse that seem to me the wrong thing for the purpose: with music that follows the sense of the German words so closely what the listener wants is a literal prose translation without any literary pretensions that follows them just as closely, not verse that often has to depart widely from the German.

One of Schubert's great song-cycles, "Die schöne Müllerin," is on London LL-971, sung very beautifully by the tenor Anton Dermota with Hilde Dermota at the piano. The recorded sound needs a lot of additional bass to give the piano its proper resonant fullness and sufficient volume in relation to the voice. Neither German nor English texts are provided.

Listening to "The Art of Roland Hayes" on Vanguard 448/9 one is surprised at first by how much of that art has survived; but that is because Hayes is singing old Italian and French songs which call for the moderate volume that

the microphone helps him to produce agreeably. When he comes to the later songs that require intensity of feeling and voice, one hears him strain to produce sounds that are painful to hear. It is a great pity that there are no recordings of his singing thirty years ago.

Benjamin Britten's resourcefulness achieves imaginative and attractive settings of the folksongs on London LD-9136; and the performances by the tenor Peter Pears with Britten at the piano are very effective.

What I think of as characteristic of Victoria's music and distinguishing it from the liturgical polyphony of his contemporaries is a somber intensity and power. I think of it as characteristic even though it doesn't appear equally in all his works: I hear little of it in the "Tantum ergo" on Lyrichord 52, a record devoted to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century motets; more in the "Vere languoris." Another powerful piece by a composer hitherto unknown to me is the "Tenebrae factae sunt" of Marc Antonio Ingegneri; an outstanding Palestrina piece is the "Super flumina Babylonis"; and the record offers other fine pieces in various styles by Dufay, Josquin, Dunstable, Byrd, and others, sung well by the Welch Chorale.

Two magnificent examples of the writing of Victoria with that somber intensity and power, the Responsories "O vos omnes" and "Tenebrae factae sunt," are sung superbly by the Quartetto Polifonico on London LL-995, a record devoted to choral music of the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries, which offers a number of other fine pieces: several Laudi, and several beautiful works by Palestrina, including an Improperia et Hymnus in a style quite different from the one we usually hear.

Lovely vocal polyphony is to be heard in the madrigals of Monteverdi that are sung agreeably by the Roger Wagner Madrigal Singers on Lyrichord 43.

It turns out that it was Hugues Cuénod's extraordinary voice and phrasing in the performances on Allegro 91 that gave Couperin's First Tenebrae Service and his Motet "Audite omnes" the overwhelming effect they had for me. I have learned this by listening to the three Tenebrae Services and "Audite omnes" as they are sung on Haydn Society 105 by Nadine Sautereau, a sharp-voiced soprano, and Janine Collard, a more

agreeable-sounding contralto, and finding them lacking the impressiveness they still have when I listen again to Cuénod.

Stravinsky's "Les Noces" was an effective sound-track for Nijinska's wonderful ballet; but I find it uninteresting to listen to by and for itself. Vox 8630 offers a good performance by Margaret Hillis's Concert Choir with vocal soloists and a group of pianists and percussionists; Vanguard 452 another good one in which Rossi conducts the Vienna Chamber Choir and other Viennese musicians. I would choose the Vanguard performance because it uses the Russian words, whose sound should be retained, it seems to me, in music which uses the voices like instruments. The Vanguard record offers also "L'Histoire d'un soldat," performed by Tomasow and members of the Vienna State Opera Orchestra; the Vox record offers the Mass and the Motets "Pater noster" and "Ave Maria"—all pieces I don't care for.

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FREDA KIRCHWEY,
Editor and Publisher.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 26th day of September, 1954.
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Letters

Good-Will Toward Man

Dear Sirs: I am hunting this year for a new type of Christmas card, one suited to the era, in which the concept of "good-will toward man" is adjusted to A.D. 1954. I can recall when hearing the words "good-will toward man" read or sung brought a genuine sense of common humanity, and political differences were buried under an overriding swell of human kindness. But that was a long time ago.

Again this year Christmas cards will bear the traditional messages of good-will. But if they were honest, most of them would carry the qualification: "Good-will toward all but Communists, fellow-travelers, front members, anti-anti-Communists, intellectual fellow-travelers, intellectuals, pseudo-liberals, so-called liberals, and liberals." Liberals themselves, on the other hand, perhaps equally embittered, might counter with "Good-will to all but the foes on the right and the potential destroyers of democracy and freedom."

Los Angeles

JEANNE RIHA

He Spoke for Millions

Dear Sirs: Thank you and D. F. Fleming for the article in *The Nation* of November 27 on Ways to Coexist. It is an article of a sincere and honest man, and expresses the yearnings of thousands of millions of people all over the world for life, peace, and security. I hope the national policy-makers and the men who are in power read it.

Minneapolis

PHILIP SHELLEY

Save the Forests!

Dear Sirs: Your "Giveaway" issue of October 2 was a real contribution to public understanding of the current Administration's decision to hand over our natural resources to a few giant corporations. Yet one important point about the national forests established by Gifford Pinchot and Theodore Roosevelt went untold.

As early as 1947 Bernard DeVoto and the Izaak Walton League began to expose the efforts of a small group of stockmen and lumbermen to establish private rights in this public domain. Until the Eighty-third Congress these got nowhere, but a measure to accomplish this objective, introduced by Senator Barrett of Wyoming, was included in the 1952 G. O. P. platform.

This bill was stopped in committee. Then Representative Ellsworth of Oregon introduced another bill giving giant timber companies the right to swap stump-land in reservoir areas for federal timber in the national parks and forests. This

vicious measure was beaten in the House by a thumping vote. Finally a revised cattlemen's land-grab bill was dressed up in conservation language and stuck in as a last-minute rider on the Administration's farm bill in the Senate; the House committee had bottled it up. In spite of the President's plea, it was thrown out by the joint conference committee.

A valiant little band of conservationists formed the Emergency Committee on Resources early in 1953. This group of idealists stood off their well-oiled opponents at every draw. Their story was simply that the national forests belong to all the people and should not be transferred to a few thousand stockmen. And it worked!

Though we should have liked more help from the city-oriented liberal and labor movements at the time, those of us who fought the battle know that the preservation of 190,000,000 acres of national forest will benefit our whole citizenry. It has been saved for a time, but the pressures are stronger than ever, and we would welcome allies among all liberal-minded people for the next fight.

CHARLES H. STODDARD,

Executive Director,

Washington Forest Conservation Society

What DO They Want?

Dear Sirs: It is a shock to find in *The Nation*, of all places, a book review [of Lesley Blanch's "The Wilder Shores of Love" in the issue of November 6] which refers sneeringly to "women's fight for suffrage and careers" as contrasted with their "fulfilment as women." Apparently the reviewer, Bennett Epstein, admires the lady who became the Sultan's favorite but has only scorn and pity for the one whose life became "complicated and diverted by twentieth-century misconceptions of what women really want." "What women really want" is to be free human beings with equal opportunities for development of their human potentialities. After that it was not surprising to find Mr. Epstein so imperceptive of the true thesis of Lesley Blanch's study that he could utter the bland condescension of, "Interestingly enough, the author herself is a career woman."

MIRIAM ALLEN DEFORD

San Francisco

Must Reading

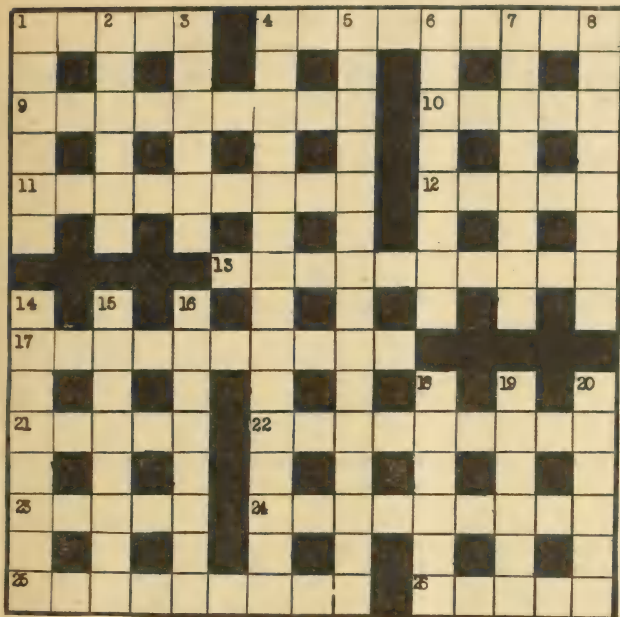
Dear Sirs: Day of the Dictator by J. Alvarez del Vayo in the November 13 issue of *The Nation* is must reading for every liberal-minded person in the United States. Copies of the article should be distributed, especially to the people in Washington.

H. DAVID ACKERMAN

Buffalo

Crossword Puzzle No. 599

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Sound heard in the fall a quarter of a century ago? (5)
- 4 Make the extra players sweat? (9)
- 9 Made less excited by the draft? (3-6)
- 10 Plane found on 4 across. (5)
- 11 Sweet and endearing? (9)
- 12 Blade secured by wire. (5)
- 13 Poker debt secret, in a pains-taking way? (10)
- 17 Raged, and no persecution involved. (10)
- 21 What happened when Theodore dropped the T. N. T.? (5)
- 22 Could it be a rein to contribute to habit? (9)
- 23 Just a practical lesson. (5)
- 24 Sounds like the Age of Chivalry should have been dark. (9)
- 25 See 6 down.
- 26 Reputedly descriptive of *Castor*, if you make the answer agree in a way. (5)

DOWN

- 1 See 19 down.
- 4 A desire for wealth, it's conceded. (6)
- 3 Does it suggest smoke and water? (6)
- 4 Were Jack and Jill so nobly motivated? (4-11)

- 5 Not a Communist-dominated confederacy uncovered by a detective! (3-6, 6)
- 6 and 25 across. Telephone directory, and light, too! (4, 4, 3, 6)
- 7 Writes, perhaps, but not about shattered lives. (8)
- 8 Do they represent the rest of the year? (8)
- 14 For any maid, a weakness. (8)
- 15 Well now, liable to be in when caught! (8)
- 16 Lamb on tether, like Lear's daughter? (8)
- 18 Withers and bend out of shape. (6)
- 19 and 1 down. Getting shocked, or just being bossy? (6, 6)
- 20 Invest Superficially. (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 598

ACROSS:—1 GARDEN PLOT; 6 OHIS; 10 VANILLA; 11 FOOTAGE; 12 KEYNOTER; 15 HOURI; 17 and 27 CIGARETTE LIGHTER; 19 LITERALLY; 21 and 25 ROUNDABOUT; 23 STILT; 24 GALVANIC; 28 DROP OFF; 29 RARE; 30 FIRST TENOR.

DOWN:—1 GIVE; 2 RONDEAU; 3 ELLEN; 4 and 13 PRACTICAL JOKER; 5 OFFER; 7 BLANKET; 8 SPEARHEADS; 9 CONJURER; 14 WHOLESALE; 16 IRRITATE; 18 GAY BLADES; 20 TRIGGER; 22 UNICORN; 24 GORKI; 26 AFAR.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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